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“La mayor cosa, después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que lo crió, es el descubrimiento de las Indias.”

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, 1552.

“Il n’y point eu d’événement aussi intéressant pour l’espèce humaine en général, & pour les peuples de l’Europe en particulier, que la découverte du Nouveau-Monde & le passage aux Indes par le cap de Bonne-Esperance. Alors a commencé une révolution dans le commerce, dans la puissance des nations, dans les mœurs, l’industrie & le gouvernement de tous les peuples. C’est à ce moment que les hommes des contrées le plus éloignées se sont rapprochés par de nouveaux rapports & de nouveaux besoins. Les productions des climats placés sous l’équateur, se consomment dans les climats voisins du pôle; l’industrie du Nord est transportée au Sud; les étoffes de l’Orient sont devenues le luxe des Occidentaux; & par-tout les hommes ont fait un échange mutuel de leurs opinions, de leurs loix, de leurs usages, de leurs maladies, de leurs remèdes, de leurs vertus & de leurs vices.”

L’abbé Raynal, 1781.

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GLOSSARY

Adelantado—He who goes in advance; the leader of an expedition, or governor of a frontier province; sometimes translated as meaning lieutenant-governor. The verb is *adelantar*, to advance.

Alcalde—Justice of the peace; from the Arabic *al cadi*, the judge, or governor. Besides the *alcaldes ordinarios*, there were *alcaldes mayores*, or district judges.

Alguacil mayor—High sheriff.

Audiencia—From the Latin, *audire*, to hear; a court of oyer and terminer; the highest court of appeal and jurisdiction in the Spanish colonies. The chief judge was known as the *presidente*; the other members of the tribunal were called *oidores*, or hearers. There were eleven Royal Audiences established in Spanish America.

Ayuntamiento—Spanish town-council.

Bachiller—Bachelor of law.

Cabildo—Corporation of a town; chapter of a cathedral.

Casa de Contratacion de las Indias—India House of Trade, established at Sevilla, in 1503, to promote and regulate traffic with Spain's colonies beyond the seas. In time, it became also a court of judicature.

Conquistador—Conqueror.

Consejo Supremo de Indias—Supreme Council of the Indies; a permanent body of learned men finally established at Madrid, in 1524, to deal with affairs relating to the Indies.

Contador—Auditor, accountant.

Corregidor—Magistrate, mayor, councilman.

Corregimiento—Mayoralty, city government.

Encomienda—A charge, or commandery; from *encomendar*, to recommend, or give in charge; an allotment of Indian vassals given in charge to a Spaniard, as a *repartimiento* became vacant. The custom was of ancient usage by the four military

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orders of Spain in the vassalage of the Moors, and other infidels. An *encomendero* was a Spaniard who held an *encomienda*.

Escribano publico—Notary public.

Escudero—Shield-bearer, squire.

Factor—Agent.

Gobernador—Governor.

Grumetes—Ships' apprentices, or cabin-boys.

Hidalgo—From *hijodalgo*, son of something; nobleman.

Licenciado—Licentiate in law, a degree higher than *bachiller*.

Regidor—Alderman, prefect

Regimiento—Administration, municipality.

Repartimiento—A distribution; *repartir*, to distribute. First division of the Indians in serfdom to the Spanish conquerors, after the failure of the *per capita* tax system instituted by Columbus on Hispaniola. The term *repartimiento* was later applied to the allotment of lands, the Indians residing thereon being given in *encomienda*.

Residencia—The examination and accounting taken of an executive or judicial officer while in residence within his jurisdiction. This was always done at the expiration of the term of office of a Spanish governor, judge, or other high official; but could be ordered at any time. The inquiry was conducted by a *juez de residencia*, judge of residence, appointed by the King, or in the New World by the Council of the Indies, or by a Viceroy. The *residencia* was intended to encourage good officials and to check mal-administration in office, but the system had its defects and evils. Said Solórzano, in his *Politica Indiana*, "the Prince will not cure his commonwealth with this medicine, if the medicine brings with it greater evils than those which it is intended to remedy." The *residencia* was sometimes called a *visita*, or visit.

Veedor—Inspector, overseer.

FOREWORD

The finding of America was the greatest event in history; the cruel conquest and almost complete annihilation of its people the greatest wrong known to mankind. Human intercommunication and interrelation were never affected so powerfully as when Columbus, suddenly and within a few years, enlarged the known world by the addition of a new continent and another great ocean, together comprising about two-fifths of the surface of the globe. So new and strange to Europe was this half of the earth, that it seemed, indeed, to be another world; and so recent, historically speaking, has been its discovery, that we still refer to the Western Hemisphere as the New World.

The Old World has expended her best efforts in exploiting the shores of the Atlantic, and in founding and trying to maintain and hold distant colonies and protectorates. In a sense, she is finished. Europe fructified, conquered and peopled America. The strife is now on between America and Asia, and future activities pertain to the Pacific where West clashes with East.

The Isthmus of Panama, formerly a part of Castilla del Oro, is the gateway to the Pacific, and the front door of the Three Americas, to which the Antilles lead up as stepping-stones. Here the first white invaders made their "entry" into the new continent, founded their first settlements, penetrated to the South Sea, and roamed in conquering bands up and down the Pacific coast.

For migration, commerce, or war, the Isthmus of America (with or without a canal) is the most important strategic point in the world. Ever since its conquest by Spain, other nations have recognized the value of the Isthmus, and sought to possess this narrow strip of land between the two great oceans.

This part of Central America presents three well-defined historic periods:

1. The early period of Spanish activity, conquest, possession, and exploitation; ending about the year 1700.

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2. *An era of apathy, oppression, seclusion, and repose; lasting one hundred years.*

3. *The modern period, beginning with the nineteenth century, during the first quarter of which all the Spanish provinces on the continent of America declared for independence, and threw off the yoke of the mother country. The pure air of freedom soon inspired the people of the Isthmus to revive the old efforts for better interoceanic communication, and, about 1850, we find active plans for the construction of railroads and canals from sea to sea.*

We know less of our sister republics on the south than we do of remote parts of Europe. Had our forefathers as little appreciation as we of the relation of Latin America to the United States of the North, the magnificent Monroe Doctrine never would have been promulgated. We have arrived at a time, today, when everyone cognizant of the trend of current events realizes the great revival of interest in everything pertaining to Spanish America, particularly to the Isthmian region. The prominence to which Panama is now approaching is hers by right of geographic situation and historic interest.

The acquisition of the Canal Zone by the United States, in 1903, and the successful prosecution of the work of constructing a canal, marks the culmination of what I have designated the third period in the history of the Isthmus. For this time there is no dearth of books, dealing mainly with the Panama railroad, and the French and American canals. The middle period—the Dark Ages of Spanish America—has little to offer to English readers. But the first period, when Spain wrote “plus ultra” on the Pillars of Hercules, and later, “non sufficit orbis” on the globe of the earth, is the time most replete with human interest and activity, and the least known to mankind. Where we now are expending such magnificent efforts upon a work to which, in the language of the poet, both heaven and earth have put hand—“al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra”—the Homeric achievements of the Spanish conquerors, and the fierce struggles of those who strove to wrest that wondrous gateway from its holders, cannot fail to excite our interest if

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not our admiration or approval. The Panama Canal will unify our Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coastlines, and the short road to India, by the west, will at last lie open.

Barring the monumental work by Bancroft, not in reach of the general reader, there is no book in English dealing fitly with the early history of the Panama region, nor in any language is this information given in a single volume. From many sources, most of them original, in Spanish, French, and English, the writer has garnered accounts of the events narrated in the following pages. They all seem to center in, or radiate from, Old Panama or Castilla del Oro.

About all the average intelligent person knows of Christopher Columbus is that he found America, and made an egg stand on end. Columbus, on his fourth voyage, discovered practically all of the coastline of Castilla del Oro, extending from Cape Gracias á Dios south and eastward to the Gulf of Urabá; and in Veragua, on the Isthmus of Panama, the Admiral made the second, if not the first, attempt at settlement on the continent of America. Panama, too, is so closely related to Santo Domingo, or Española, that the writer believed a brief review of the earlier voyages of Columbus essential to a proper understanding of the history of this portion of Tierra Firme. From Santo Domingo went forth two lines of discovery and conquest of the mainland, one by way of Darien and Panama to Nicaragua and Peru, the other through Cuba to Mexico and Guatemala. With the first, and earlier, of these it is the province of this book to deal.

There is nothing more unjust than the partial way in which much history is written; and there is no more appropriate place than in a book dealing with the beginnings of American history to protest against the habitual application of the term "savages" to the American Race (Amerinds). Ethnologically, only a few insignificant and remote tribes—as the Macus of the Rio Negro, and the Botocudos of Brazil—exhibited what can properly be called a savage stage of culture. As to conduct, the reader is left to form his own judgment as to which displayed the most savagery, the White Man or the Red Man. It will be noted that

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I refrain from calling the Indians "bloodthirsty savages" simply because they defended their homes and attempted to drive out the white invaders. Neither do I designate every petty chief a king, nor his band a nation. When the Spaniards wantonly slew the natives and fed them to their dogs, I fail to see anything heroic in their conduct, and do not hesitate to call them butchers, even though they possessed white skins and professed to be followers of Christ.

I have endeavored to present the facts as they are told to us, and the characters in their true colors. Thus, Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias, Francis Drake, and Henry Morgan, all were robbers; but Nuñez and Drake were generous, manly fellows, Pedrarias a cunning old monster, and Morgan a tricky and unscrupulous thief. All these actors, destroying people entitled to the same liberty and right of development which they claimed for themselves, and justifying their conduct with the usual cant, were but the pioneers of the enforced expansion of European states in America, and the puppets of kings and princelings. These men must not be judged by our standards, but according to the times in which they performed their parts.

The most senseless and impolitic feature of the Spanish invasion of America was the treachery and cruelty of the Conquistadores to each other, due to the want of a national sentiment among the different provinces of Spain, suspicion and jealousy between the commanders, and the ceaseless rivalry to win the royal favor.

The writer quotes freely, believing the exact words and forms of expression used by the old historians, often participants in or eyewitnesses of the events, would the better transmit the story, and be the more appreciated by the reader. For the same reason, and at the sacrifice of consistency, the names of persons and places are spelled in different ways, indicating the accent or not, according to the fashion of the chronicler whose narrative the author follows at the time. So far as practicable, chapters follow each other in chronological order.

Most of the material for this work, including the old illustrations, was obtained from the Library of Congress, and the

THE ISTHMUS

Until recently, the Republic of Panama was a state of the Republic of Colombia, and thus was reckoned as being in South America; whereas, geographically, geologically, and now politically, it is in Central America, and a part of the northern continent.

Panama extends from Colombia on the east to Costa Rica on the west, a distance of 725 kilometers, or about 450 miles; and varies in width from 50 to 190 kilometers, or from 31 to 118 miles. On account of its double flexion, it extends from 7° 10' to 9° 41' north latitude. The area of the Republic of Panama is about 32,000 square miles; and it contains a population of about 360,000 souls, not including the 20,000 Indians of pure blood.

The general mountain system of the western hemisphere is continued through the Isthmus; but, unlike the Rocky Mountains in the north and the Andes in the south, it here runs about midway between the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts, and in a direction east and west.¹ The elevation of the divide varies from a few hundred feet to several thousand feet, reaching its greatest height in the Cordillera of Chiriqui. The mountains receive local designations in the different provinces, as the *Cordillera de Veraguas*, *C. de Panamá*, *C. de San Blas*, *C. del Darién*, and *C. de Baudó*.

Panama is unique in being a part of a continent, having two extensive coastlines bordering upon the two great oceans of the world, yet in close proximity to each other. The Atlantic (Caribbean) coastal plain is densely covered with forest and jungle, through which flow numerous streams and rivers. With the exception of a couple of towns, like Bocas, and Colon, this side of the Isthmus is inhabited only by remnants of the old Indian tribes and negroid mixtures. Communication is mainly by means of canoes, and in the rainy season passage by land is practically impossible. Indeed, since the days of the old *Camino Real* (King's Highway) between Panama and Portobelo, there has been nothing like a roadway on the Isthmus till the advent of the Americans in 1904. It is not generally known that the charter of the Panama Railroad contains a clause prohibiting the construction of a highway or other method of transit across the Isthmus, west of a line connecting Cape Tiburon on the Atlantic with Point Garachiné on the Pacific. The convention between the United States and

¹ From the San Blas country eastward to the Gulf of Urabá, the Cordillera is nearer the Atlantic shore.

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Panama, November 18, 1903, confirms the monopoly of transit to the United States.

The Pacific (southern) side of the Isthmus is not so low and marshy as the Atlantic (northern) side. Between the mountains and the sea are plains or *llanos*, and *savannas*; which are traversed by clear and rapid rivers. The amount of rainfall on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus is only about six feet, while on the Atlantic shore it averages twelve feet, or more, yearly. Neither is the Pacific coast subject to such violent storms as occur on the Atlantic side. The more elevated land and the better climatic conditions induced the Spaniards to settle on the Pacific slope after failing on the Atlantic coast. The open *llanos* furnish excellent grazing for horses and cattle; and maize, sugar-cane, the legumes, and all the tropical fruits and melons can be raised with little effort. Nearly all the Panamanians live on the Pacific side of the Isthmus, and little towns are frequent, especially in the provinces of Cocolé, Los Santos, Veraguas, and Chiriquí, all in the western part of the Isthmus.

The two coasts of Panama, though but forty to one hundred miles apart, are entirely distinct. With the exception of a few miserable trails across the mountains, the Panama Railroad is the only communication from one side to the other. This gives the railroad a strategic advantage, of which it is not slow to avail itself, and determined the success of the revolution of 1903 and the establishment of the Republic of Panama.

A brief review of the notable points along each coast, and of the famous events which have happened on the Isthmus, particularly in colonial days, may be both interesting and instructive.

Beginning at *Punta Mona*, or Monkey Point, also called *Punta Carreta*, the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama on the Caribbean Sea, and passing eastward, we soon reach the mouth of the *Sixola*;² and a few miles further on is the *Rio Changuinola*.³ Both these rivers drain a rich banana section, and are navigable for small vessels. The next interesting point is the *Boca del Drago*, or Dragon's Mouth, which gives entrance to *Almirante Bay*, discovered by and named after Christ-

² Called also *El Rio Tarire*, the ancient boundary between Veraguas and Costa Rica.

³ The Changuinola, or *Rio de la Estrella*, was discovered by Juan Vasquez de Coronado, in 1564; and is described by Fray Augustín de Ceballos, in 1610, as being "*rio prodigioso y el mas rico del mundo*." The mines of Estrella and Tisingal were considered as rich as those of Potosí in Peru. This river separated Veraguas from Costa Rica.

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opher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea. Almirante Bay gives deep water anchorage, and is the best harbor in the north coast for large vessels, being much frequented by our naval vessels. Between Admiral's Bay and the Caribbean Sea is Columbus Island, on which is situated the town of *Bocas del Toro*, inhabited mostly by negroes, and a headquarters of the United Fruit Company.* Bocas was founded, about a century ago, by negro immigration from the islands of St. Andrew and Old Providence, and has grown to be the capital of the province and one of the principal ports of Panama. Opposite Bocas is Careening Cay, where Columbus, in 1502, beached and cleaned his ships. Nearby is Nonsense Cay, one of the prettiest places I have seen in the tropics, on which the fruit company has erected their hospital. Further off are Bastimentos (Old Bank) and Pope islands.

Almirante Bay communicates with the *Laguna de Chiriqui*, which is not a lagoon in the ordinary sense, but a large, safe bay, thirty-three miles long, east and west, and fourteen miles wide. On the main shore are *Chiriqui Grande*, a little pueblo; and *Chiriquicito*, which is the terminus of a narrow-gauge railroad running back to the banana farms. Here begins a very rough trail, passable only afoot, crossing the Cerro de la Horqueta, a mountain range six thousand feet high, to the city of David, on the Pacific slope.

When Columbus stopped in the lagoon he gathered provisions, traded hawks'-bells and gewgaws for the golden ornaments of the natives, and inquired anxiously about a rich region to the east, which the Indians called *Veragua*.

The lagoon and neighboring islands were favorite resorts of the buccaneers, and only three years ago a party made expensive diggings on Zapatilla Cay for pirate gold supposed to be buried there. The Chiriqui region was at one time considered as a transisthmian route, and a concession granted therefor.

At the eastern end of the lagoon is the port of *Valiente*, or Bluefield, on a projection of land called the Valiente peninsula. In this section dwell the Cricamola Indians, called Valiente by the Spaniards on account of their valor in resisting the white man, and the fierce duels in which they engage among themselves.

* This place was called Boca del Toro long before a town was started. The name is taken from the *boca*, or channel, leading from the sea to Almirante Bay, and also from the figure of a large resting bull, presented by a cliff when viewed from afar.

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We entered the Laguna on the west by the Dragon's Mouth, and will leave it through Tiger Channel (*Canal del Tigre*), at its eastern extremity; pass around *Punta Chiriqui*, and sail along the coast inside the island known as *Escudo de Veragua*,⁵ which is eight and one-half miles from the mainland. From here the shore makes a dip to the south, forming what is called Mosquito Gulf. It is not much of a gulf, but mosquitoes are very plentiful along the shore. Numerous rivers empty into the sea, and the principal points of land are Buppan Bluff, Point Coaita, and Zapatero Point. It was along this coast that the unfortunate Nicuesa wandered, seeking escape from his Golden Castile.

About sixty miles from the Laguna de Chiriqui we arrive at the mouth of the *Veragua*⁶ river, upon the banks of which the famous Quibian, or head chief of the Indians, made his home, and where he was captured by the Spaniards. A few miles to the eastward is the *Rio Belen*, where was made, early in 1503, the second attempt at settlement by Europeans upon the mainland of the New World. It was here that Christopher Columbus planted a colony, called *Nuestra Señora de Belén*, under the command of his brother Bartholomew, the Adelantado. Our Lady of Bethlehem was short-lived; as the Quibian, escaping from the Spaniards, collected his warriors and drove the white men to their ships. A few years later, in 1511, Olano and Cueto built a few huts on the site formerly occupied by Don Bartolomé; but starvation soon forced them to abandon the place. Afterwards the Spaniards obtained so much gold from the mines of Veragua that they called this region the *Costa del Oro de Colon*.

The point at the mouth of the Belen is called Cristobal, and the neighboring bay St. Christopher, in honor of the great discoverer. Remnants of the *Guaimi* Indians still inhabit the adjoining country and the mountains of Veraguas.

Further eastward along the coast is the mouth of the *Chagres* river, between *Punta Butata* and *Punta Morrito*. Next to

⁵ This island was once called *Escudo de Nicuesa* (Shield of Nicuesa), because it guarded Castilla del Oro, and marks the spot near which that unfortunate cavalier is believed to have perished.

⁶ Later chroniclers would make it appear that the word Veragua is derived from *Verdes-aguas*, or Green-waters, an etymology to which I do not subscribe. Ulloa, who visited Panama in 1736, writes: "To the river now called Veragua, he [Columbus] gave the name of *Verdes-aguas*, on account of the green color of its water; or, according to others, because the Indians called it by that name in their language."

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Panama, the name of Chagres is the most familiar of Isthmian names. It was first known as the *Rio Lagartos*, or River of Alligators. For four centuries the Chagres has been the bond of union between the two great oceans of the world, the way between the East and the West, the key to the portal of the South Sea. The ancient history of the Isthmus, like that of the Panama Railroad, and of the French and American canals, centers around this river; and from about 1530 to the present day, the Chagres route has remained the only practicable gateway through the New World. The Chagres river has its origin in the mountains south from Palenque, nearly midway of the Isthmus, and runs a tortuous course of 120 miles, west and then north, to the Caribbean Sea. It drains a watershed of about 1200 square miles. The principal tributaries of the Chagres are the Esperanza, Rio Indio, the large Pequeni with its affluent the Boqueron, the Gatun, the Trinidad, and the Gatuncillo.

The relocated Panama Railroad crosses the Chagres at Gamboa, not far above Gorgona and Matachin. Three miles up the river comes Cruces, and twelve miles beyond is Alhajuela. Ten miles farther up, following the winding course of the river, is Dos Bocas, the junction of the Chagres and Pequeni. The headwaters of the Chagres, Pequeni, and Boqueron, run through box cañons in many places, and rapids and falls are numerous; so that navigation by *cayuco*, or canoe, is very dangerous and often impossible, as in these narrow, rocky gorges the waters may rise from forty to eighty feet during a heavy rainfall. San Juan, the largest settlement in this region, is a pueblo of 350 souls, and is located on the Pequeni, two miles above Dos Bocas, and about eight miles below Boca Boqueron. The old Camino Real, vestiges of which can yet be found, ran northward from Panama by a place called Maria Enrique, then through Venta de Camalilla, crossing the Chagres river at Venta de Chagre, above Dos Bocas. The road then followed the course of the Pequeni to the town of San Juan, to Pueblo de Indio, to Pequeni (on the Rio Pequeni), and to Boqueron. After several fordings of a river called San Juan, and crossing the hills on the north coast, the road turned eastward to Nombre de Dios; or turning in the other direction, joined the Rio Cascajal near El Bujio, and followed that river northwest to Puerto Bello. North of the Chagres river the present trail is impassable on horseback, even in the dry season. Much of the Chagres river and many of the old landmarks along its course will soon be obliterated by the waters of Gatun Lake.

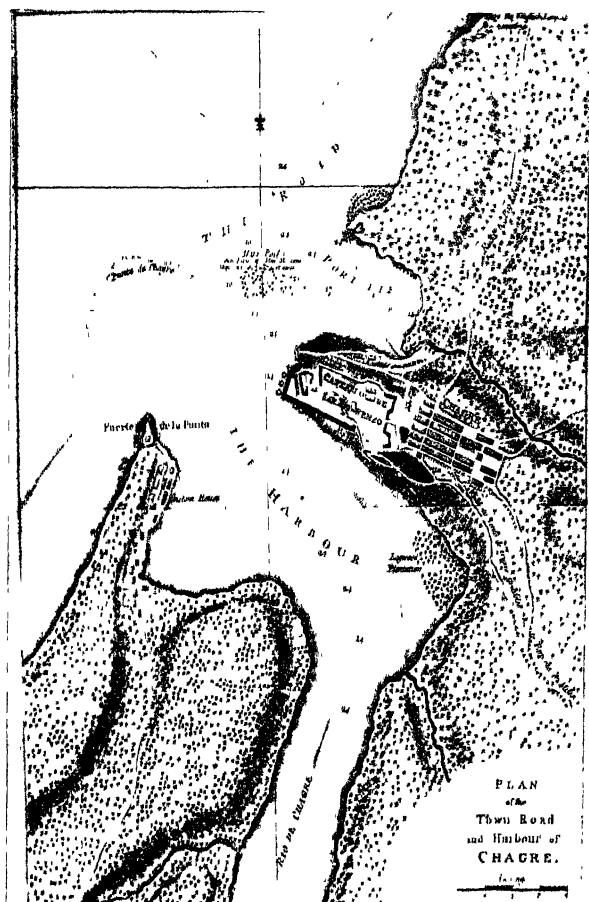
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Guarding the entrance of the Chagres river, on the east, is a rocky bluff facing the sea, and washed on two sides by the river. On this height can be seen the ruins of the historic castle of *San Lorenzo*, erected by the engineer Juan Antonelli, by order of Philip II. of Spain. When the buccaneers under Henry Morgan raided Old Panama, in 1671, Captain Bradley went in advance and captured San Lorenzo, after which they all went up the river. The castle was again taken, in 1740, by the English under the command of Admiral Vernon. The mouth of the Chagres is 350 yards wide, and the channel is said to be three fathoms deep; but the depth of water on the bar varies constantly. The point opposite the castle is known as Las Animas. Directly behind the bluff, invisible from the sea, on the right bank of the river, is the village of Chagres. Formerly a busy port, it now is a sleepy settlement of a few hundred people, containing a modern church and a public school.

In early Spanish times the bulky merchandise for transit across the Isthmus from Puerto Bello was taken up the Chagres river as far as Venta de Cruces, and thence by land to Old or New Panama. For a year or two after the discovery of gold in California, and before the construction of the Panama Railroad, steamers anchored off the Chagres in good weather and landed the gold-seekers in lighters.⁷ They were then carried up the river in bongoes and canoes to Gorgona, or Cruces, where they left the river and crossed the trail to Panama, and there waited for a steamer going to San Francisco. The journey across the Isthmus often required a week, rates were

⁷ As soon as the Panama Railroad reached Gatun, in 1851, the stream of gold-hunters turned from the mouth of the Chagres to Limón (Navy) Bay; and as that road gradually penetrated the jungle, the river traffic became less. When the railroad was completed, in 1855, the fare across was about twenty-five dollars in gold. Passengers were required to pay two dollars a head to the Isthmian Government for the privilege of passing from sea to sea.

During the travel to and from the gold fields of California, the Isthmus was infested with criminals and rough characters from all over the world. The local authorities often were unable to control the unruly crowds. Respectable passengers were robbed, and sometimes murdered, provoking complaints from the various consuls. Conditions became so bad that the best citizens and foreign residents organized an Isthmian Guard, to keep order on the railroad between Aspinwall and Panama. Ran Runnels, formerly a Texan Ranger, the chief of the regulators, invested with absolute authority by Governor Urrutia Añino, rounded up the principal cut-throats, and quietly hanged them; when the rest of the gang hastened to leave the country.



From Jeffreys, *West Indies*, 1762

MOUTH OF THE CHAGRES RIVER AND CASTLE OF SAN LORENZO.

THE ISTHMUS

high, hardships plentiful, and the dreaded "Chagres Fever" was lurking in every pool.

A few miles east of the Chagres is Punta Brujas, or Witches' Point; and a couple of miles further is the lighthouse on *Toro Point*, marking the entrance to Limon Bay, on which are Colon, Cristobal, and the Atlantic terminus of the Panama Canal. The United States is now constructing a breakwater to protect the port and canal entrance from northerners. When the Isthmus was a colony of Spain, Limon Bay was known as the port of Naos (Ships), and later as Navy Bay. In 1849 the newly organized Panama Railroad Company selected Manzanillo Island, in Limon Bay, as the beginning point of their road. A town soon sprang up, which was called *Aspinwall* by the Americans. The part of the town about the railroad offices was known as *Washington*. When the French started the construction of the Inter-oceanic Canal, in 1881, they adopted the official name of the place, *Colon*, and for a time it was generally written Aspinwall-Colon. In 1890 the Government of Colombia, in order to put a stop to this confusion of names, directed the return of all correspondence not superscribed simply Colon. It is thus seen that Colon is a very young town as compared with most other places on the Isthmus. It should be remembered that Colon is within the territory of Panama; while *Cristobal*, the American settlement in the Canal Zone, is under the jurisdiction of the United States. When the French had the canal they called Cristobal, Cristophe.

From the sea⁸ can be viewed the entrance of the canal, the quarters of the Americans under the cocoanut palms in Cris-

⁸ The following graphic description is from the pen of a former United States Minister to Colombia, and a gentleman thoroughly familiar with the Isthmus:

"As we lay at anchor by the wharf, the scorching rays of the sun had already drawn up the mists and vapors of the forenoon into great banks of clouds, which hung heavily on the mountain sides, or floated in broken fragments over intervening swamps and watercourses. It was easy to trace the serpentine course of 'the deadly Chagres' through the mountain fastnesses by the dense volume of white vapor which hovered just above the surface. Very soon these floating masses of steam (for they were little else) began to cohere and darken the sky, and in a few moments the sun was completely obscured. Then came a gust of damp, chilly wind, followed by a blinding flash of lightning and a deafening roar. The next moment the whole vapory mass came down in perfect torrents. I had witnessed many midsummer thunderstorms on our Gulf coast, but never before had I seen anything like this. The water seemed to come down not in a community of well-defined rain-drops, but in solid sheets, which soon covered the already wet and smoking earth to the depth of many inches.

OLD PANAMA

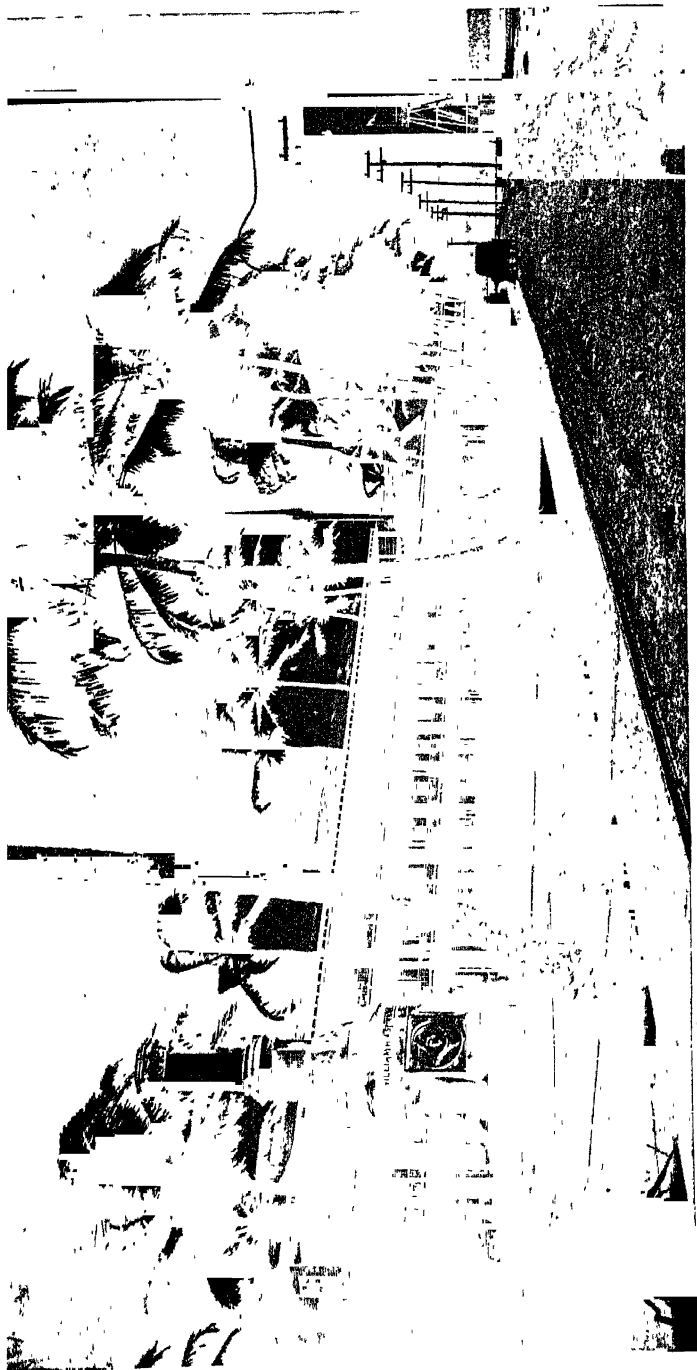
tobal, the stations of the Panama Railroad, steamship docks, Christ Church, the I. C. C. Hospital, and masts of the wireless station.

The Panama Railroad, now the property of the United States, is not standard gauge, but five feet; and there is a story current on the Isthmus that the foundation of Cristobal Point was made largely with standard-gauge locomotives erroneously ordered by the French management. I look upon the construction of the Panama Railroad, in 1850, by a few individuals, as being as great, if not greater, an undertaking as the building of the canal by the United States at the present time. This was the first transcontinental railroad in the world, and from its completion, January 27, 1855, until the last spike was driven in the Pacific Railway, May 10, 1869, it remained the only rapid transit across the Western hemisphere. The Panama Railroad, between Gatun and Miraflores, is now being relocated above the level of the 85-foot contour, which will be the elevation of the completed Gatun Lake.

In front of the Washington House, in Colon, facing the sea, is a triangular monument erected, in 1867, to the memory of William H. Aspinwall, John L. Stephens, and Henry Chauncey, founders of the road. Stephens gave his life to the toll of the Isthmus, as did Lieutenant Strain, Hosier, and many other

"This downpour continued without cessation for about an hour, and then ceased altogether, quite as suddenly as it had begun. The sun now shone out with such dazzling brightness and power as to almost benumb the senses. The heat was intense beyond description. Very soon the hot, murky vapors began to rise in dense and sickening folds from the fever-laden earth. The lagoons and watercourses smoked like so many cauldrons. The perspiration streamed from every pore of the body. Bathe and shift your clothing never so often, you were always wet and clammy. A strange feeling of suffocation came over you as you attempted to inhale the wet, poisonous atmosphere; and one was made to think of the 'Carboniferous period,' when the earth was yet too new and crude and too densely enveloped in rank and noxious vapors to be a fit habitation for man—the era when birds were yet slimy reptiles, and the remote ancestors of the human race were without treetops in which to gambol.

"This interval of roasting, or rather boiling, was of short duration, for very soon there was another sudden and ominous darkening of the sun, another chilly gust of wind, another blinding flash of lightning, followed by another downpour of the floods. And thus the long summer day was made up of regular alternations of drenchings and roastings, with an ever-varying temperature ranging between the seventies and nineties, resulting in the usual complement of liver and stomach disorders, the end of which usually was violent and often fatal ague and fever."—*"The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics,"* p. 5. By WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS.



Courtesy of the *Pan American Union*.

TRIANGULAR MONUMENT AND WASHINGTON HOUSE, COLON.

A new hotel is now erected upon this site.



Statue of Columbus at the mouth of the Canal, Colon.

Photo by *Maduro*, Panama.

BRONZE STATUE OF COLUMBUS ON CRISTOBAL POINT.

THE ISTHMUS

noble men from Nicuesa, Balboa, and Francis Drake, down to the present time.

On Cristobal Point, in front of De Lesseps's old palace, is a bronze statue presented to the Isthmian people by the Empress Eugénie. It represents Christopher Columbus, in heroic size, clasping an Indian maiden, emblematic of *America*, about the waist, to whom he is pointing out the grandeur of European civilization. The beautiful red maiden shrinks from the embrace of the white man, and is loath to view the wonders unfolded to her timid gaze. Her whole attitude is prophetic of the extermination of her race by so-called civilized people. This beautiful piece of art reached Aspinwall in 1868, long before the advent of Ferdinand de Lesseps and the French Canal Company.

Colon has experienced about a dozen fires,^{*} the ultimate effects of which have been beneficial. The population of Colon, with Cristobal, is now over 15,000.

Two miles back of Colon is seen the cemetery of *Mt. Hope*, commonly known as Monkey Hill, the involuntary sepulchre of so many luckless souls. Racial strife continues even in the jungles of Panama, and we find Gentile, Jew, and Chinaman occupying separate lots in this famous burial ground. Every evening the railroad runs a funeral train from Colon to the cemeteries.

About eighteen miles northeast from Colon is the old fortified town of Portobelo. This place was first visited by Columbus in 1502, and, on account of the beauty and security of the harbor, he named it *Puerto Bello*, or *Belpuerto*. In former times it was a populous and busy port, being the Atlantic terminus for most of the travel and commerce across the Isthmus.

^{*} March 30, 1885, Colon was entirely consumed, with the exception of the buildings of the Panama Railroad, the French Canal Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Line. The loss was estimated at \$6,000,000, and 10,000 persons were left shelterless. This fire was started by Pedro Prestan and a horde of dark-skinned insurgents, at the outset of a so-called "revolution." Prestan was a mulatto from Cartagena, and formerly was a member of the Assembly from Colon. He arrested Mr. Wright, the American consul; Captain Dow, general agent of the steamship company; the local agent, Mr. Conner; and Lieutenant Judd and Midshipman Richardson of the U. S. S. *Galena*, then in port. During the night Captain Kane of the warship landed a force, and the next day Colombian troops came over from Panama. Prestan and his gang were routed, but not before setting fire to the town. Prestan was afterwards captured, brought to Colon, and hanged, on the 18th of August, with several of his companions, the noose being adjusted by Captain Rountree, a notorious character in the old days.

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To defend his bullion and galleons from the attacks of the pirates and buccaneers, Philip II. of Spain constructed at *Puerto Bello* four forts, or *Castillos*, called San Felipe, Santiago, San Jeronimo, and San Cristobal. San Felipe defended the entrance of the harbor, and was famous for being constructed in a superior manner.¹⁰

In spite of these defenses, Portobelo suffered half a dozen invasions at the hands of the buccaneers, or of the English Navy. Francis Drake, in 1596, was the first to capture the town; William Parker, in 1602; Henry Morgan, in 1669; Coxon and La Sound, in 1679; and Edward Vernon, in 1739. Englishmen seldom mention the capture of the place, in 1819, by the filibuster, Sir Gregor MacGregor, from which he was ignominiously driven three weeks later by the Spaniards, under Governor Hore. A number of the English officers were shot at Cana, and the rest put in the chain gang. The body of Sir Francis Drake was placed in a leaden coffin and buried in the Caribbean Sea, a short distance off Portobelo, in 1596. A point of land, a little island, and a small port in the neighborhood, are called after him. In the palmy days of Portobelo the city held an annual fair, lasting sixty days, to which resorted merchants from all over the world. In modern times the population has dwindled away, and now it serves only as a place to procure stone for making concrete with which to build the locks for the American canal. Rock drills and dynamite now bombard the rocky north shore of Portobelo, and famous old San Felipe, the Iron Fort, has made its final surrender to the ruthless demands of utility and progress. The walls of their brag fort demolished and made into concrete! Surely, Felipe Segundo and Juan Antonelli must have turned in their graves! Upon the approach of a violent storm shipping from Colon often seeks the better harbor at Portobelo.

A few miles east and north of Portobelo is *Punta de Manzanillo*, the northernmost land of Panama; and nearby is *Isla Grande*, on which is a lighthouse, showing alternate white and red light. Its exact position is 9° 39' north latitude, and 79° 35' west longitude. Several miles from this light, in the direction of Portobelo, is a little port called *Bastimento*, which should not be confounded with the anchorage of *Bastimentos*, off *Nombre de Dios*, much frequented by the early navigators.

East of *Point Manzanillo* is the exposed bay of San Cristobal,

¹⁰ San Felipe, *todo de hierro*; called the Iron Fort by the British. "Notwithstanding all the pains taken to fortify it, there are few places which have fallen oftener into the hands of an enemy than Porto Velo."



Photo supplied by *Mr. Geo M. Wells*, Gatun, C. Z.

NOMBRE DE DIOS, IN 1909.

THE ISTHMUS

upon the shore of which Nicuesa started a settlement in 1510. When the first governor of Castilla del Oro arrived at this place he exclaimed: "*Detengámonos aquí, en nombre de Dios!*" ("Let us stop here, in the name of God!") Thus was named in advance the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which for fifty years remained the Caribbean port for transisthmian commerce, and the beginning of the trail leading to Old Panama, on the South Sea. The harbor was unsheltered, and the site unhealthy, and after Sir Francis Drake, in 1572, showed how easy it was to rob the place, which he called "The Treasure House of the World," the people and business of *Nombre de Dios* were moved to Puerto Bello, between 1584 and 1597, by command of Philip II. *Nombre de Dios* is often identified with the Puerto de Bastimentos of the great admiral. The present pueblo of *Nombre de Dios*, also known locally as *Fato*, consists of about 200 houses and shacks on the shore of the Caribbean Sea, between the *Nombre de Dios* river, on the west, and the *Fato* river, on the east. The population, as in other coastal towns about the Caribbean, is mostly negro. Here, as elsewhere, the North Americans have wrought radical changes among time-honored conditions. They show no veneration for age, nor respect for the achievements or romance of antiquity. United States engineers are dredging sand at *Nombre de Dios* for use in making the canal locks in the Gatun dam. Giant machinery is now upturning the soil trod by Nicuesa, Pizarro, Espinosa, Drake, and other famous men. The Americans are introducing, as some believe, a better order of things; and screened houses, water-works, sanitation, and a modern hospital are replacing the old *costumbres del país*.

On the night of April 8, 1910, a spark from an I. C. C. locomotive, used in connection with the sand dredging operations, started a fire in the town, which destroyed seventy-three buildings. All the burnt houses have been rebuilt by the Commission with material brought from the Canal Zone, in a better manner and upon a more salubrious site, 450 yards from the beach. Deposits of excellent sand underlie the burned area, to which the dredge is now working from the mouth of the river. The port, never a safe haven, has been somewhat filled up since early Spanish times, but the dredging will leave behind it a very good little harbor. Recently, the hull of a ship, centuries old, has been uncovered.

One mile east of *Nombre de Dios*, opposite the islet called Playa Dama, is a landing, or wharf, from which a little railroad runs back to some manganese mines in the foothills. Three

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miles eastward along the coast is situated the hamlet of *Viento Frio*, and ten miles beyond we come to the port and village of *Palenque*, originally settled by fugitive negro slaves. They were called *Simeroons*, and frequently joined with the Indians and buccaneers in assailing the Spanish colonists.

Ten miles further on is the little port of *Escribanos*, visited by Columbus, and named by him "*El Retrete*" (The Closet).

A dozen miles to the east of *Escribanos* you round *Point San Blas*,¹¹ within which is the Bay of San Blas, or Mandinga Bay, as it is frequently called. Along this coast for fifty miles is a string of little islands and keys, known as the *Archipiélago de las Mulatas*, called by Columbus *Islas Barbas*, "more numerous than the days of the year," according to a local saying.

But little accurate information is available concerning this part of the coast, as the country is inhabited by the San Blas Indians, and they have held their country inviolate for centuries. These Indians will trade with outsiders, but strangers, whether white or black, are not allowed to remain among them over night. The San Blas are fine seamen, and often travel to Colon in their dugouts. They are occasionally seen with the nose-ring, or plate, described by the early visitors to these parts.

When Nicuesa first sailed along this coast he stopped in a small port on the river Pito, in the Indian province of Cueba, and said mass, the first in Castilla del Oro, in honor of which he called the place Misas. The early Spaniards called Cueba the land of confusion, because it had no chief.

When the Spaniards first came to Tierra Firme the Caciques Pocorosa, Comagre, Ponca, and Careta held dominion along this coast. The white men's inhumanity soon turned their simple friendship into bitter enmity. Ayora started the settlement of *Santa Cruz* on this shore, but Pocorosa drove them out after six months, only five Spaniards escaping to Antigua.

After leaving the *Mulatas* you come to a projection of the mainland called *Punta Mosquito*, from which the coast dips southeast to the entrance of the Gulf of Urabá. About ten miles from Mosquito Point is the elevated Island of Pines, a favorite rendezvous of the old buccaneers.

¹¹ *Lionel Wafer* states that three leagues west of Point Samballas (San Blas) was Port Scrivan, and that it was there that Captains Coxon, La Sound, and other privateers landed in the year 1678-9 when they went to take Portobel, so as not to be discovered by the Spanish scouts. A little west of Port Scrivan came the river of Conception, off which was La Sound's Key, and Springer's Key, favorite resorts of the buccaneers because they furnished good water upon digging wells, and afforded safe shelter for careening.

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Late in the year 1515, Pedrarias sailed from Antigua, and, somewhere west of the Indian village of Careta, started the first of a line of posts to extend to the South Sea. The place was called *Acla*, signifying, in the Indian language, "Bones of Men." It has been variously located opposite the Island of Pines, near the present Puerto Carreto, and opposite Isla de Oro. At Acla, in 1517, Balboa, who discovered the Pacific Ocean, was beheaded by order of the infamous Pedrarias.

Nearby is Caledonia Bay¹² and *Puerto Escocés*. The cape commanding the approach to the bay is still called Punta Escocesa (Scotch Point). Here, in 1698, William Paterson, founder of the bank of England, established a well-planned colony of Scotch people, with the intention to control the trade of the two oceans. The hardy northern colonists disappeared rapidly in this torrid climate, and the Spanish Government forced them to retire. In January, 1854, the United States Darien Expedition, under Lieutenant Strain, started out from Caledonia Bay on its ill-fated journey across the Isthmus.

This brings us to *Puerto la Miel*, which marks the limit of Panama; beyond which, in the territory of Colombia, is *Cape Tiburon*, and the Gulf of Urabá (or Gulf of Darien), into which empties the Atrato river.

In Anachucuna Bay, west of Cape Tiburon, is a little anchorage, called Puerto Escondido. There were other *escondidos*, or hidden ports, mentioned by the older writers, one of which is located on the western shore of the Gulf of Urabá.

At the time of the Discovery, this entire region, the Indians inhabiting the same, and their chief town, were all called *Darien*. The principal cacique was named Cémaco.

¹² Geographically and historically, Caledonia Bay is one of the most important spots on the Isthmus. The mouth of the bay is between Punta Escocesa, on the east, and Isla de Oro (called also Santa Catalina), four miles to the northwest. Caledonia Bay is almost tideless. Within the shelter of the peninsula forming Scotch Point is Puerto Escocés (Scots Harbor). Between Isla de Oro (Golden Island) and Punta San Fulgencio, on the mainland, is the entrance to the anchorage of Caledonia or Sasardi, a stretch of water about seven miles long, protected by Golden, Sasardi, and other islands. On the northwest this channel is limited by the prominent headland called Sasardi Point.

It is sometimes stated that Caledonia Bay is the old Puerto Carreto, usually placed three leagues to the eastward. Most likely the old settlement of Acla (Aglá) was on the Rio Aglaseniqua, which empties opposite Golden Island. West and north of Sasardi Point is the Island of Pines, covered with trees, and on it a rivulet of fresh water. Westward for three leagues come rocky keys, and then a little sandy bay, called by the privateers "Tickle Me Quickly Harbour."

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On the left bank of the *Atrato*, about a league and a half from its mouth, is where the shipwrecked Bachiller Encisco and his companions landed, captured Cemaco's village, and there started, early in 1510, the first permanent settlement of white men on the continent of the New World. This honor is sometimes claimed for Nombre de Dios, the exact dates of the two settlements being unknown.¹² In homage to the celebrated image, Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, in Seville, they called the place *Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien*, an appellation which it could not long survive. With Encisco were Balboa and Pizarro, both destined to win fame in the new continent. Antigua was settled after the failure of Ojeda's colony at San Sebastian, on the east shore of the Gulf of Urabá. Antigua, being west of the mid-line of the gulf, was in Castilla del Oro, and thus subject only to Nicuesa, a point which Balboa made when he deposed Encisco. From Antigua went Balboa to discover the South Sea, and from here he departed in search of the fabled temple of gold, called Dabaibe, somewhere up the great river of Darien, now known as the *Atrato*. He found no golden temple, but did encounter a tribe of Indians, whose chief was Abibeiba, making their homes in the treetops. The Darien section of the Isthmus, like much of Veragua, is less known today than it was four hundred years ago.

Cabo Tiburon is the western headland of the Gulf of Urabá (Darien), and it is claimed that about this point Columbus, on his last voyage, on account of the rottenness of his ships, gave up his vain quest for the strait which was to bear him to the splendors of the court of Kubla Khan.

The boundary between Colombia and Panama begins at Port Miel, before mentioned, passes up the Rio la Miel, and then follows the *serrania*, or mountain chain, of Darien to the Altos of Aspave, between Points Ardita and Cocalito, on the Pacific. From here the coast line of the Isthmus runs northwest, passing Punta Piñas and Punta Caracoles, till it reaches Point Garachiné, at the entrance of the Gulf of San Miguel, into which empties the large *Tuira* river. On the left bank of this river, in colonial days, was *Santa Maria*, or *Villa Maria*, the

¹² I believe Antigua was the first to be settled. The location of this town has never been determined with certitude. Antigua was on a river emptying on the west side of the Gulf of Urabá, and the settlement was a league from the entrance to the river. Some believe this river was the one now called the Tanela, or Tarena.

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depository for the gold from the rich mines of Cana²⁴ (*Santa Cruz de Cana*). For vessels of light draft the Tuira is navigable for one hundred miles.

When the buccaneers first extended their depredations on the land from the North Sea, they followed the San Miguel route, and Santa Maria fell a frequent prey to their spoliation. For this reason the mines were closed by royal decree in 1685.

It was from the mountain top of *Pirre* that Vasco Nuñez de Balboa first saw the Pacific Ocean (*Mar del Sur*), on the 25th day of September, 1513. On the 29th of the same month, St. Michael's day, he waded into the Gulf of San Miguel, and took formal possession of the sea, and all the lands and islands bordering upon that sea, from pole to pole, for his sovereign of Castile and Leon, till the day of judgment.

From a like summit further west Drake first viewed the South Sea, and prayed that God might some day permit him to sail an English ship on that sea. His prayer was granted, for Sir Francis Drake was the second navigator to go around the world, and his vessel, the *Golden Hind*, the first ship to completely circumnavigate the earth. With Drake at that time was John Oxenham, with the same longing filling his breast. He beat his commander to the South Sea, and was the first Englishman to launch a ship on the Pacific. Oxenham was captured shortly afterwards by the Spaniards, and executed as a pirate in Lima, as related in another chapter.

The south coast of Panama makes a big bend towards the north, forming the large *Gulf of Panama*, which is 2° of longitude wide, and nearly 2° of latitude deep. About the center of the gulf is the *Archipielago de las Perlas*, or Pearl Islands, composed of thirty-nine islands and many more keys and rocks. The largest island of the group is now called *Isla del Rey*, San Miguel, or Columbia; but was named *Isla Rica* by Balboa, who was the first white man to view these islands. *Terarequi* was the Indian name for this island.

Along the coast towards Panama, guarding the mouth of the *Chepo*, is the little island of Chepillo. On the Rio Mamoni, a branch of the Chepo, is the town of *Chepó*, named after the

²⁴ "The richest gold mines ever yet found in America," writes Dampier, in 1684. The place is situated in the Espiritu Santo mountains, and was founded by Captain Meneses, with the name of Santa Cruz, during the reign of Pedrarias Davila. At one time the mines attracted a population of 20,000 souls. The raids of the buccaneers, followed by the Indian insurrection of 1724, caused the Spaniards to abandon the settlement. An English outfit, countrymen of the old buccaneers, is now exploiting these old mines.

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cacique of that name. The place was invaded four times by the buccaneers, the first attack being in 1675, by a party of 120 men, led by Captain La Sanda (La Sound).

At the top of the gulf is situated the present city of *Panama*, founded in 1674 by Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, three years after the destruction of *Old Panama*. Unlike the old city, the new town was protected by strong seawalls,¹⁸ mounted with bronze cannon. Besides these, there were four bastions on the land side, called La Merced, Jesus, San José, and San Carlos. Later, another fortification was constructed, named Mano de Tigre. The new city was better situated than Old Panama and grew rapidly. It was regularly laid out about a central plaza, after plans drawn by the Council of the Indies for the founding of cities. The cathedral, the governor's house, and bishop's palace faced upon the plaza, and there was the usual proportion of churches and convents throughout the city.

The masonry of the old Spanish-American churches always excites our admiration. These structures were erected by the sweat and blood of toiling Indians; temples to the creed of another people constituting their own monuments. The flat arch of the ruined church of Santo Domingo is one of the wonders of architecture, continuing to stand in defiance of the laws of gravity and the trembling of earthquakes. The oldest church still in use is San Felipe Neri, built in 1688. One of the finest ruins is that of the Jesuits' college. The cathedral, with its two high towers, was erected in 1760. The palace of the President, foreign legations, municipal offices, and leading business houses are all within a short distance of Central Park (*Plaza de la Catedral*). Until recently the Canal Headquarters, formerly the Grand Hotel, faced upon this plaza. The buildings, mostly of two stories, are constructed mainly of *mamposteria*, a kind of concrete. Modern Panama possesses public schools, a good market, the Chiriqui barracks, Santo Tomás hospital, and cemeteries for every race and creed. The university was established in 1751.

It was in the old Cabildo, still fronting the plaza, that the Junta declared the Isthmus independent¹⁹ of the Spanish Gov-

¹⁸ The fortifications cost so much money that the King of Spain, gazing out his palace window, inquired of his ministers if the walls of Panama were not visible.

¹⁹ At the instigation of Simon Bolivar, *El Libertador*, a call was sent out, in 1822, for a junta of Americanists to meet at Panama, with the object of opposing the machinations of the so-called "Holy Alliance" towards the resubjugation of Spain's revolted colonies in America. In addition to the Spanish republics, the United States, England, and

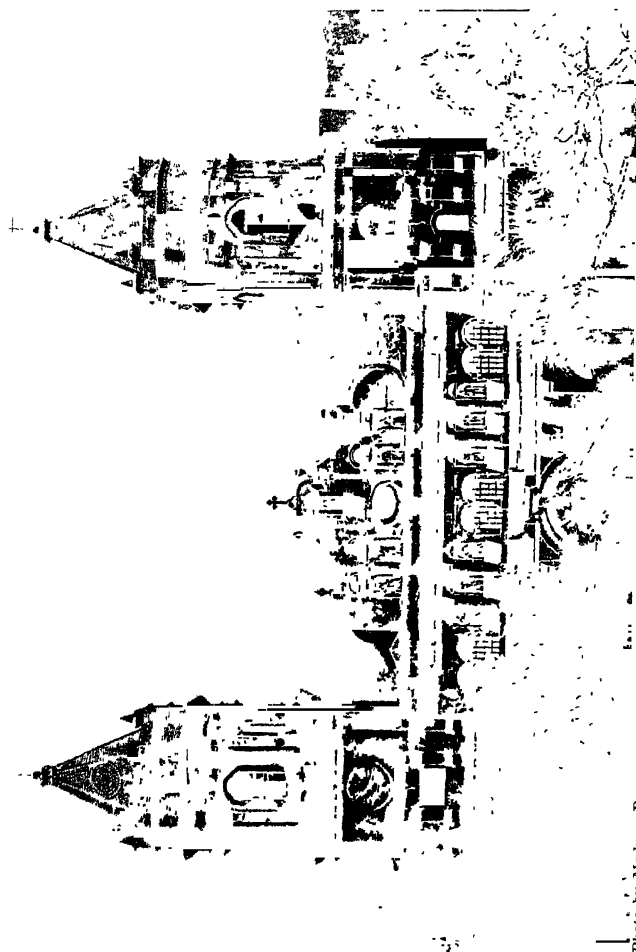


Photo by *Maduro*, Panama

CATHEDRAL OF PANAMA

THE ISTHMUS

ernment, on November 28, 1821.¹⁷ At that time a great many people of the Isthmus wished to establish an independent republic, instead of joining with Colombia, but the fruition of their desires did not occur until November 3, 1903. Until the latter occurrence, the 28th of the same month remained a great *fiesta* on the Isthmus.

Under the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, formulated November 18, 1903, the United States secured from Panama sovereign rights in the *Canal Zone*—a transisthmian strip of land extending for five miles on each side of the projected canal—a monopoly of transit from sea to sea, the control of sanitation in the cities of Panama and Colon, power to erect defenses for the canal, and authority to condemn and use property necessary for the construction and maintenance of the canal. The United States guarantees the independence of the Republic of Panama, and declares the ports at either end of the canal to be forever free. Both governments soon ratified this treaty, and on February 26, 1904, the ratifications were exchanged at Washington.

The present city of Panama, capital of the republic, is situated at the foot of Ancon Mountain, on a rocky peninsula of land jutting out into the bay. Its population at this time is 35,000.

The Americans have introduced sewerage, water-works, and paved streets. Fumigation and screening against mosquitoes are required, and it is a crime to breed these pests on one's premises. The general sanitary supervision of Panama is better than that of Philadelphia or Chicago. Joining Panama is the American colony of Ancon, and extending up the sides of Ancon Hill are the numerous pavilions of Ancon Hospital, in which are treated most of the sick of the Canal Commission.

In former times the present city has witnessed carnivals of

Holland were invited to send delegates. Those from the United States took no active part in the deliberations. R. G. Anderson, then our minister at Bogota, died in Cartagena, on his way to attend the junta. The congress met at Panama June 22, 1826. Before that time, December 2, 1823, President Monroe, in his message to the United States Congress, promulgated the American doctrine of *Noli-Me-Tangere*—a warning to European powers not to meddle in the affairs of the Western hemisphere.

¹⁷ Colonel José de Fábrega, an *istmeño* by birth, became Governor of Panama, with the title of *Jefe Superior del Istmo*. The new government forbade the importation of African slaves. Negro children born after June 21, 1821, were free. Slaves were allowed to purchase their freedom; and those remaining in bondage in 1850 were redeemed by the government and given their liberty.

OLD PANAMA

crime, like the massacre³⁸ of the passengers of the steamship *Illinois*, on the evening of April 15, 1856, over which it were well to draw the veil of oblivion.

Five miles east of the modern Panama is the site of the famous city of *Old Panama*, called the "Gold Cup," on account of the riches it contained. Captains Diego de Albites and Antonio Tello de Guzman, while raiding the south shore of the Isthmus late in 1515, arrived at a fishing hamlet, called *Panamá*. The name in the aboriginal tongue means "A place where many fish are taken." In 1517, Gaspar de Espinosa, the *alcalde mayor*, established at Panama the southern terminus of the line of stations to extend across the Isthmus. On August 15, 1519, Pedrarias, the governor, formally founded the city of Old Panama. The same year Nombre de Dios, which had been abandoned, was reoccupied by Albites, and a permanent road, or trail, was made from sea to sea, between the two settlements.

Pedrarias moved his household over to Panama, leaving the *veedor*, Oviedo—afterwards the historian of the Indies—in command at Antigua. Probably in 1521, Bishop Peraza, the successor of Quevedo, moved his Episcopal chair from Antigua to the new city.

By royal decree dated at Burgos, September 15, 1521, the Emperor Charles V. created Panama a city with the title of "*Nueva Ciudad de Panama*." He gave it a coat-of-arms, consisting of a shield bordered with castles and lions, surmounted by a crown. On the shield a golden field divided; on the right

³⁸ The *Panameños* call this unfortunate encounter, The Question of the Slice of Watermelon ("*La Cuestion de la Tajada de Sandia*"). It was really a race riot, the local blacks and negroids assaulting the white passengers who had just come over from Aspinwall and were waiting to board a steamer for California. Jack Oliver, a drunken passenger, disputed the price of a piece of melon in a shop in La Cienaga. Oliver called the *frutero* bad names in worse Spanish, and the native loungers took sides with their countryman. Crying "*Mueron los blancos!*" the negroes attacked the 250 or 300 white passengers, of both sexes, from the *Illinois*. The whites sought shelter in the railroad station, near the bay shore, where they were besieged for hours by the negroes. When the soldiers finally arrived they acted in sympathy with the mob, and it was a long time before the fight ended. The United States warship *St. Mary*, then in Panama Bay, assisted the passengers, and stood ready to bombard the city. Estimates of the killed vary from fifteen to sixty, nearly all being white passengers. For a long period after this bloodshed travelers hurried over the Isthmus without spending their money in Panama. Years of vexatious diplomatic correspondence followed; the matter was referred to a mixed Commission; and finally settled by New Granada paying the United States \$400,000 in gold, as indemnification for the injuries suffered by American citizens.

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a yoke, the device of the Catholic kings, and a handful of arrows; on the left two caravels, with the north star above. A decree of December 3, 1581, dated at Lisbon, added the title "*Muy Noble y Muy Leal*" (Very Illustrious and Very Loyal).

The *regidores*, or councilmen, enjoyed the title of *veintecuatros*, and the royal tax was reduced from one-fifth to a tenth. Old Panama (*Panama Viejo*) was the first settlement by Europeans on the western shore of America. It was here that Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, in 1525, made their historic contract for the discovery and conquest of Peru. For many years it was the metropolis of the South Sea, and was the entrepot for the bullion of Peru and the silks and spices of the Orient. From Panama Viejo they were carried across the Isthmus to be loaded on the Spanish galleons at Nombre de Dios or Puerto Bello. "*Venta de Cruces*" and "*Venta de Chagre*" (where the road crossed the Chagres river) were halfway stations to the north coast. They used to pack silver and gold over this road like cordwood. It was near Cruces that Francis Drake, privateer, or pirate, as you choose to call him, made his bootless capture of the plate-train on the night of February 14, 1573. Nearly a century later, in 1671, the buccaneers, under Henry Morgan, ascended the Chagres as far as Cruces, and then proceeded overland to Old Panama. The buccaneers assert they found Cruces in flames, while Spanish writers affirm that the pirates set fire to the town.

The population of the city of Panama at this time comprised at least 30,000 souls. Old Panama was not fortified, but it was protected on three sides by the sea and marshes, and on

¹⁹ Called Venta Cruz by the pirates and privateers, and later abbreviated to Cruces. Situated on the south bank of the Chagres river, surrounded by hills, and at an altitude of 78 meters. This old town is only a few miles east of Bas Obispo Station, on the P. R. R., but is seldom visited nowadays. For three centuries it was a resting-place for travelers, and a general depository for merchandise in transit. Viceroy and vice-queens, as well as adventurers and cut-throats of all nationalities, have traveled over the old highway leading through Venta de Cruces. The town possessed a fine church, custom-houses, warehouses, and stables for the King's *recuas*. At Drake's visit, Cruces contained about fifty houses. The present village consists of a like number of shacks, covered with thatch. By the tumble-down chapel, on the hill, built on the ruins of the old church, went the Camino Real, the paving stones of which are still in place; and nearby can be seen a couple of old anchors, half buried in the earth, relics of the early days. The dwellers in modern Cruces are well tinted with black, and look as if they might be descendants of the Cimarrones who infested this region. In colonial times the jurisdiction and incomes from Cruces appertained to the illustrious house of the Urriolas.

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the land side was a causeway, in which was a bridge, still in existence, permitting the tidal water to pass under. It is hard to understand why the Spaniards left their natural stronghold to fight Morgan's men in the Savannas.

The Spaniards, always excellent horsemen, sallied out in two squadrons to meet the pirates. The *boucaniers*, or cattle hunters of Tortuga, had been placed in front, and, being excellent marksmen, rapidly depleted the Spanish horse. The cavalry fell back on the Spanish foot and threw it into confusion. At the same time a herd of wild cattle, which had been collected to drive over the pirates, stampeded in every direction except towards the enemy, and the pirates soon possessed the city. This was the 18th day of January, 1671. Before night the city was in flames, an act generally ascribed, erroneously, I believe, to the commands of Morgan. The buccaneers remained in Panama nearly a month, during which time they visited the islands of the bay and the neighboring country. February 14, 1671, Morgan departed from Old Panama for the mouth of the Chagres, with 600 prisoners and 175 mules loaded with loot.

At the time of its destruction Old Panama contained a magnificent cathedral, and several beautiful churches, and eight convents. There were more than 200 warehouses stocked with foreign goods, 200 residences of European elegance, and 5000 houses of the common sort. Besides, the city possessed a mint, a large hospital, the King's stables, and a market for slaves, conducted by some Genoese.

The tower of the old Cathedral of San Gerónimo,²⁰ still standing, four stories in height, is visible from the present city of Panama, and from far out in the bay. The rest of the ruins are hidden with rank tropical growth.

A few miles west of modern Panama, on the other side of Ancon and Sosa hills, is *La Boca*, or *Balboa*,²¹ at the mouth of

²⁰ In this I agree with Markham. Robinson gives the French designation, St. Jerome. Both Nelson and Masefield call the tower St. Anastasius. The first cathedral, destroyed by fire, was named Santa Maria La Antigua del Darien, after the first church in Antigua. Governor Guzman, describing the fall of the city, writes of the Cathedral of St. Francis. A recent writer calls it St. Augustin.

²¹ At the suggestion of the Minister from Peru (the nation most benefited by Balboa's discovery), the United States authorities at Panama, on April 30, 1909, changed the name of the Pacific end of the Isthmian Canal from the simple *La Boca* (The Mouth) to *Balboa*, to commemorate the discoverer of the South Sea; just as Cristobal Colon, at the Atlantic entrance to the canal, honors the memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, and the first European to visit Limon Bay and the western half of the Isthmus.

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the Rio Grande river, the Pacific end of the Isthmian Canal. La Boca has extensive piers for docking ocean steamers, shops, and quarters for American employees.

In front of Panama and Balboa, several miles from the shore, are the islands of Naos, Flamenco, Perico, and Culebra, which give protection to the shipping in the bay. The tide²² frequently rises to a height of twenty feet. At low water small vessels rest on the sands beneath the city walls, and are unloaded into carts. Farther out are the islands of Taboga, Taboguilla, and others.²³ It was from the little port of *Taboga* that Pizarro's expedition sailed for Peru. The Canal Commission now maintains a convalescent sanitarium on Taboga. Turtles and whales were formerly seen in the vicinity of the island.

The *Bay of Panama* has been the scene of exploits unsurpassed in the legends of Greece, and needing only a Homer to make them appear heroic.

The success of Morgan induced the buccaneers to make other expeditions over the Isthmus, and into the South Sea. The next large party, consisting of 331 men, mostly English, under Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharp, and others, left Golden Island on the 5th day of April, 1680, and were guided across the land by friendly Indians. Disappointed in not finding more booty at Santa Maria, most of them continued down the Gulf of San Miguel into the Bay of Panama. Seizing some small vessels, they had a fierce naval fight before Panama with three Spanish ships, two of which were captured. After committing other depredations, they dispersed up and down the west coast.

²² As the difference between high and low water at Colon is only about eighteen inches, this introduces a conspicuous factor in the consideration of a lockless or sea-level canal through the Isthmus. The mean levels of both oceans being equal, it follows that when it was low tide in Panama Bay there would be a current from the Colon side; and during high tide at Panama the flow would be towards the Atlantic end of the canal.

"El movimiento de las mareas en el puerto de Colon tiene un atraso de nueve horas con respecto al de las de Panama; por consiguiente cuando es pleamar ó bajamar en Panama, no hay más que media marea en Colon, y cada día la diferencia máxima de nivel entre los dos mares es igual á la media amplitud de la marea del Pacifico, menos el cuarto de la amplitud total de la marea del Atlántico, ó sea, reduciéndolo á cifras, 3. m 20—0. m 15=3. m 05."—Valdés.

²³ The islands in the bay were called the gardens of Panama, because they supplied much of the provisions for the city.

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Lionel Wafer, surgeon to the buccaneers, describes the two Panamas, as seen from their ships at that time.²⁴

May 28, 1685, Edward Davis, commanding 1000 buccaneers, had an encounter with a Spanish Armada of eighteen vessels off the Pearl Islands.

August 22, 1686, Captain Townley, while lying at Taboga, came near being taken by Spanish ships, but won out after a bloody fight. He died of wounds shortly after, but not before he had sent a demand for supplies to the Commandant of Panama (the new city), accompanied by a canoe-load of Spanish heads. As late as 1819, Captain Illingsworth and his party of Chilians landed on Taboga, and sacked and burnt the village.

From Panama the land makes a sweep to the south and west to *Punta Mala*, marking the western headland to the gulf. *Parita Bay* projects into the west shore, between the provinces of Cocolé and Santos. This was the region ruled by Paris, whose name it commemorates, one of the few Indian chieftains who successfully repulsed the Conquistadores.

From the west coast of the Gulf of Panama empty many rivers, which give access to towns of fair size a few miles inland, like Chorrera, Chamé, Penonomé, Natá, Aguadulce, Los Santos, Parita, and Pesé. Near *La Chorrera*, famous as a

²⁴ "Between the River of *Cheapo* and *Panama*, further West, are three Rivers, of no great Consequence, lying open to the Sea. The Land between is low even Land, most of it dry, and cover'd here and there by the Sea, with short Bushes. Near the most Westerly of these *Old Panama* was seated, once a large City; but nothing now remains of it, besides Rubbish, and a few Houses of poor People. The Spaniards were weary of it, having no good Port or Landing-place; and had a design to have left it, before it was burnt by Sir *Henry Morgan*. But then they no longer deliberated about the Matter; but instead of rebuilding it, rais'd another Town to the Westward, which is the present City of *Panama*. The River of *Old Panama* runs between them; but rather nearer the new Town than the Old; and into this River small Barks may enter. The chief Advantage which *New Panama* hath above the Old, is an excellent Road for small ships, as good as a Harbour; for which it is beholden to the Shelter of the neighbouring Isles of *Perico*, which lie before it, three in number, in a Row parallel to the Shore. * * * *

"*Panama* stands on a level ground, and is surrounded with a high Wall, especially towards the Sea. It hath no Fort besides the Town-Walls; upon which the Sea beats so strongly, sometimes, as to throw down a part of them. It makes a very beautiful Prospect off at Sea, the Churches and chief Houses appearing above the rest. The Building appears white; especially the Walls, which are of Stone, and the Covering of the Houses red, so probably they are Pan-tile, which is much used by the *Spaniards* all over the *West-Indies*."

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health resort, is a beautiful little waterfall in the Rio Caimito. *Chamé*, a name of Indian origin, abounds in maize and fruits, which are marketed in Panama.

Penonomé is another town named after an aboriginal chieftain. *Natá* is one of the oldest European settlements on the Isthmus, being established on the site of an Indian village, whose chief was *Natá*, taken by Gaspar de Espinosa in 1517. Destroyed by the natives in 1529, Governor Pedrarias re-established it under the name of Santiago de los Caballeros²⁵ (St. James, City of the Gentlemen), but the primitive designation has survived. The old church at *Natá* is a fine example of the style in vogue at that period.

Aguadulce was formerly known as Trinidad. It is a shipping point for salt and cattle, and also for the coffee raised about Santa Fé.

Los Santos, called Villa in colonial days, was the first place on the Isthmus, in 1821, to declare for independence; since which it has been known as the Heroic City. It was settled by people from *Natá*, on the site of an Indian village ruled by Guazan. La Villa de Los Santos became, in 1851, the capital of the short-lived province of Azuero.

Parita is situate upon the river and gulf of the same name. The district is noted for stock-raising and agriculture.

Pesé has grown from an aboriginal settlement of the same name to a place of culture and refinement.

From Punta Mala the coast trends west again as far as *Punta Mariato*, where the land turns directly north, making the beautiful gulf or bay of *Montijo*, which gives entrance to Puerto Mutis, Soná, and Santiago.²⁶ The mouth of the bay is protected by the Island of Cébaco, probably the island first visited, in 1516, by Hurtado, to whom Cacique Cébaco gave a golden armor, valued at 1000 castellanos.

Farther west, and twenty-five kilometers from the coast, is *Coiba*, the largest island in Panaman waters. It was formerly called Quibo,²⁷ and was much frequented by the buccaneers when they operated in the South Sea.

²⁵ According to Ulloa, "*St. Jago de Nata de los Cavalleros*" was discovered by Captain Alonso Perez de la Rua, in 1515, when *Natá* was prince of this district.

²⁶ Santiago was the capital of the old province of Veragua. In 1862 Governor Guardia, when driven out by the black "liberals," removed his government from Panama to Santiago. He was killed shortly afterwards, and Santiago was plundered.

²⁷ When Lord Anson made his celebrated circumnavigation of the world, he stopped at Quibo, on the 3d of December, 1741. He found there tigers, deer, plenty of birds, hawk's-bill and green turtles, sharks,

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From here the coast line extends westward to Punta Burica, the entrance to Golfo Dulce. Near the coast are the towns of Remedios, San Felix, San Lorenzo, David, and Alanje.²⁹

Remedios,²⁹ which is also called Pueblo Nuevo, was one of the first Spanish settlements in the western part of the Isthmus. Some of the old mines about Remedios are still being worked. It was here that Captain Richard Sawkins was killed, and the buccaneers repulsed, in 1680.

San Felix was originally called Las Lajas, from the lava beds in the vicinity. Near the town are some thermal springs.

San Lorenzo is noted for the salubrity of its climate and the good quality of the tobacco raised in the neighborhood.

A group of islands marks the entrance to Pedregal, the port of the city of *David*. Vessels drawing ten feet can go in the river and tie up to the bank, or at the new pier at Pedregal. David is the capital of *Chiriqui* province, and contains about 9000 souls. It is situated on an extensive *llano*, or plain, three miles from the landing, and is one of the most delightful and interesting of Spanish-American towns. The Panamanian Government is now surveying a route for a railroad between David and Panama, which will pass through many of the towns just mentioned. The line, 275 miles in length, differs somewhat from the Pan-American survey of fifteen years ago, and will cross the canal at Empire, C. Z. The most prominent feature of this province is the Volcano of Chiriqui, rising to a height of 10,265 feet. It was formerly called *El Volcan de Barú*, and has been inactive for many years. "El Volcan" is about twenty-five miles from either coast, and plainly visible from both oceans. In the mountains, behind the volcano, is the pretty little valley of *Boquete*, famous for the excellence of its coffee, and the healthfulness of its climate.

and a waterfall 150 feet high. In 1794, Captain Collnett visited the island, and was bitten by the dreaded hooded snake, from which he nearly died.

²⁹ Travelers who see only the Canal Zone, and the cities of Panama, Colon, and Bocas del Toro, should not infer that nearly all Panamanians are negroes or black mixtures. Most of the inhabitants of the smaller towns are Spanish, or *mestizos* (Spanish and Indian), generally called Cholos. When I was last in David, there was but one negro in the place; and if the Chiriqueños are wise, they will keep Africans out of their province.

All over the warm regions of America the imported African has become a voracious parasite, like the giant tree-killing vine known as the *matapalo*, destroying and replacing the white man and the Indian.

³⁰ Ulloa calls the place "*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Pueblo Nuevo*." In 1685, Pueblo Nuevo was taken and sacked by Francois Grogniet and his French filibustiers.



From *Harpur's Magazine*, Jan., 1859

SURVEYING FOR THE PANAMA RAILROAD

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In many places in Chiriqui are found the old Indian graves, or *guacas*, which contain beautiful pottery and golden ornaments. The principal *guacales* are near Bugaba and Bugabita, about fifteen miles west of David. Southwest of the latter place is *Alanje*, in early times the capital of Chiriqui. It is on the Rio Chico, and the town is better known locally as Pueblo Rio Chico. On the authority of Ulloa, the name Alanje is a contraction of *Santiago al Angel*, a town founded by Benito Hurtado in 1521. At one time it was called Chiriqui, and was the last settlement towards the confines of Nicaragua.

Most maps give *Punta Burica* as the beginning of the boundary between Panama and Costa Rica. The old line between Colombia and Costa Rica, as determined by the President of France, September 11, 1900, was unsatisfactory. The new Republic of Panama, and Costa Rica, on March 6, 1905, came to an agreement on a new line, which gives Panama title to a large strip of land bordering on Golfo Dulce, while Costa Rica acquires a corresponding addition to her territory on the Atlantic side.

January 25, 1907, both governments ratified this treaty, and the boundary between them now runs as follows:³⁰

Beginning in the Rio Golfito, in the Gulf of Dulce, the line passes along the divide between the rivers Chiriqui Viejo and Coto de Terraba, over the summit of the Santa Clara Mountains, through a point called "Cerro Pando" to the Rio Sixola, and thence to Punta Mona on the Caribbean. This is the point from which we started on our circuit of the Isthmus.³¹

³⁰ This year, 1910, the boundary line between Panama and Costa Rica still remains in dispute. (See Note 8, Chapter 17.)

³¹ "What is to be the future status of the Isthmus? A strong government is doubtless a necessity, and must be provided from abroad. Shall it assume the form of a quasi-independent state, under the protectorate of the chief commercial nations, eliminating Colombia from participation therein, or must the United States, as the power most interested in preserving the independence of the highway, take upon themselves the whole control for the benefit of all nations? Time will tell"—*"History of Central America,"* vol. 3, p. 558—H. H. BANCROFT, 1887.

Of the Chagres river, Ulloa writes, in 1735:

"Este Rio, cuyo proprio nombre es de Lagartos, aunque ahora conocida mas bien por el de Chagre, tiene fu origen en aquellas Cordilleras, no lexos de Cruces. Fue descubierta el año de 1510. por *Lope de Olano* fu defembocadura en el *Mar del Norte*, que es á los 9. Grados, 18. Minutos, 40 Segundos de *Latitud Septentrional*, y 295. Grados, 6 Minutos de *Longitud* contada desde el Meridiano de Tenerife. Por la parte de *Cruces* lo descubrió Diego de Alvitez; pero el primer *Espanol*, que baxó navegando, para reconocerlo hafta fu Boca, fue el Capitan *Hernando de la Serna* el año de 1527. Está defendida fu

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Entrada con una Fortaleza fabricada en la Costa del Efte, fobre un Peñafco escarpado a lá Mar, con el nombre de *San Lorenzo de Chagres*: gobiernala un *Castellano*, á quien acompaña un *Teniente*, nombrados por el Rey, y la guarnecen Soldados de Tropa Reglada, que fe deftacan de Panamá."—*tomo 1, lib. III, cap 1, pag. 146.*

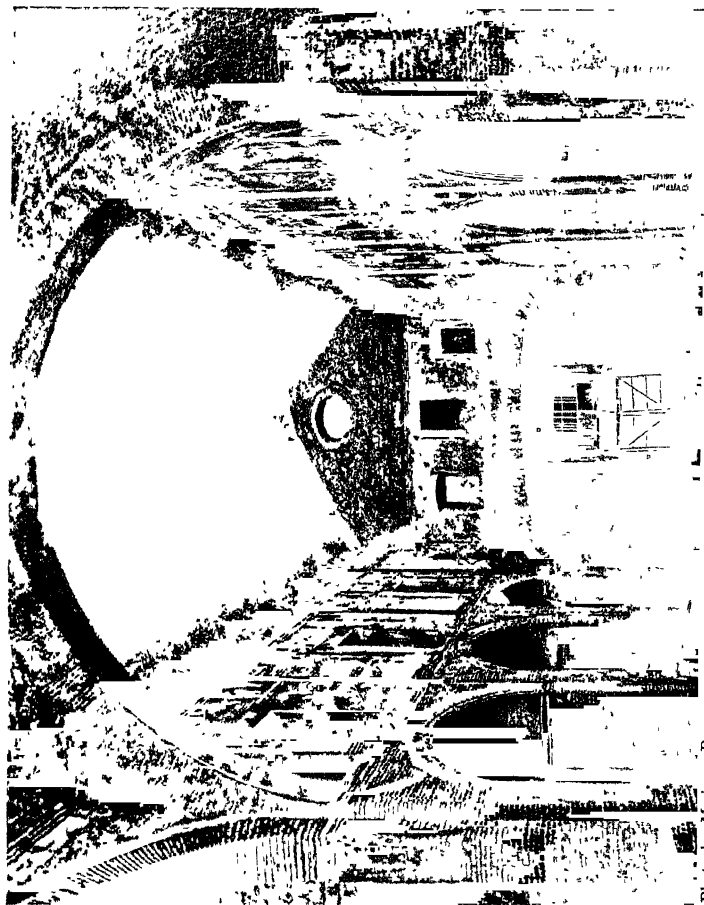


Photo by *Maduro*, Panama.

RUINED CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO, PANAMA, SHOWING FLAT ARCH

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DREAM.

"A time shall come, tho' it be late,
When the proud ocean shall abate
Of its vast empire; men descry
New isles, new countries where they lie;
Nor shall bleak Thule longer stand
To us the last discovered land."

Prophecy in the *Medea* of Seneca.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, as the world knows him, Cristóbal Colón, as he called himself in Spanish, or Cristoforo Colombo, as he was baptized, was the eldest son of Domenico Colombo and of Susanna Fontanarossa, his wife. His brothers were Bartolomé, Giovan (John) Pellegrino, and Giacomo (James), written Diego in Spanish. Giovan Pellegrino died in early manhood; but Bartolomé and Diego followed the fortunes of their elder brother in the New World he discovered.

Columbus had one sister, named Bianchinetta, who became the wife of Giacomo Bavarello, a cheesemonger. Doubtless her life was placid and happy, as it excited no human interest.

Columbus was an Italian, being born in the ancient city of Genoa, some time between the years 1430 and 1456, say about 1446. His father's house in Genoa, in which Christopher was born, has been identified; and in the Piazza Acquaverde, in front of the railway station, stands an imposing statue to his memory.

Possibly of illustrious ancestry and connection, his immediate family were humble wool-combers and weavers. The boy Cristoforo helped his father in his trade, and attended a school established by the wool-combers for the education of their children. It is claimed that Columbus studied for a time at Pavia; and that famous Lombard university has erected a monument to commemorate the glory of having had him as a student. While at school he learned the common branches, and some Latin, geography, geometry, and astronomy.

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His schooling could not have been extensive, as when but fourteen years of age, so he tells us, he went to sea, for which he had a natural inclination; and followed a maritime career, on and off, for the remainder of his life.

At this time Columbus was a red-haired, freckled-faced boy, large for his age, and full of energy.

For a number of years he probably followed the usual life of a sailor about the Mediterranean, rising rapidly, no doubt, to positions of command.

Columbus must be rated as a self-made man; or, more correctly, a genius. He was a great reader and student of history, cosmography, mathematics, and astronomy. In navigation and seamanship he stood without a peer. He was a fine penman, and, at times, obtained a livelihood as a cartographer.

Previous to the entry of Columbus into Spain, about 1485, but little is known of him. Many recorded incidents in his life are of questionable historical accuracy. Fernando Columbus, raised among courtiers, and sensitive of the lowly origin of his father, would have it appear that Columbus was related to the famous admirals or corsairs, the Colombos of Italy, or the Coulons (Casanove) of France.

Columbus served under René of Anjou in his sea-fights against Naples. *Colombo el Mezo*, said to be a nephew of Columbus, commanded the squadron, and was such a terrible corsair that Moorish mothers hushed their unruly children with the mere mention of his name. In an encounter with four Venetian galleys off the coast of Portugal, the ship commanded by Columbus caught fire, and he saved himself only by swimming two leagues to land, with the aid of an oar.

This latter event, which did not occur until 1485, is often given as the manner in which he arrived in Portugal. But we know that Columbus came to Lisbon in 1470, to avail himself, according to Bernaldez, of the new facts concerning the west coast of Africa, brought to light by the Portuguese, then the foremost in maritime discovery. His brother Bartholomew was there with him, and together they made and sold charts, maps, nautical instruments, and books.

The world at this time, as known to Europeans, was still defined by the geography of Ptolemy and of Marinus of Tyre. The continent of America and the great Pacific Ocean were unheard of. What was not Europe or Africa was Asia, of course. It was supposed that Africa was joined to Asia on the south, and enclosed the Atlantic Ocean, which was depicted on the maps as extending to the eastern shores of Asia. The

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Mediterranean was well known, and voyages were made along the shores of Europe; but the hardy mariners hugged the coast and dreaded to lose sight of land. A few degrees out the Strait of Gibraltar marked the limit of the world to the west. To venture far from land was to face the dangers of the unknown, peopled with the demons of ignorance.

There were vague stories afloat that, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, somewhere out in the great Sea of Darkness, as the Atlantic was still called, were the large island of *Atlantis*, as told to Plato by an Egyptian priest; *Antillia*, or the island of the Seven Cities, founded by the Seven Bishops driven out of Spain and Portugal by the Moors; and the mirage island of *St. Brandan*, said to have been visited in the sixth century by St. Brandan, a monk from Ireland. An Englishman named Macham, "who, sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolen," was driven out of his course, and came, it is said, in 1344, upon the island of Madeira. The Isles of the Blest, or Fortunate Islands, probably meant the Canaries. There is little doubt but that Dante's description of the mount of repentance, "Purgatorio," is the Pico di Teneriffa, so far from the center of Tuscany that it was quite easy to place it at the antipodes of the center of the earth from Jerusalem.

A few years before the advent of Columbus, Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and who lived from 1394 to 1460, became convinced, from what he learned from the Moors while in Africa, that great discoveries could be made down the African coast; and from study of the works of the Ancients he came to the belief that Africa was circumnavigable; and that the produce of India and of the Spice Islands, now coming by caravan, and through the Persian gulf and Red Sea, could be reached and brought to Europe by way of the Sea of Darkness.

According to traditions, Hesperus, a King of Spain, had discovered as far as Cape Verde as early as 650 years after the Flood. Phenician sailors sent out by Necho, King of Egypt, and Hanno, the Carthaginian, had sailed from the Mediterranean around Africa to Arabia; and Eudoxus of Cyzicus had circumnavigated in the other direction from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules. It was even related by Strabo that Menelaus, spouse of the fair Helen, had sailed around Africa, after the fall of Troy.

Prince Henry, who was half English by his mother Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, deliberately planned to discover

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new lands for Portugal, with the hope of ultimately rounding the southern extremity of Africa, and reaching China and India by sea. For this purpose this enlightened prince established a school for the study of navigation and astronomy, in 1418, at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, the extreme southwestern point of Europe.

The farthestmost place down the African coast then known was Cape Nam (or Not); and it was a grim joke among Mediterranean seamen that "He who sails to Cape Nam will either return or not." The Prince ordered two of his young gentlemen, Varco and Texeira, to sail down the Barbary coast and see what they could find. They bravely passed Cape Nam; but sixty leagues beyond, where the Jebel-khal, or Black Mountain, juts out from the great Desert of Sahara, they encountered a bold promontory, which they called Bojador. Its aspect was so forbidding, and the sea so turbulent, that they were frightened back; and for a number of years Bojador, meaning the "Outstretcher," defied further exploration to the south.

When Gil Eannes, in 1433, rounded the Bojador and lived to return, his efforts were likened to the labors of Hercules. Subsequent ventures discovered Rio de Oro, La Mina, the mouth of the Senegal, Sierra Leone, and the Guinea coast about the equator. The discovery of Porto Santo and the Azores, and the rediscovery of Madeira, followed.

In 1445 one of the Prince's vessels reached Cape Verde; and five years later the Cape Verde Islands, 320 miles west of the Cape, were brought to light.

Such was the knowledge of geography and the stage of discovery about the year 1470, when Columbus arrived at Lisbon. No better environment could have been found for completing and perfecting the education of the navigator destined to discover the New World.

Columbus at this time was in the full maturity of his manhood. He is described by his son Fernando as follows: "The Admiral was a well-made man, of a height above the medium, with a long face, and cheek-bones somewhat prominent; neither too fat nor too lean. He had an aquiline nose, light-colored eyes, and a ruddy complexion. In youth he had been fair, and his hair was of a light color, but after he was thirty years old it turned white. In eating and drinking he was an example of sobriety, as well as simple and modest about his person." Columbus had a grave and dignified bearing, and took himself and the world seriously on all occasions.

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His accepted portrait is as sad and severe as that of Dante, and reminds one of some faces we see among the American Indians. He commanded admiration and respect from his men, but never love nor enthusiasm.

In Lisbon, Columbus attended mass at the Church of the Convent of All Saints, where he first saw and met Doña Felipa Moñis, niece of Isabel Moñis de Perestrello, whom he soon married. Columbus lived with his wife's aunt, who was the widow of Bartolommeo Perestrello, a distinguished Italian navigator, who died in 1457, and who had found the islet of Porto Santo for Prince Henry, and over which he was appointed governor. She told Columbus of her husband's voyages, and showed his charts and papers. Soon after their marriage, Columbus moved to Porto Santo with his wife, who owned a share in the island. While here their son Diego, the heir of Columbus, was born, about 1470.

It was not long before they returned to Portugal, where Columbus continued to make maps and charts. According to the records, he visited his father in Genoa, in 1472, and again in 1473, rendering him monetary assistance.

Columbus made occasional voyages, at one time going as far south as Guinea, and again, in 1477, sailing to 100 leagues west of Thule, supposed to be Iceland, or possibly the Farões, where he met English merchants from Bristol.

Just when Columbus conceived the notion of reaching India and the Spice Islands by sailing to the west, it is impossible to state. As he extended his voyages and heard of lands farther west, he probably thought that a little more sailing would bring him to the islands lying off the shores of Asia, described in such glowing terms by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and by Sir John Mandeville. He calculated that the Island of Cipango lay near where Cuba and Haiti were afterwards discovered, and that Mangi (the mainland) was about where he found the Isthmus of Panama.

Long study of the ancient cosmographers and philosophers confirmed him in this belief. Aristotle, Seneca, Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, and other writers held that the Atlantic extended to the eastern shores of Asia. Pedro de Aliaco (Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly), and Julius Capitolinus stated that India could be reached in a few days' sail from Spain.

Ptolemy divided the circumference of the globe into twenty-four hours of 15 degrees each, making 360 degrees in all. The map of Marinus of Tyre showed fifteen hours as known to the ancients. The city of Thinae, in Asia, the eastern limit of the

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world given by Marinus, had been much extended by the travels of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah of Ludela, and certain wandering friars.

Discovery of the Azores, and Cape de Verd Islands by the Portuguese, added another hour, or 15 degrees, on the west; so only eight hours, 120 degrees, or one-third the circumference of the earth, remained to be discovered.

Moreover, both Ptolemy and Marinus, supported by Alfergany, the celebrated Arabian astronomer, held the circumference of the earth to be much less than the other cosmographers made it; a view in which Columbus concurred. This opinion found religious support in the Book of Esdras, which affirmed that six-sevenths of the earth was land; so the sea between the western shores of Europe and the eastern coast of Asia could not be so extensive, after all.

Pedro Correa, who had married the sister of Doña Felipa, told Columbus of picking up pieces of strangely carved wood on Porto Santo, after a period of westerly winds. Trunks of unknown trees and giant reeds were found on the shores of the Azores and other islands, or encountered far out at sea.

There is no evidence that Columbus, while on his voyage to the north, learned anything about the discovery of America by the Norsemen, about the end of the tenth century; much less had he ever heard of the nebulous report of the voyage of Madoc, the Welshman.

After the death of Columbus, a baseless story was started saying that he had obtained information of the islands he later discovered from a Spanish sea captain named Sanchez, who, driven far out of his course, had lived to return, but only to die in the house of Columbus, at Terceira, one of the Azores. Before breathing his last, it was said, he told Columbus of the new lands in the west, and gave him his log-book and charts.

Belief in the sphericity of the earth, and in the possibility of sailing round it, did not originate with Columbus, but had been expressed by wise men from Plato, Aristotle, and Hipparchus to Roger Bacon. Columbus was the first man to make the venture, and prove the truth of their reasoning and deduction.

It detracts nothing from the honor and credit due Columbus to believe that had he not made the discovery, someone else would have found America in a very short time. "The man who becomes the conspicuous developer of any great world-movement is usually the embodiment of the ripened aspirations of his time."

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The whole tendency of the times was towards new and further ventures into the Atlantic; and events in the life of Columbus seemed to be preparing him for the undertaking of greater feats than had yet been accomplished. To unusual skill and experience as a mariner, he added an exceptional knowledge of geography, astronomy, and cartography. Stories of new discoveries excited his enthusiasm and strengthened his belief, until he developed religious fervor and delusions; so that in later years he came to believe that he acted in obedience to Divine commands, and had been selected by Deity to chart the way to India by the west; to carry the Gospel to millions of benighted heathen; and with the rich spoils of the East to raise and equip an army with which to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel Turk.

The economic necessities of the western world required a westward thrust. The conquest of Constantinople by the Osmanli Turks, in 1453, carried with it the mastery of the overland trade routes from Asia. The sea-power of the inland Mediterranean cities fell as their power to exploit their former subjects had ceased. The pressure of population for new lands, checked by the closing of the East, pushed westwards, so that those states where the Crown had centralized power were in the pathway of utilizing the popular demand for newer lands and peoples.

As contributory aids to the discovery of America at this time were the improved use of the mariner's compass, and the recent introduction by John II. of the astrolabe, the forerunner of the quadrant, with which navigators could tell their distance from the equator; as well as the general revival of learning, fostered by the introduction of printing presses.

As early as 1474, Columbus wrote to Dr. Paulo Toscanelli, a famous physician and astronomer of Florence, known to be an authority on cosmography, who sent Columbus a chart of the Atlantic, or Western ocean, and the eastern coasts of India, together with the copy of a letter recently written to the ecclesiastic Martinez on the same subject for the information of Affonso V. The learned doctor's reply is so interesting that it is given in full at end of chapter.

It was this chart of Toscanelli, substantiated by his well-thumbed copy of the *Imago Mundi* by Cardinal D'Ailly (called by Irving the Vade Mecum of Columbus), that formed the sailing directions of Columbus in his discovery of the Western hemisphere.

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The map of Martin Behaim, which depicts the geography of that day, was issued from Nürnberg just after Columbus sailed. It will be observed that both maps estimate fairly well the width of the Atlantic, and roughly outline the islands and eastern coast of Asia; but express not the vaguest suspicion of the continent of America and the great Pacific Ocean (say two-fifths of the circumference of the earth) intervening between the Atlantic Ocean and Asia.

It is almost inconceivable that Europeans, up to Columbus and Balboa, knew but one ocean, and remained in total ignorance of another hemisphere. Had the actual distance between Spain and Cipango and Cathay (Japan and China), 12,000 miles, been known, and supposing no land in between, neither Columbus nor anyone else would have dreamed of sailing there; nor could the vessels and crews have lived through such a long voyage. As it was, some figured the distance to be 4000 miles; while many, including Columbus, believed it to be much less.

The profound religious nature of Columbus found in Holy Writ confirmation of his faith in a western route to India, and he became convinced that his discovery was foretold by the prophets, and that he was to be the agent in the hands of God for accomplishing the Great Discovery.

Columbus thought it was first necessary to receive the approval and financial support of some government or prince to carry out his great undertaking.

Tradition says he first offered his discovery to his native State of Genoa; but either she was too poor, or Columbus too obscure, for Genoa to consider the proposition. Probably he carried his scheme to the Republic of Venice; and with like result.

We do know, however, that Columbus applied to John II. of Portugal, who had come to the throne in 1481, and was refused, largely owing to the counsel of his confessor, Ortez de Calzadilla. By the advice of that bishop, King John got possession of the charts of Columbus and secretly sent out a caravel to test his theory; and it is a pleasure to read that the sailors soon became frightened and hastened back to Portugal, claiming that one might as well expect to find land in the sky as out in the great ocean.

Hurt and offended at such mean treatment, Columbus departed from Lisbon in 1484, taking his boy Diego with him. Doña Felipa and the other children were left behind; all of whom probably died within a short time, as they disappear from history.



Photo by the *Author*.

RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE CHAGRES AT BARBACOAS TAKEN DURING THE DRY SEASON, 1906

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In 1485 Columbus visited his father, his only surviving parent, and made provision for his welfare and the education of his younger brother, Diego.

It is said that he again applied, this time in person, to the republics of Genoa and of Venice to carry out his plan. Failing to receive any encouragement from these sources, Columbus decided to try his fortune in Spain; "nor is it one of the least interesting circumstances in his eventful life that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world."—(IRVING.)

About the end of the year 1485, Columbus entered Spain, placed young Diego with his aunt Muliar, at Huelva, and set out for the Spanish Court. For seven long years this vain-glorious dreamer followed their Highnesses from place to place, importuning everyone in authority to give him assistance. No doubt he made himself a nuisance to most everybody, and was considered what we now call a crank.

Through the influence of Alonso de Quintanilla, controller of the treasury of Castile; Alessandro Geraldini, the papal nuncio; and the great Cardinal Mendoza, called by Peter Martyr "the third King of Spain," Columbus was enabled, in 1486, to appear before the Court at Cordova; and later was received by Ferdinand at Salamanca. The united kingdoms of Ferdinand and Isabella were expending their utmost endeavors to drive the Moors from Spain, and had but little time or money to devote to such a visionary enterprise. Nevertheless, Talavera, confessor to the Queen, was directed to assemble a council of learned men to consider the subject. They met in the Convent of St. Stephen, at Salamanca, and gave Columbus a hearing. This *junta* was composed principally of churchmen, and soon found the project contrary to Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers.

Concerning the sphericity of the earth and the existence of Antipodes, St. Augustine had written: "It is contrary to the Scriptures, for they teach that all men are descended from Adam, which would be impossible if men lived on the other side of the earth, for they could never have crossed the wide sea." Likewise Lactantius, who had said: "Is there anyone so foolish as to believe that there are Antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upwards and their heads hanging down—where everything is topsy-turvey; where the trees grow with their branches downwards, and where it rains, hails, and snows upwards?"

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Accordingly, the junta reported the project "vain and impossible, and that it did not belong to the majesty of such great princes to determine anything upon such weak grounds of information." Indeed, Columbus was considered fortunate in escaping Torquemada and the Inquisition for daring to entertain such heretical opinions. A small minority of the junta, among whom was Diego Deza, preceptor to the Infanta, were friendly to Columbus. He remained about the Court and continued his solicitations.

Columbus received appropriations from the royal treasury, was entertained by Quintanilla and other eminent persons, and was not in such dire want and misery as often described. His condition was not so mean but that he could successfully prosecute a suit in another court. Rejected by the Court of Spain, Columbus was yet a victor in the Court of Love. While waiting at Cordova, he won the favor of Beatrix Enriquez, a noble lady in reduced circumstances. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, born in 1488, whom he always considered equally with his legitimate son, Diego; and who, after the death of Columbus, became his biographer.

In 1486 Bartolomeu Dias reached Cape Bona Speranza, which opened up the probability of reaching India by sailing to the east. This epoch in navigation not only stimulated the endeavors of Columbus to reach India by the west, but inclined the Spanish Court, jealous of the many discoveries made by Portugal, to listen more favorably to Columbus, and finally to accede to his high-flown demands.

Bartolomé Colón, who was with Dias when he found the Cape of Good Hope, returned with him to Portugal, in December, 1487. Late the next year Columbus availed himself of the invitation of King John to return to his kingdom, and went to consult with his brother at Lisbon. It was probably at this time that Bartholomew was dispatched to England to enlist the support of Henry VII.

In 1489 Columbus is back in Spain prosecuting his appeal to their Highnesses. He entered actively in the war against the Moors, and was present at the siege of Beza, where, says Zuñiga, he "took a glorious part, giving proof of the great valor which accompanied his wisdom and profound conceptions."

Almost discouraged, Columbus sought aid from the powerful dukes, Medina-Sidonia, and Medina-Celi. The latter was

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friendly to Columbus, took care of him at his castle, and brought the matter again before Isabella.

In 1490 the *junta* of wise men reported finally that the proposition of Columbus was simply impossible.

In 1491, completely disheartened, Columbus decides to leave Spain and peddle his notions at some other court. He goes to Huelva, gets Diego, and they set out on foot for the little neighboring seaport of Palos. When they arrive at the Franciscan Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rábida, standing then, as now, on the hill by the shore, a couple of miles from Palos, Columbus asks the brother porter for a little bread and water for the tired boy Diego. Former writers give this touching incident as taking place on the entry of Columbus into Spain, five or six years anterior to this time.

Juan Perez de Marchena, the worthy prior of the covenant, happened to notice Columbus, and, observing that he was no ordinary wayfarer, entered into conversation with him. Surely some good angel must have led Columbus to La Rábida, for he had at last found someone who would listen to him, and he told the good father of all his hopes, his weary waitings, and his disappointments. Juan Perez was a learned man, and from the observatory on the roof of his convent had studied the heavenly bodies, and looked out over the western sea and conceived of other lands and people across the wide waters.

Columbus is invited to remain at the monastery; and that very night Padre Juan sends for Dr. Fernandez Garcia, the village doctor, and other friends in Palos, among them Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the leading navigator and ship-owner of the place. This was the most appreciative and sympathetic audience Columbus ever had; and you can imagine the force and earnestness with which he argued his case. To the learned and erudite ecclesiastics of the cloister the plan of Columbus was visionary and impossible; but to these men, familiar with the sea and recent discoveries, it appeared both reasonable and probable.

As a result of this meeting Juan Perez, formerly confessor to the Queen, successfully interceded with Isabella that Columbus be given another hearing, stating, no doubt, the judgment of the sailor folk of Palos. With funds furnished by the Queen, said to have been 1180 dollars, Columbus buys himself a mule and a new suit of clothes, and starts back to Court. He found their Highnesses at the new city of Santa Fé, built before Granada, the last stronghold of the Moslems in Spain. January 2, 1492, *Boabdil el Chico*, the Moorish King, yielded

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up the keys of the Alhambra; and the power of the Moors in Spain, enduring for 778 years, fell, never to rise again.

The termination of the long-continued wars with the Moors gave the King and Queen time to examine into the plan of Columbus; and they were about to grant his request, when the matter was again dropped on account of the preposterous rewards demanded by Columbus. He required that he be given the rank and title of Admiral; to be Governor and Viceroy over the regions discovered; to receive a tenth of the revenue thereof; and to enjoy the privileges of the aristocracy; all to be hereditary in his family.

Fernando de Talavera, now elevated to the new Archbishopric of Granada, takes advantage of these exorbitant demands by a beggarly foreigner, and ridicules his case out of Court. In February, 1492, Columbus mounts his mule, again turns his back on the Spanish Court, and sets out across the Vega, or plain of Granada, intending to go to Cordova or La Rábida, and then apply to the Court of France.

In the meantime, his friends, Alonzo de Quintanilla, the Marchioness de Moya, and particularly Luis de Santangel, Treasurer of Arragon, have so worked upon Isabella that she exclaims: "I undertake the enterprise for my own Crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Whether Isabella ever uttered this pretty phrase, and really proffered her jewels, is a mooted question with the historians, as it is claimed they were pledged already for the expenses of the late war. We do know, however, that Isabella was always friendly to Columbus, while Ferdinand was either lukewarm, calculating, or positively opposed to him.

As a matter of fact, funds and equipment for the first voyage of Columbus were furnished by the treasury of Arragon, the town of Palos, and the Pinzon brothers. The money from Arragon, amounting to 17,000 florins, was charged to the Kingdom of Castile, and was repaid out of the first gold brought from the New World, Ferdinand using it to gild the royal saloon at Saragossa.

A royal messenger overtook Columbus, when but two leagues on his journey, at the old stone "Bridge of Pines" (Piños Puente), still spanning a small stream in the Vega. When informed of the resolve of Isabella, he returns, somewhat reluctantly, to the city.

Columbus is given the title of Don; and on April 17, 1492, at Santa Fé, Ferdinand and Isabella signed articles granting all his conditions. Columbus also receives a credential letter,

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signed in blank, accrediting him to the Court of the Grand Khan, Prester John, or any other potentate he may encounter. The letter is such a delicious bit of diplomatic affectation that I quote it entire:

"Ferdinand and Isabella to King

"The Spanish Sovereigns have heard that You and Your subjects have great affection for Them and for Spain. They are further aware that You and Your subjects are very desirous to hear news from Spain. They accordingly send their Admiral, Ch. Columbus, who will tell You that they are in good health and perfect prosperity.

"GRANADA, April 30th, 1492."

The port of Palos was selected as a place to fit out the expedition, not for the reason that it was the abode of friends of Columbus, but because that town was under sentence to furnish the Crown on demand the service of two armed caravels, for the space of twelve months. On May 23, 1492, the royal command was read from the Church of St. George in Palos; but neither vessels nor mariners appeared. Sailors were afraid to make the venture; and many had to be pressed into service, and criminals taken from the jails.

After considerable delay and difficulty, Columbus was able to assemble three vessels, and 120 men, for the voyage. Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vicente Yañez Pinzon, both well-to-do sea captains, saved the day by volunteering for the expedition and furnishing one of the vessels, the *Niña*. Probably it was this contribution by the Pinzon brothers which constituted the eighth of the expenses supplied by Columbus, and enabled him to receive an eighth of the revenue, instead of one-tenth, as first agreed. The *Pinta* was seized from her owners, Rascon and Quintero, who went with the party. Palos provided the *Gallego*, which Columbus made his flagship and placed under the special protection of the Mother of God, and so renamed the *Santa Maria*. She was the largest of the three, and the only one completely decked. The *Pinta* and *Niña* were open caravels, being undecked in the waist, but having a cabin in the stern and forecastle in the bows.

Before sailing, Columbus confessed himself to his good friend Fray Perez, and partook of the Holy Communion: an example which was followed by his officers and men in the presence of the awed and mourning town-people.

Young Diego was taken from La Rábida and placed in charge of friends in Moguer, a few miles away, to be prepared to act

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as page to the Infante, Prince Juan, to which office Isabella had graciously appointed him.

Columbus then goes aboard his little fleet, and prepares to sail into the Sea of Darkness.

Letter of Dr. Paulo Toscanelli to Christopher Columbus:

"To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I perceive your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced, and therefore, in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he writ to me by his Highnesses order, upon this same account, and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of that letter is this:

"To Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wishes health.

I am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent King, and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than you take by the coast of Guinea, yet you now tell me that his Highness would have me make out and demonstrate it so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, tho' I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world, yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation, and therefore I send one to his Majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west from Iceland, in the north, to the furthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way: opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole towards the equinoctial and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows *west*, that product being generally ascribed to the *east*, because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west, and they that travel by land eastwards will ever find those places in the east. The straight lines that lie lengthways in the chart show the distance there is from west to east, the other cross them show the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart several places in India where ships might put in upon any storm or contrary winds or any other accident unforeseen. And, moreover, to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know, you must understand that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is there as great a number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise as in any other part of the world, particularly in a most noble part called Zacton, where there are every year an hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice. This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the Great Cham, which name signifies king of kings, who for the most part resides in the province of Cathay. His predecessors were very desirous to

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have commerce and be in amity with Christians, and 200 years since sent ambassadors to the Pope desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with they returned back without coming to Rome. Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Engenius IV, who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people, and Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of their royal structures and of the greatness, length, and breadth of their rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers, and that there were 200 cities upon one only river with marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves, as well as any other, to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our ports. And it is certain that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts and very ingenious, govern that mighty province and command their armies. From Lisbon, directly westward, there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of Quisay, which is 100 miles in compass—that is, 35 leagues; in it there are 10 marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city, of which wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings, and revenues. This space above mentioned is almost a third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the most part resides. From the Island Antilia, which you call the Seven Cities, and whereof you have some knowledge, to the most noble island of Cipango, are 10 spaces, which make 2,500 miles, or 225 leagues, which island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones; and you must understand they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that, for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety. Much more might be said, but having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness to the utmost in all the commands he shall lay upon me.'

Done at Florence, June 25th, 1474."



Photo by *Isthmian Canal Commission.*

GATUN ON THE CHAGRES, IN 1907.

This site now is occupied by the Gatun Dam, the populace having been removed to New Gatun, on the relocated Panama Railroad.

CHAPTER III.
FIRST VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1492

Discovery of the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti

"Ere we Gomera cleared, a coward cried,
*Turn, turn; here be three caravels ahead,
From Portugal, to take us: we are dead.
Hold Westward, pilot, calmly I replied*
So when the last land down the horizon died,
Go back, go back! they prayed: our hearts are lead.
Friends, we are bound into the West, I said.
Then passed the wreck of a mast upon our side.
See (so they wept) God's Warning! Admiral, turn!
Steersman, I said, hold straight into the West
Then down the night we saw the meteor burn.
So do the very heavens in fire protest.
Good Admiral, put about! O Spain, dear Spain!
Hold straight into the West, I said again.
Next drive we o'er the slimy-weeded sea.
Lo! herebeneath (another coward cries)
The cursed land of sunk Atlantis lies!
This slime will suck us down—turn while thou'rt free:
But no! I said, Freedom bears West for me!"—Sydney Lanier.



RIDAY, the 3d day of August, 1492, amid the tears and prayers of the populace, Columbus set sail from Palos, and the memorable voyage had begun. The Admiral took immediate charge of his flagship, the *Santa Maria*, while Martin Alonso Pinzon commanded the *Pinta*, and his brother, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, was captain of the *Niña*.

The three small vessels, the largest not over seventy-five feet in length, dropped down the Rio Tinto and the Odiel, and anchored for the night. The next morning they passed out to sea and steered for the Canaries, which they reached August 9th. Here the *Pinta* was supplied with a new rudder, the old one having been disabled intentionally by the impressed seamen; and the lateen sails of the *Niña* were changed to square rig. At the Great Canary, smoke and flame issuing from the peak of Teneriffe increased the alarm of the crews. Fresh water, fresh meat, and wood were taken in at Gomera.

On September 6th Columbus made his final start; in a few days passed by Ferro, the last known outpost of land, and

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long before their trust and innocence were abused, and the massacre of the Indians soon followed, as a matter of course.

At daybreak on this memorable Friday, Columbus, who delighted in ceremony, made a landing in all the state he could muster. The principal personages were in armor, and carried swords; the common sailors wore their best clothes and went armed. Each of the Pinzons bore a green cross flag, inscribed with the letters F and Y (standing for Fernando and Ysabel), and above each letter a golden crown.

The Admiral attired himself in scarlet, and bore a sword in his right hand, and the royal standard in his left. When he stepped ashore he fell upon his knees, and then forward upon his face and kissed the earth. The whole company kneeled about him, while Columbus, with tears of joy streaming down his face, offered the following prayer:

"Lord God, eternal and omnipotent, by Thy sacred Word the heavens, the earth, and the sea were created; blessed and glorified be Thy name; praised be Thy majesty, which is exalted through Thy humble servant, in that by him Thy sacred name may be made known and declared in this remote part of the earth."

By royal command, this prayer was used by Balboa, Cortes, Pizarro, and other Spaniards when they made discoveries of new regions.

Rising from his knees, Columbus planted the flag of Castile, and with drawn sword, and without consulting the wishes of the rightful owners, who were hovering near, took possession of the island in the name of their Catholic Majesties.¹

The native name of the island was *Guanahani*, but Columbus called it San Salvador (Holy Saviour), thus inaugurating the regrettable renaming of American localities, which has continued to the present time.

A cross was erected, and the royal notary, Rodrigo de Escobedo, wrote down a full account of the proceedings. The officers and crews now swore allegiance to Columbus as Ad-

¹ "And here was the beginning of these four centuries of such rank injustice, such horrible atrocities inflicted by the hand of our much-boasted Christian civilization upon the natives of the New World, as well might make the Almighty blush for ever having created in his own image such monsters as their betrayers and butchers. It is the self-same story, old and new, from Española to Darien and Mexico, from Brazil to Labrador, and from Patagonia to Alaska, by sailor and cavalier, by priest and puritan, by gold-hunter and fur-hunter—the unenlightened red man welcoming with wonder his destroyer, upon whom he is soon forced to turn to save himself, his wife, his children; but only at last to fall by the merciless arm of development beneath the pitiable destiny of man primeval."—H. H. BANCROFT.

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miral and Viceroy of the new country. The craven souls, who a few days before had threatened mutiny, now knelt at his feet and kissed his hands, begging pardon for their offenses, and asking to be remembered when he distributed his favors.

The timid natives cautiously gazed on these queer performances by their visitors. They were filled with awe and wonder of these strange people, who had white skins, and hair on their faces, and wore so much bright and colored clothing; who carried such dangerous-looking weapons, and who had arrived in gigantic ships with immense wings. The very natural inference was that the Spaniards were celestial beings who had flown down from the skies, and who must be honored and obeyed accordingly. This was the first impression created by the Spaniards everywhere they landed; but it was never long before they showed themselves to be very human and very vulnerable.

As the natives lost their fear, they gathered about the white men and tendered food and drink.

Columbus was much disappointed in finding naked, brown-skinned natives, instead of the cultivated and opulent people of the East he had pictured. Nevertheless, believing he had found one of the numerous islands described by Marco Polo as lying in the sea of Chin (China), off the mainland of India, he called the natives "Indians," a misnomer by which they are still designated.

While with the Portuguese along the coast of Africa, Columbus had learned the value of colored cloth, glass beads, and gew-gaws in dealing with savages. He distributed a lot of these trifles among the natives of Guanahani and completely won their hearts. The Indians were particularly charmed with the little tinkling hawk-bells which the Admiral gave them. In return, the natives freely offered tame parrots, balls of yarn made from cotton which grew on the island, fruits and fish, and cassava² bread, made from the tuberous roots of the yuca which they cultivated. The Indians also gave Columbus some dry leaves which they seemed to value very highly.

² "Cazabi, cazabe, casabe, que de todas estas maneras se encuentra escrito, es una especie de pan que hacian los indios del magnoc, de la tucubia ó yuca y de otras raices."—Note in *Col. de Doc. Ined.* tomo iv, p. 185.

At another place in this same *Coleccion* we read that "pan cacabi, or cassava bread, was a bread of little sustenance made by the Indians from the root of the yuca, which was very abundant in Cuba, Jamaica, Brasil, and other parts. Yuca yielded much profit to the Spaniards; the monthly ration of a man being one pack-load, weighing fifty pounds."—Tomo x, p. 29.

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Columbus described Guanahani as large and very level, without any mountain, but with a large lagoon in the middle, all covered with forest trees and verdure most pleasing to the eye, and surrounded by a dangerous reef of rocks with a very narrow entrance. This applies, more or less, to a number of the islands. Like all islands of coral formation, the Bahamas are flat, with barrier-reefs. The stately trees and rich vegetation are now found on none of the group. Watling's and Crooked have salt-water lagoons, but Cat Island has none. It is conceivable that the natural forces, like hurricanes, tidal waves, or subsidence of the group, which destroyed the tall timber and swept from the islands the rich soil described by Columbus, could very readily fill up a shallow lagoon, or even make one on an island where none previously existed. In imagination one can even picture Guanahani as hiding beneath the waters of the ocean, in company with the lost Atlantis, and adding another puzzle to perplex the inquiring mind of man.

The squadron of Columbus departed from Guanahani on the afternoon of Sunday, October 14th, probably sailed around the northern end of the island, and then down its west coast. Seven natives were taken along as guides, without doubt against their wills, as one jumped overboard the first night, and another escaped when near the next landing-place.

The Admiral saw an island about six leagues away, which he reached at noon of the 15th, and named Santa Maria de la Concepcion. Authorities claim that this was Rum Cay, twenty miles south of Watling's Island. From here he sailed to another island visible to the westward, and on the way picked up a lonely Indian in a canoe, who, no doubt, was a messenger sent out from San Salvador, as shown by some glass beads and two *blancas*, or small Spanish coins, in his possession. Columbus served him with "bread, honey, and drink," and when near the next island the Indian was given his canoe and permitted to go ashore. His good report of the strangers brought the natives off in great numbers, who bartered their ornaments with the Spaniards, and helped to fill the pipes with fresh water. It was here that the Europeans first observed the suspended sleeping net, which the Indians called *hamaca*, origin of our English word hammock.

Watling light. If Watling Island is Guanahani, preponderance of evidence indicates that Columbus made his first landing in Green's Harbor, not far from the lighthouse; where Walter Wellman, in 1891, acting for the *Chicago Herald*, erected a monument to commemorate the notable event.

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These natives seem more modest and intelligent, and, what is more important, have a greater number of golden ornaments than the Indians on San Salvador and Santa Maria. Columbus calls this island Fernandina, in honor of the King, and it has been identified as the present Long Island.

On the morning of the 19th, the Admiral sailed to the southeast, and at midday reached the northern extremity of an island called Saomote, in the native tongue, but which he renamed Isabella, after the Queen. The three vessels anchored near an islet, in all probability the little island now known as Bird Rock, close by the northwest extremity of Crooked Island. Bird Rock light is eighty miles south of Watling, and eighteen miles north of Fortune Island, by steamer route.

Adjoining Crooked Island, on the south, is Fortune Island; but Columbus does not note the separation, and writes of the whole as Isabella. He is charmed with the beauty of the place. The air is filled with sweet and delightful odors from trees and flowers, and the exquisite melody of numerous birds. Flocks of parrots obscured the heavens, and the verdure was as green as in April in Andalusia. Citing again from the "Journal": "Groves of lofty and flourishing trees are abundant, as also large lakes, surrounded and overhung by the foliage in a most enchanting manner. * * * The land is higher than the other islands, and exhibits an eminence which, though it cannot be called a mountain, yet adds beauty to its appearance, and gives an indication of streams of water in the interior. * * * My eyes are never tired with viewing such delightful verdure and of a species so new and dissimilar to that of our country, and I have no doubt there are trees and herbs here which would be of great value in Spain, as dyeing materials, medicines, spices, etc., but I am mortified that I have no acquaintance with them."

A cape near which the Admiral anchors, supposed to be the north point of Crooked Island, he names Cabo Hermoso—Cape Beautiful—"because it is so." The Spaniards land and fill their water-casks, perhaps at what is known as "Frenchman's Wells," in Fortune Island. They also kill an "ugly serpent," later known as the *iguana*, which the Indians much relished as food.

Columbus plans to sail around Isabella till he shall find the King, "in order to see if I can acquire any of the gold which I hear he possesses," but changes his mind when the natives, by signs, indicate a much larger island to the southwest, called Cuba, where dwells a great ruler in much majesty. In the dis-

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tobaccos, and to this day in Cuba cigars are called *tobaccos* as frequently as they are *cigarros*. The Cubans likewise cultivated the *yuca* (or manioc), whose starchy roots furnished the cassava bread, sweet peppers, and a kind of bean. Numerous strange fruits abound.

Two peculiar small quadrupeds were found in Cuba, the *hutia*, a kind of coney, now seldom seen, and a strange mute dog, which has become extinct. "Ye Dummie Dogge," as the old historians quaintly called the latter, was used in hunting the *hutia*, and also as an article of flesh food, together with the *iguana*.

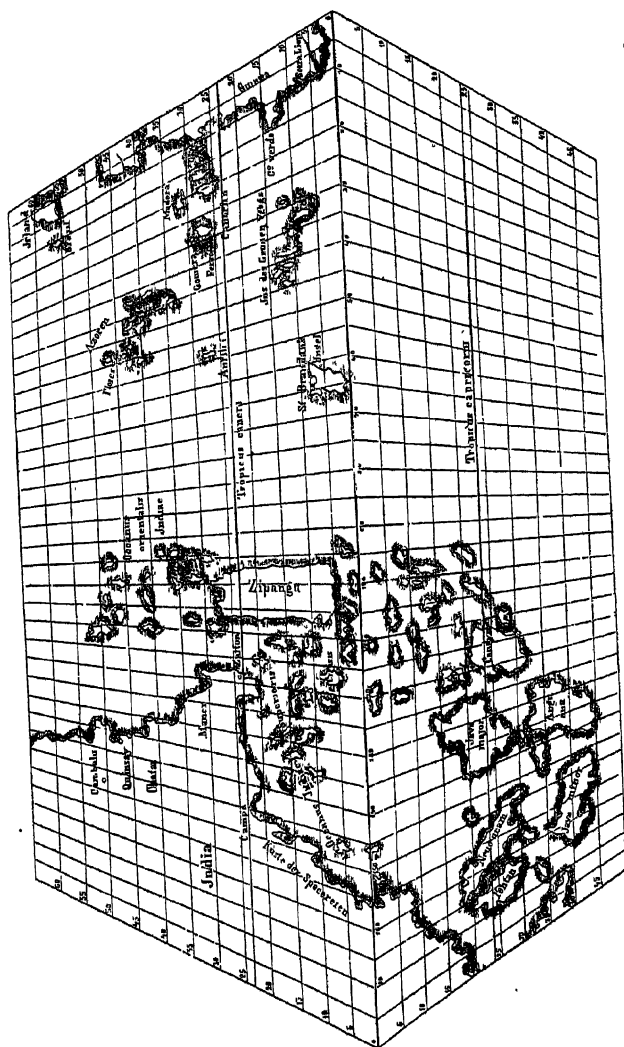
Cotton yarn was made from the wild plants, and woven into nets and *hamacas*. The natives possessed the primitive art of fire-making by the friction of two sticks of wood.

With all its natural beauty and bountiful vegetation, Cuba lacked the one essential charm—*Columbus found no gold in Cuba!*

The Admiral forbade his men to traffic with the natives except for the precious metal; but all he could see was one small ring in the nose of an Indian, and that resembled silver more than gold. When questioned concerning gold, the Cubans either pointed to the southwest, or mentioned "Babeque" or "Bohio;" so Columbus sets sail to the southeast, along the north coast of Cuba, in the direction of Bohio. Had he sailed westward, Columbus would have found Cuba to be an island, and have discovered the coast of Florida. Cuba was not circumnavigated till in 1508, two years after the death of the Admiral; and in all his subsequent experience in the Caribbean Sea and about the West Indian islands, Columbus never viewed the mainland of the New World he discovered north of Central America.

Columbus takes along some of the Cuban Indians, including several women, which Las Casas, in his "Historia de las Indias," calls a detestable act.

While sailing eastward, the fleet passes a collection of little islands, which Columbus calls "El Jardin del Rey"—the King's Garden. On November 25th, while trying to round the easternmost point of Cuba, called *Maisi*, the Admiral encounters strong head-winds, and signals the two caravels to put back to the shelter of the Cuban coast. The fast sailer *Pinta*, being in advance, kept on her course; for Captain Martin Alonso Pinzon, the financial backer of Columbus, had decided to hasten on, at all hazards, to the golden island of Babeque, or Bohio. He might soon be repaid a hundred fold for all the expense and danger he had incurred.



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The *Santa Maria* and *Niña* seek a harbor in a small river east of Baracoa, from which they make another start on the 4th of December. Columbus arrived at Cuba believing it to be the island of Cipango (Zipangu), 500 leagues off the coast of China; when he departed he entertained the belief that it was a portion of Mangi, on the mainland. So the next day when he doubles Cape Maisi, he names it Cape Alpha and Omega, thinking it the extreme eastern projection of the Asian continent. Instead of turning to the southwest, Columbus followed the advice of his Indians and sailed to the southeast, the direction in which the *Pinta* had disappeared.

The lighthouse on Cape Maisi is 239 miles south of Watling's Island. The passage east of Cuba is called the Windward Channel, and is the route followed by vessels from New York and other northern ports to South America, the Isthmus of Panama, and points in the Caribbean Sea.

Fifty miles southeast of Cape Maisi, across the Windward Channel, is Cape San Nicolas, the extreme northwestern extremity of the large island of Haiti. Columbus was but a few hours sail from Cuba when his Indians exclaimed "Bohio!" and pointed to towering mountains straight ahead. As he approached the land in the evening the Admiral noticed fires on shore as far as the eye could see.

On December 6th, with the little *Niña* in advance taking soundings, the *Santa Maria* follows into a spacious bay, which Columbus names San Nicolas, in honor of Saint Nicholas, whose fête day it was. On account of a natural quay, it is more commonly known as Mole San Nicolas.

Columbus then sails eastward along the northern shore of Haiti. Meeting rough weather, the vessels take shelter under the lee of a small island, a few miles off the coast, which Columbus calls Tortuga, because of its resemblance to a sea-turtle. This little island becomes famous, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, as the headquarters of that brotherhood of seamen generally referred to as the buccaneers.

Opposite Tortuga, on the main island, Columbus finds a beautiful valley, with a river running through it, which is so enchanting that he names it Val de Paraiso (Vale of Paradise). On the 12th day of December, in a port which he called Concepcion, Columbus takes possession of Haiti, with the usual ceremonies, and erects a cross on an eminence. The aboriginal name, *Haiti*, meant high land, or Island of Mountains, a very appropriate appellation. Columbus, however, renamed it Hispaniola, or Española, because, as he said, it reminded him of the south of Spain. The western end of the island was called

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by the natives Bohio, and the eastern section Babeque, the region of gold. This corresponds, roughly, with the modern division of the island into the black Republic of Haiti, and the Republic of Santo Domingo.

When the Spaniards landed, all the Indians fled, except a young woman, who, like Lot's wife, stopped to look back, and was caught, perhaps not unwillingly, by three of the seamen. Her dark skin and total nudity gave no promise of Oriental civilization; but, then, *she had a golden ring in her nose*. Columbus clothes the naked beauty in a shirt, puts a string of beads about her neck, and treats her so well that the coy maiden is reluctant to return to her people. Her good report of the white strangers induces the rest to come forth, bringing cassava bread, fish, and fruits, which they offer to the Spaniards. The Admiral continues eastward, either entering or noting each harbor and river. The farther he goes the more gold is seen among the natives, and as they crowd about the two ships in their canoes to barter, very few escape without parting with nose-ring or plate of gold for some European bauble or bit of broken dish. The Indians are particularly delighted with the little bells, or chug-chugs, as they call them. On December 18th, there being no wind, the Spaniards decked out their vessels and fired a salute in memory of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.

While in a beautiful harbor, probably the Bay of Acul, Columbus receives a young chieftain, who was carried on the shoulders of his subjects, bearing a present from the head Cacique of that region, named *Guacanagari*, and an invitation to visit him. The present comprised a cotton girdle, to which was attached a mask, with eyes, nose, tongue, and ears of gold. It was here that the Admiral first heard of the Cibao, a mountain region in the interior, from whence came the gold. Columbus was continually identifying American with East Asian names; so he immediately declares Ci-ba-o to be the Ci-pan-go of Marco Polo.

Monday morning, December 24th, the Admiral again sails to the east, intending to visit Guacanagari in his village of Guarico. Columbus usually kept the deck himself, but this night the sea is "calm as water in a dish," to use his own words, so the Admiral takes some much-needed repose. The watch went to sleep, and the helmsman gave the tiller to a boy and followed his example. This is the only boy mentioned in the first voyage of Columbus, and no blame attaches to him for what followed.

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Very early on Christmas morning, 1492, Columbus' flagship, the *Santa Maria*, was carried by a treacherous current hard upon a reef, which, according to Ober, is located in front of Cape Haitien. Fortunately, Guarico, now the fishing hamlet of Petit Anse, was but a few miles away; so Columbus sent messengers to Guacanagari imploring assistance. The Admiral ordered his captain to carry an anchor astern, and make an effort to warp the *Santa Maria* off the reef; instead of which he rows off to the *Niña*, less than two miles to windward. Vicente Yañez Pinzon—those Pinzons were all brave sailormen—reproves the captain, and hastens to the relief of the *Santa Maria*. The masts are cut away and some of the cargo thrown overboard to lighten her, but the old boat remains fast, and is rapidly going to pieces in the breakers. The Admiral and his crew go aboard the *Niña*, and Guacanagari hastens to the wreck with a fleet of canoes, and carries all the stores in safety to his village, where they are guarded with savage fidelity. "The wreckers' trade might flourish in Cornwall, but, like other crimes of civilization, it was unknown in St. Domingo."—(HELPS.)

Columbus is much cast down by his misfortune, and the Cacique gives a great feast to honor and divert this white god who has come to visit him. Guacanagari exhibits so much natural dignity and gentle courtesy that he completely wins the heart of the Admiral. After the sumptuous meal, a thousand naked Indians engage in their primitive dances, to the sound of tom-toms, to entertain the Spaniards.

Wishing to impress the natives with his power, Columbus ordered a famous Moorish bowman in his company to exhibit his skill with the cross-bow. He then fired off an arquebus; and when he discharged one of his small cannon, which splintered the shrubbery in its path, the Indians fell on the ground in alarm. Guacanagari takes the golden crown from his own head and places it on the head of Columbus. The subchiefs likewise give up their coronets to the Admiral. Columbus presents Guacanagari with a pair of red shoes, a large silver ring (highly valued because there was no silver in Haiti), and a bead collar; and then, in an exuberance of affection and generosity, throws his fine scarlet robe over the shoulders of the chief. During the feast an Indian arrives and tells of seeing another vessel, the *Pinta*, of course, two days previous.

All this time the Spaniards are exchanging their trinkets and pieces of iron and leather for gold-dust, nuggets, and ornaments. The Indians have a fashion of smelling the European articles, and calling them *turey*; that is, from heaven.

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These Indians were so friendly, and possessed so much gold, which came from the Cibao not very far away, that Columbus decided to leave here a portion of his command, which could gather in the precious metal, while he himself hurried back to Spain to bring out more men and supplies. This was agreeable to Guacanagari, who thought how advantageous it would be to have the powerful aid of these supernatural beings^a to repel the dreaded *Caribs*, those fierce cannibals who roasted his men and stole his women.

On a small hill, near the Indian village of Guarico, Christopher Columbus constructed from the timbers of his flagship, the wrecked *Santa Maria*, a wooden tower, or fort, mounted with lombards, and surrounded by a ditch. He named the fort Navidad (the Nativity), in memory of their escape from the wreck on Christmas Day. Barring the discovery of America and attempt at settlement made by the Norsemen in the tenth century, this was the very first structure erected and the very first colony planted by Europeans in the New World.

So willing were the Indians to assist in the work that the fort was finished by New Year's Day, 1493. In it were placed arms and ammunition, provisions sufficient to supply the garrison for one year, articles for traffic, and seeds for planting. So attractive was life in these islands that most of the Spaniards volunteered to remain; and of these the Admiral selected forty men to garrison La Navidad. One of these was Diego de Arana, a cousin of Beatrix Enriquez. He was a notary and *alguacil*, and to him was given the command.

Before leaving, the Admiral gives a return banquet, after which the Spaniards, in sword and buckler, exhibit a sham-battle to impress the Indians. Guacanagari is so grieved at the departure of his new friend and ally that he orders a statue of Columbus to be made of gold, "as large as life."

Columbus counseled those staying on Haiti to stick together and obey their officers, to be just to the Indians, and, above all, to be chaste in their conduct with the native women. January 4, 1493, Columbus and the other Spaniards set sail for Spain on the little *Niña*, which saluted the fort as she left the harbor. The salutation was returned; and this was the last they ever saw of Navidad and their countrymen.

Nevertheless, here was the beginning of the Spaniards' curse, which depopulated the inhabitants of Haiti in so brief a time as to have no parallel in history. When White Man met Red

^a "The Indians soon understood that instead of being children of God, they were a new plague that Heaven had sent to their injury."—*Quintana*.

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Man the inevitable conflict of races ensued, and, as always happens, the weaker perished.

The coast line still extended toward the east in the direction of Spain, so the Admiral continued to sail along the shores of Haiti. On the 6th, while beating up against a stiff breeze, the *Pinta* was seen approaching under full sail before the wind. Columbus put about to find a harbor, signalling to the *Pinta* to follow, and they both came to anchor near a promontory, which he called Monte-Cristi. Captain Pinzon explained his disappearance on November 20th as due to stress of weather. As a matter of fact, under the guidance of an Indian aboard, he had intentionally run away from the Admiral, in order to be the first to reach Babeque, the Land of Gold. Pinzon was the first to reach the district of Haiti called Babeque, but whether the first to arrive at the island is doubtful, as he encountered numerous other islands before reaching Haiti.

He had obtained a large amount of gold, half of which he kept, dividing the other half among his crew. Columbus smothered his wrath, because he was, literally, in the hands of the Pinzons. He did, however, insist on Martin Alonzo releasing four men and two girls he had seized on Haiti.

About a league from Monte Cristi is a river called then, as now, the Yaqui. Here the vessels took in fresh water; and on account of particles of gold adhering to the hoops of the casks, Columbus named it *Rio del Oro*, or Golden River. The Yaqui has its origin in the Cibao, or "Goldstone" country, and is in the region that was called Babeque. It was here that Martin Alonzo Pinzon obtained most of his gold. The Admiral notes the presence of many large turtles; and sees the faces of three mermaids rise from the water, like he had seen on the Guinea coast; and adds that they were "not so handsome" as generally represented. Undoubtedly, these were manatis, or sea-cows (*Manatus americanus*).

On January 9th, the reunited vessels sail to the eastward, and the next day pass a cloud-capped mountain, which Columbus calls Monte de Plata, or Mountain of Silver. This has given name to the present town and port of Puerto Plata, on the north coast of Santo Domingo. Continuing along the coast, they pass Cape Cabron, and a few leagues farther on round Balandra Head into the magnificent Bay of Samaná, on the northeast corner of Haiti.

Here Columbus meets a tribe of Indians quite different from those previously seen. A party of Spaniards seeking water is suddenly attacked by about fifty painted natives, armed with war-clubs, javelins, and bows as long as those used by English

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archers. The Spaniards wound several, when the rest take to flight, leaving so many arrows on the field that the Admiral names the bay *Golfo de las Flechas*, or Gulf of Arrows.

This was the first native blood shed by the Spaniards in the Western Hemisphere. These Indians, the Ciguayans, closely resembled their fierce neighbors, the Caribs; and were under the dominion of Cacique *Mayonabex*. Columbus was much concerned as to the effect of this bloodshed upon the attitude of the Indians; but the latter seemed to look upon the fight simply as a pleasant introduction. The next morning a great number of warriors came down to the beach and bartered with the Spaniards in great amity, the chief himself being entertained by the Admiral, to whom he presented his golden coronet.

Four of the Indians told of an island to the northeast inhabited solely by women, and volunteered to serve as guides. As the coast now turned to the south, and this was in the direction of Spain, Columbus gladly accepted their offer, and took the four young men aboard. To the Admiral this island of women, called Madinino, was simply another confirmation of Marco Polo, who wrote of an island of Amazons.

January 16, 1493, Columbus, with the *Niña* and the *Pinta*, took final departure from Haiti, or Hispaniola, as he now called the island, and headed northeastward for Spain. When once at sea the Ciguayans became confused about the direction of Madinino, or the Island of Amazons, so the Admiral carried them on to Spain, where they, with the other Indians, formed the principal feature of his triumphal journey across Spain to appear before Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona. These Indians were baptised in Barcelona, where one of them soon died, the first native of the New World, according to Herrera, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

As we do not pretend to give a full account of the life and voyages of Columbus, but only those facts and events leading up to the discovery and settlement of the Isthmus of Panama and Castilla del Oro, we will pass over the incidents attending his perilous return voyage, and the brief period when Court and courtiers did him honor, during which Columbus drained the cup of joy to the dregs.

In the midst of a great storm,* the *Pinta*, about February 13th, became separated from the *Niña*, and the latter, with great difficulty, reaches St. Mary, one of the Azores. After some difficulty with the Portuguese Governor, Castañeda, the Admiral departs from St. Mary's on the 24th. A few days later, when nearing the coast of Spain, the *Niña* runs into another gale, which almost swamps the caravel. While driven

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under bare poles, Columbus sights the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus, and on March 4th manages to work into the river, which is the port of Lisbon. When invited to the Court by King John, no doubt Columbus enjoyed describing the richness of the lands which Portugal had declined to seek. In the midst of their chagrin some of the courtiers even propose to kill Columbus, and seize this new territory for Portugal.

On the 13th, the Admiral takes leave of this dangerous hospitality, and on March 15, 1493, he arrives back at Palos, after an absence of a little less than seven and a half months. The same day, while the peals of triumph are still ringing for Columbus, the *Pinta* also reaches Palos, from the Bay of Biscay, where she was driven by the storms, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon quietly proceeds to his home, where he dies shortly afterwards.

In the evening, in fulfillment of vows made during the tempest, the Admiral and his crew marched in procession through the tearful populace to the convent Church of Santa Clara, at Moguer, where they offered up thanks for their safe return from the voyage into the unknown seas.

Names of the Europeans left at Navidad in 1493:

"Lista de las personas que Colon dejó en la Isla Española y halló muertas por los Indios cuando volvió á poblarla en 1493.—(R. Arch. de Indias en Sevilla, Papeles de Contratacion, y en la Colec. de Muñoz.)

Alonso Velez de Mendoza: de Sevilla.

Alvar Perez Osorio: de Castrojeriz.

Antonio de Jaen: de Jaen.

El Bachiller Bernardino de Tapia: natural de Ledesma.

Cristóbal del Alamo: natural del Condado (de Niebla).

Castillo, platero: natural de Sevilla.

Diego Garcia: de Jerez.

Diego de Tordoya: de Cabeza de Vaca.

Diego de Capilla: del Almaden.

Diego de Torpa.

Diego de Mambles: natural de Mambles.

*Fearing his ship might founder during the tempest of February 14, and news of his discovery be lost, the Admiral wrote on parchment to his sovereigns that he had found the Indies. Sealing the announcement in waxed cloth, he placed it in a cask, and committed the message to the mercy of the angry waves. Don Fernando tells us that his father wrote a second notice, which he attached to a log on deck, so that it would float away should the vessel sink. The next day, February 15, 1493, Columbus wrote a letter to Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion; and on February 18 he wrote another letter relating his discovery to Gabriel (Raphael) Sanchez, controller of finances; both of which have been preserved. These letters were put in print the same year, and constitute the first documents narrating the discovery of America.

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Diego de Mendoza: de Guadalajara.
Diego de Montalban: de Jaen.
Domingo de Bermeo.
Francisco Fernandez.
Francisco de Godoy: natural de Sevilla.
Francisco de Vergara: natural de Sevilla.
Francisco de Aranda: de Aranda.
Francisco de Henao: de Avila.
Francisco de Jiménez: de Sevilla.
Gabriel Baraona: de Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia: de Leon.
Gonzalo Fernandez: de Segovia.
Guillermo Ires: natural de Galney, en Irlanda.
Hornando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzalez: natural de Trigueros.
Juan de Urniga.
Juan Morcillo: de Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva: de Castuera.
Juan Patiño: de la Serena.
Juan del Barco: del Barco de Avila.
Juan de Villar: del Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Lograsan: cerca de Guadalupe.
Pedro Corbacho: de Cáceres.
Pedro de Talavera.
Pedro de Foronda.
Sebastian de Mayorga: natural de Mayorga.
Tallarte de Lajes: ingles.
Tristan de San Jorge."

—(NAVARRETE, *tomo II*, pag. 19.)

Navarrete notes that Muñoz, at different places, gives the number of men as being 37, 38, and 39. The above list includes 40 persons; to which must be added the names of the Governor, Diego de Arana, and his two lieutenants, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo; making 43 in all.

It will be observed that one of these, Guillermo Ires, was an Irishman, probably William Harris, of Galway; and that the name written Tallarte de Lajes belonged to an Englishman, perhaps Arthur Laws or Larkins. This list gives Francisco de Vergara, not given by Captain Duro, who includes Maestre Juan, surgeon, in his enumeration; so that both registers contain 43 names.

■

CHAPTER IV

SECOND VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1493

Discovery of the Lesser Antilles, Porto Rico, and Jamaica

"In placid indolence supinely blest,
A feeble race these beauteous isles possess'd;
Untamed, untaught, in arts and arms unskill'd,
Their patrimonial soil they rudely till'd,
Chased the free rovers of the savage wood,
Ensnared the wild-bird, swept the scaly flood;
Shelter'd in lowly huts their fragile forms
From burning suns and desolating storms;
Or when the halcyon sported on the breeze,
In light canoes they skimmed the rippling seas;
Their lives in dreams of soothing langour flew,
No parted joys, no future pain they knew,
The passing moment all their bliss or care;
Such as their sires had been the children were,
From age to age, as waves upon the tide
Of stormless time, they calmly lived and died."

James Montgomery.



IN the same letter in which the Sovereigns welcome Columbus back to Spain they bid him hasten preparations for another voyage to the new lands he had discovered. The astute and wily Ferdinand shared with Columbus the belief that these islands were on the borders of India and Cathay, and he was fully alive to the possibilities for glory and profit to be derived from them. To shut out any claims to these lands which Portugal might make under the Papal edict of 1471, granting her exclusive right to navigate to the eastward, Spain applied to Pope Alexander VI, as representative of the Creator, to confirm her title of discovery; and the Pope, on May 3d and 4th, 1493, issued his famous Bulls dividing the unknown world between Spain and Portugal by a "line of demarcation" passing 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde islands, and extending from Pole to Pole (*vide* Appendix).

A royal decree was issued forbidding anyone making a voyage to the Indies, except with the permission of their

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Majesties; and all barter and traffic with the Indians was declared a monopoly of the Crown. Columbus received a coat-of-arms; and the pledges made him in the capitulation of April 30, 1492, were confirmed, on the 28th of May, in a formidable document beginning: "In the name of the Holy Trinity and Eternal Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and of the Blessed Virgin, the Glorious St. Mary, Our Lady; and of the Blessed Apostle St. James, Light and Mirror of All Spain, Patron and Guide of the Sovereigns of Castile and Leon; and of all the other Saints, Male and Female, in the Courts of Heaven."

In spite of the multitude of heavenly witnesses, the unscrupulous Ferdinand had no difficulty in breaking this obligation when it suited his purpose so to do.

No sooner was it known that the Admiral was returning to the islands of gold and spices than all the adventurers and soldiers of fortune turned loose by the cessation of the Moorish wars clamored for office in the expedition, or at least a passage to the new islands. Though the ships carried cattle, seeds, and tools to form a colony, but few went out with any intention of remaining in Hispaniola; and all expected to reap a golden harvest from the simple and timid natives.

For once in his life Ferdinand became enthusiastic, and counted not the cost in furnishing a large fleet, believing that in a few months Antonio de Torres, the second in command, would come sailing back to Spain with his ships full of the costly drugs and spices of the East; and the ton of gold which Columbus reckoned the garrison of Navidad could accumulate during his absence. With great difficulty, and even by extortion, and sequestering the property of the banished Jews, funds were raised to obtain and equip vessels at Seville, Cadiz, and other places and ports in Andalusia.

Although Columbus was such a devout churchman, many of his troubles were brought upon him by prelates of his own faith. He came near being consigned to the Inquisition by the Junta before the first voyage; and now the management of the outfitting of his second expedition is given to Juan Rodrigues de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, later made Bishop of Burgos. From the very start, Fonseca was unfriendly to Columbus, and continued his enmity until even after the death of the Admiral. Columbus was a foreigner, and seems to have been thoroughly disliked by most of the Spaniards, both high and low, with whom he came in contact. He made his great discovery with neither relative nor fast friend, but at the head

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of a mutinous crew; and his success served to excite the jealousy and resentment of many grandees and clerics about the Court.

The ships are ordered to rendezvous at Cadiz, and sail on the 15th of July; but week after week slips by and the preparations are still incomplete. Juonato Beradi, an Italian merchant in Seville, had a contract for furnishing many of the supplies, and employed as manager one Amerigo Vespucci. Amerigo did not accompany Columbus on this voyage, but was destined later to have his name affixed to the New World discovered by Don Christopher.

In the midst of the hurry and confusion, much fraud was perpetrated; and the vessels sailed not only overloaded with an ill-assorted assemblage of persons, but fitted out with defective stores and provisions. The good meat and biscuit were exchanged for bad; men sold their armor and accoutrements; and even the twenty-five steeds for the men-at-arms of the Holy Brotherhood were replaced by twenty sorry hacks; notwithstanding the presence of scores of clerks, inspectors, and notaries, who made lists of every article taken aboard, and required affidavits from every individual.

Finally, on September 25, 1493, a fleet of seventeen sail, consisting of three stately vessels (ships of from two to three hundred tons), and fourteen caravels, set sail from the harbor of Cadiz. One of the carracks, the Admiral's flagship, is the *Maria Galante*; another is called the *Gallega*. Among the caravels is the brave little *Niña*, already a veteran in transatlantic passage. Instead of carrying one thousand persons, as planned, fifteen hundred crowded and stowed themselves away on the ships. "Men were ready to leap into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new-found parts," so wild were they to get to the Land of Gold.

Among the notables on the fleet, or those destined to win renown in the *West Indies*, as the new region was now called, were Juan Ponce de Leon, who conquered Puerto Rico, discovered Florida, and vainly sought the Fountain of Eternal Youth; Alonso de Ojeda, protégé of the Duke of Medina-Celi, a dashing young soldier from the Moorish wars, who would perform still greater deeds in the islands, and found the first settlement on the Gulf of Darien; Juan de la Cosa, the ablest pilot of his time, who made the first map of the western world; Diego Colon, the youngest brother of Columbus, who should have been a monk instead of trying to manage an unruly colony; Diego de Alvarado, who sailed from Guatemala to dispute the

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possession of Peru with Pizarro; Francisco de Garay, who opposed Cortez; Pedro de las Casas, father of the justly famous Fray Bartolomé; Doctor Chanca, the Queen's own physician, and medical director of the fleet, who wrote a chronicle of the voyage and the first scientific sketch of America to the Chapter of Seville. Last, but not least, was Fray Bernardo Boil, a Benedictine monk, the apostolic delegate, and head of a dozen priests, "one of those subtle politicians of the cloister, who in those days glided into all temporal concerns."—(IRVING.) According to Bancroft, there were aboard "also bloodhounds to aid in Christianizing and civilizing the natives."

Columbus kept a sharp lookout for any Portuguese fleet that might try to intercept him, and on the 2d of October arrived safely at the Gran Canaria without a conflict. On the 5th he anchored at Gomera, another island of the group, where he took on not merely fresh water and wood, but seeds and cuttings of the sugar-cane, oranges, lemons, vegetables, and melons; and increased their stock of domestic animals. Among the latter were eight swine, costing seventy-five cents each, from which, so says Las Casas, sprung the infinite number of hogs subsequently found in the Spanish settlements. The sugar-cane, melons, citrous fruits, and swine brought to America from the Canaries have been of more benefit to mankind and productive of more wealth than all the billions of gold carried from the New World by the Spaniards.

On the 13th the fleet passed Ferro, the most western of the islands; and on the twentieth day thereafter, November 3, 1493, sighted the first land, which turned out to be a lofty island. Crews and passengers chant the "Salve Regina" and other services of the church. It being Sunday morning, Columbus gave it the name of *Dominica*, which it still retains. It was off this little island, in 1782, that Rodney won the mastery of the Caribbean for the British from the Frenchman De Grasse, flushed with his victory at Yorktown in the preceding year.

Thirty miles to the southward could be seen the peaks of another Carib island, afterwards called Martinique, which became the residence of Madame de Maintenon and the birth-place of the Empress Josephine, two women destined to change the history of France.

Columbus had intentionally taken a more southerly course than on his first voyage, in order to encounter, if fortunate, certain islands described by the Indians of Haiti as lying to the east and south of them; particularly the Island of Amazons,

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and the Island of Cannibals. By this southern route he avoided the Sargasso Sea, and experienced no greater danger than a thunderstorm, when good St. Elmo, with lighted tapers, appeared on the mastheads and conducted them safely out of the tempest.

Finding no anchorage, the Admiral detached a caravel to explore Dominica, and proceeded to a smaller island to the northward, which he named *Marigalante*, after his ship. A large party was landed, and with much ceremony Columbus took possession not only of that island and others in sight, but all unseen lands and the sea which embraced them; all "in the manner provided by law," as Doctor Chanca wrote. No habitations are found here, but the caravel from Dominica reports seeing houses and people on that island.

The next day Columbus sailed to an island about twenty miles north, which presented a great mountain peak, with a shining cataract on its side, which "appeared to fall from the skies." He calls the island *Guadalupe*, in fulfillment of a promise made to the monks of Estramadura. In the shacks were found many human bones and heads hanging from the rafters. A number of women fled to the Spaniards, and stated that they were captives from Buriquen, a large island in the north. The present island was called Turuqueira, and was inhabited by Caribs, who made raids on the northern islands, carrying off the men for food and the women for other purposes. Columbus rightly believed these to be the "cannibals" so much dreaded by the Lucayans and Haitians, but erred again when he sought confirmation in Marco Polo's book and identified them with the Anthropophagi of Asia.

On Guadalupe the Spaniards find the sternpost of a European ship, and what looks like an iron dish. Diego Marquez, the royal inspector, and captain of one of the caravels, with two pilots and eight men, go ashore without the Admiral's permission, and lose themselves so completely in the tropical forest that Ojeda, with forty picked men, is unable to find them. Very fortunately, nearly all the male population is away on a foray, in ten war-canoes, and the half-starved wanderers return in safety to the ships, having delayed the expedition about a week.

Sunday, November 10th, the fleet weighed anchor and stood to the north in the direction of Hispaniola, Columbus giving names to the numerous islands of the Lesser Antilles which lay in their course. The next day he passes by a ragged island, which he calls *Montserrat*, after a mountain and monastery in Spain. A few miles away is a lovely rounded rock rising

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several hundred feet above the sea, which is named *Santa Maria la Redonda*; and the next morning a low-lying island to the northeast receives the appellation *Santa Maria la Antigua*. A small island presenting a volcanic cone, reminds the Admiral of a snow-clad peak near Barcelona, and he calls it *Nieves*, or *Snows*; later known as *Nevis*.

Across a narrow channel is another island, with a towering central peak, which Columbus calls *St. Christopher*, after his patron saint. It was here that the English got their first footing in the West Indies, in 1625; and the name was abbreviated to *St. Kitt's*. Farther on, the Admiral names *St. Eustacio*, *St. Martin*, and the rock-bound *Saba*. In affectionate remembrance of his brother, he calls a small island *St. Bartolomé*.

On the 14th the fleet came to an island called *Ayay* by the Caribs, who, as usual, fled on the approach of the ships, leaving their captives to escape to the white men. While here, the Spaniards have their first fight with the Caribs. A canoe-load of Indians suddenly appears around a point and drop their paddles in amazement at the array of great winged vessels. A boat cuts off their retreat and overturns the canoe, but the Caribs continue shooting their arrows while in the water, and one of these arrows, which may have been poisoned, fired by a Carib woman, wounds a Basque so severely that he dies a few days later. Columbus calls this island *Santa Cruz*, and to the north names *St. Thomas* and *St. John*.

Coming to a group of numerous islets, the Admiral calls the largest *St. Ursula*, and the fifty or more others the *Eleven Thousand Virgins*. Columbus noted that these islands, unlike the others, were destitute of trees.

Sailing westward, the fleet arrived at the southeastern coast of the large island which was called *Buriquen*, or *Borinquen*, by the Indians. Columbus coasts along the southern shores of this island for a distance of about one hundred miles, and on the 19th enters a port on the west coast, now known as *Agua-dilla*, not far from *Mayaguez*. The Spaniards watered their ships at a spring, and are much impressed with the regular arrangement and neat appearance of the native village, all the people of which have fled. Columbus names the island *San Juan Bautista*, or *Saint John the Baptist*, soon changed to *Puerto Rico*.

Early Thursday morning, November 21, 1493, the ships steer due west, and before night come in sight of a range of high mountains, which the Indians say is *Haiti*. Columbus had not previously visited the eastern coast of the island, so the next morning he sent ashore the remaining Indian, the other

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three having died, of those he had carried away from Samaná, in order to ascertain the direction of the settlement at Navidad. This Indian had been baptized and received into the church, and was finely dressed and ornamented, so that he was expected to become a very useful intermediary for the Spaniards. The young warrior was only too glad to tread his native soil again, and the Admiral waited in vain for his return.

Columbus then turned towards the northern coast, and soon came to the large bay which he had named the Gulf of Arrows, and later known as the Bay of Samaná. The fleet anchored at Cape Angel for the night, and engaged in friendly and profitable barter with the natives. The next day the Admiral hastened westward, passing familiar landmarks he himself had named: Lover's Cape, Cape of Good Weather, Puerto de Plata, and Golden River, where he saw the mermaids, which had its origin in the golden Cibao, the Cipango of Marco Polo, the mountains of which were plainly visible.

On the 25th the fleet anchored at Monte Cristi, only eight leagues from Navidad, expecting to obtain some tidings about the colony. In this they were not disappointed. The landing party found two decomposed corpses bound upon two rude crosses, the one being a youth and the other an old man. The next day two more bodies are found on the bank of the river, one of which bore a beard, which showed that they were not Indians. Filled with forebodings of disaster to his men, the Admiral hastened on to Navidad, and anchored off the reefs on the night of November 27th. Two cannon are fired, but all is dark and still on shore. Finally, about midnight, some Indians come off in a canoe, crying "Almirante!" The Admiral receives them, and recognizes one as the nephew of Guacanagari. They offer Columbus two golden masks, and tell him that some of his men had died from disease; others had quarreled and gone off into the interior with a train of females, while the rest had been killed in battle with Caonabo, the fierce mountain cacique, aided by Mayrionex, and the fortress of Navidad reduced to ashes. Guacanagari tried to aid his white friends, and suffered the loss of his village, and was himself wounded. Many of the Spaniards did not believe this account, and, with Father Boil, were for putting the chieftain to death; but subsequent investigation tended to show that the garrison left at Navidad had brought their destruction upon themselves by insubordination to their officers, and cruel and outrageous treatment of the Indians.

It being necessary to disembark his motley horde of adventurers and establish another settlement, Columbus determined

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to seek a better location, such as he had seen at Puerto de Plata. Sailing now to the eastward, on December 7th, the fleet, with difficulty, rounded Monte Cristi and reached the River of Thanks; when, the wind remaining contrary, the Admiral put about to a port three leagues back; where he unloaded his ships and laid out a town, which he called Isabella, in honor of the Queen. The place was abandoned a few years later, but its site has been located at the mouth of the Bajo-Bonico, about sixty miles west of Puerto Plata, where the outlines of the Admiral's house, the church, and storehouse are yet discernible.

The neighboring swamps bred fever, from which many of the Spaniards died. Neither hidalgo nor nameless adventurer cared to work or tried to adapt themselves to the new environment. Rations ran low, and there were not enough golden ornaments to suddenly enrich everyone. These settlers, like so many other gold-seekers, came to realize that the precious metal does not grow on trees, but is laboriously dug out of the earth or gathered from the sands of the rivers. Disappointment and despondency gave rise to dissension and sedition, headed by Bernal Diaz, the royal comptroller; Firmin Cedo, the assayer; and Father Boil, the papal legate.

Columbus, of course, was blamed for the misfortunes of the colony, and hoping to better their condition, he sent out two parties, commanded by Ojeda and Garbolan, respectively, to make a reconnoissance in the interior of the island. These young officers penetrated into the Cibao and Niti, where they found abundance of gold in every stream, Ojeda himself picking up a nugget weighing nine ounces.

On Sunday, February 2, 1494, Antonio de Torres is started back to Spain with twelve of the ships, taking with him about five hundred of the invalids and malcontents, a number of Indian men, women, boys, and girls, whom the Admiral designated "Cannibals," and the gold accumulated since their arrival, including the gold masks and Ojeda's nugget.

Leaving his weak brother Diego in command at Isabella, Columbus, on March 12th, set out for the golden Cibao at the head of four hundred men, bravely attired in armor and trappings, with standards and trumpets, and all the horses they could muster. The trail leading through the first range of mountains to the beautiful interior plain, afterwards named the *Vega Real*, was so narrow that the cavaliers, with their own hands, enlarged it for the passage of the horses. Columbus called it "*El Puerto de los Caballeros*," and as "Gentlemen's Pass" it is known today. On the border of the Cibao, by the

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Rio Yanique, a fort was constructed and named *Santo Tomás de Yanico*, the location of which is still pointed out. St. Thomas was garrisoned with fifty-two men, under command of Pedro Margarite, which, as usual with the Admiral's appointments, was an unfortunate selection.

March 29th, Columbus returned to Isabella, and on the 24th of April he set sail, in the three caravels he had retained, for the south coast of Cuba; to determine whether it was a great island, as many Indians affirmed, or an eastern projection of the continent of Asia, as he himself believed. After sailing westward from Cape Maisi about three hundred leagues, according to his computations, Columbus had his notary draw up an *Acta*, in which every man and boy aboard the three ships declared under oath, and before witnesses, that Cuba was indeed a part of the continent of Asia. This curious document has been preserved, and begins as follows:

"On board the caravel '*Niña*,' which is also called the '*Santa Clara*,' Thursday, the 12th of June, in the year of Our Lord's Birth 1494, the most noble Señor Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Viceroy and Perpetual Governor of the Island of San Salvador and of all the other islands and mainland of the Indies, discovered or to be discovered, etc., etc., demanded of me, Fernando Perez de Luna, one of the notaries public of the city of Isabella, on behalf of their Majesties," etc.

In July, 1898, a Spanish cruiser named Cristobal Colon fled westward along this same coast, pursued by the warships of a power destined to drive Spain from this island, her last foothold in the New World.

The Admiral even thought of continuing his course to the west and circumnavigating the globe by doubling the Golden Chersonesus, crossing the Gulf of Ganges, and by a new route, either around Africa or going up the Red Sea and so overland to Joppa and Jerusalem, reach Spain.

On this voyage Columbus discovered Jamaica, which he named *Santiago*; and returned to Isabella by the south coast of Haiti. At every port he entered the natives told of a much grander land to the south and west, abounding in gold and pearls.

Intending to complete his investigation of the Caribbee Islands, Columbus left Cape Engano, the east point of Haiti, and steered to the southeast. After touching at the island of Mona, the Admiral suddenly fell into a deep coma, with loss of all his senses and faculties, resembling death itself. The masters and pilots, much alarmed, turned their vessels about

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and hurried to Isabella, which place they reached on the 29th of September.

Columbus remains in a stupor for several days, and when he regains consciousness it is to gaze upon the face of his beloved brother Bartholomew, who had recently come to Hispaniola in charge of three caravels. During the absence of the Viceroy, Margarite and Fray Boíl had fomented trouble and rebellion under the weak administration of Don Diego, which ended by them and the malcontents seizing two of the vessels brought out by Don Bartolomé, and sailing away to Spain to lay their complaints before their Majesties.

Torres, who had just brought out four ship-loads of supplies, returns to Spain; and Diego Colon is sent along to help settle the division of the world between Spain and Portugal. There being so little gold to satisfy the greed of the home government, the Admiral fills the ships with what he knows will be equally acceptable, viz., five hundred captive Indians consigned to the Bishop, Juan de Fonseca, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Cadiz and Seville. Many writers hold up their hands in holy horror at this procedure of Columbus; but his action was commonplace and in accord with the Christian as well as pagan customs of the day. From time immemorial it has been the practice of man to torture and kill his captive, to hold him for ransom, to keep him in bondage, or to eat him. Two hundred and fifty years later, in the New World, the White Man, in the name of Christ and Justice, burnt his own people accused of being infidels or witches; and three hundred and fifty years later, human beings were still being held in slavery all over the Americas.

Isabella's character is one of the few bright spots in the dark picture of Spanish discovery and conquest; but the fine phrases of indignation, credited to her by partial and sentimental historians, come with ill grace from a Queen who permitted her subjects to deal in Guinea negroes and Canary Islanders, who had driven the Jewish people from their homes in Spain, and who, at that time, held and sold as slaves thousands of Moorish men, women, and children. As for the unctuous and grasping Ferdinand, no one would ever accuse him of allowing feeling or sentiment to stand between him and the prospect of turning an honest penny by traffic in human souls.

Columbus made Bartholomew *Adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor, and his good sense and force of character greatly assisted his brother in controlling the unruly subjects in the colony.

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The Indians had been so badly treated and outraged by roaming bands of soldiers, that the warlike Caonabo collected his people and openly attacked St. Thomas. Had it not been for the treachery or loyalty (as you choose to view it) of Guacanagari, who refused to league with the other *caciques*, it is probable that the Spaniards would have been exterminated. This effeminate chieftain warned Columbus of the uprising, and hastened the inevitable doom of his race. Ojeda, with but nine horsemen, puts a pair of shining handcuffs on Caonabo and carries that gallant *cacique* off behind him on the back of his horse to Isabella; and Columbus invades the Vega Real with two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty bloodhounds, and puts to flight an army of Indians estimated by some of the Spaniards to be more than one hundred thousand.

As an evidence of their subjection, and to raise a revenue for the colony, Columbus imposed a head tax upon the natives. Every Indian, male and female, between the ages of fourteen and forty years, was tagged with a metal check, and required to furnish their masters, every three months, with a Flemish hawk's-bell full of gold, or an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) of cotton.

At this time, Juan Aguado is sent out to partly supersede the Viceroy; and soon after, both men sail to Spain to settle their differences at Court. The Admiral, on the *Niña*, reached Cadiz on the 11th of June, 1496, after a tedious and perilous voyage, during which that stout-hearted savage, Caonabo, had died.

From here, Columbus sent dispatches by Pedro Alonso Nino, who was just starting out for Hispaniola, to his brother Bartholomew, directing him to begin a settlement on the south coast of the island, near some mines on the river Hayna, disclosed by a *caciquess* to her lover, Miguel Diaz.

Previous to this, on April 10, 1495, a royal proclamation had been issued, in violation of the rights of Columbus, giving Spaniards permission to settle in Hispaniola, and permitting private voyages of discovery. On the remonstrance of the Admiral, this was rescinded in so far as it was prejudicial to him; and, in addition, all his former titles and grants were confirmed. Before again sailing for the Indies, the Admiral made a deed of entail and will, in which he indicated the line of succession in his family; and directed the distribution of the vast revenues he expected his grants to produce.

During the next year, Ferdinand and Isabella were busily engaged in the business and functions attending the marriage of Prince Juan and Princess Juana with scions of the house

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of Austria; and shortly afterwards the Crown Prince, the only son, died; so it was not until the year 1498 that ships, men, and supplies could be furnished their Admiral of the Ocean Sea for another voyage to the Indies.

"It will not be out of place to relate what I heard happened in Spain to Columbus, after he had discovered the Indies; although it had been done in ancient times in other ways, but was new then. Columbus being at a party with many noble Spaniards, where, as was customary, the subject of conversation was the Indies, one of them undertook to say: 'Mr. Christopher, even if you had not found the Indies, we should not have been devoid of a man who would have attempted the same that you did, here in our own country of Spain, as it is full of great men clever in cosmography and literature.' Columbus said nothing in answer to these words, but having desired an egg to be brought to him, he placed it on the table, saying: 'Gentlemen, I will lay a wager with any of you, that you will not make this egg stand up as I will, naked and without anything at all.' They all tried, and no one succeeded in making it stand up. When the egg came round to the hands of Columbus, by beating it down on the table he fixed it, having thus crushed a little of one end; wherefore all remained confused, understanding what he would have said: that after the deed is done, everybody knows how to do it; that they ought first to have sought for the Indies, and not laugh at him who had sought for it first, while they for some time had been laughing, and wondered at it as an impossibility."—*La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*—1565.



By Theodoro de Biv, *Americae*, vol. 4, 1594.

COLUMBUS MAKES THE EGG STAND ON END.

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CHAPTER V

THIRD VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA
1498

Discovery of the Mainland

"Chains for the Admiral of the Ocean! Chains
For him who gave a new heaven, a new earth,
As holy John had prophesied of me,
Gave glory and more empire to the Kings
Of Spain than all their battles! Chains for him
Who push'd his prow into the setting sun,
And made West East, and sail'd the Dragon's Mouth,
And came upon the Mountains of the World,
And saw the rivers roll from Paradise!"

Alfred Tennyson.



ON Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from the port of San Lúcar de Barra-meda, near Cadiz, on his third venture into the western ocean. He landed at Porto Santo, the Madeira, and at Gomera, in the Canaries. Columbus left here on the 21st of June, and when off Ferro, he divided his fleet, sending three vessels, under Carvajal, Arafia, and Colombo, with supplies for the new town which the Adelantado had started on the southern shore of Hispaniola. The Admiral himself, with the three smaller craft, turned to the southward, and arrived at the Cape Verde Islands on the 27th, where he supplied himself with fresh water and goat's meat. He left here on the 4th of July, and steered to the southwest. It was the Admiral's plan on this voyage to take a more southerly course than formerly, and seek the equatorial regions to the south of Hispaniola and Cuba, where he expected to find the islands or land which the Indians told him lay in that direction. Moreover, he believed, with Jayme Ferrer, the learned jeweler, that the nearer one approached the equator the blacker became the people, and the more abundant the gold, pearls, precious stones, drugs, and spices.

On July 12th the squadron was in latitude 5° north, when the wind ceased and the heat became intolerable. The seams of the ships opened and tar dripped from the rigging. The meat and

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wheat, in the hold, spoilt; and the water-butts and wine-casks burst their hoops. The sailors lost strength and spirits, and their commander suffered from fever and his old malady, the gout. The horrors formerly suffered by sailing vessels when caught in the "doldrums," the region of calms near the Equator, are now nearly eliminated by the general use of steamers.

On the 20th a breeze springs up; and on the 22d birds are seen flying towards the northwest. It was the custom of Columbus, when engaging in an undertaking, to invoke the aid of the Holy Trinity; and when starting out on this voyage he vowed to name the first land discovered after the sacred Triad. On the 31st of July, 1498, as if in response to this vow, the triple peaks of a mountain are seen in the west, by Alonzo Perez, who happens to climb up into the crow's-nest. "It has pleased Our Lord," writes Columbus, "for His divine glory, that the first sight was three *mogotes*, all united; I should say three mountains, all at one time and in one view." The Admiral calls the distant land *Trinidad*; and all join in chanting the "Salve Regina" and other pious couplets.

The ships approached Trinidad at its southeastern corner, now called Point Galeota; after doubling which, they sailed westward along the south coast. The next day, August 1, 1498, Columbus saw land to the south, his first sight of the continent of America, and, believing it an island, he names it *La Isla Santa* (Sancta), or Holy Island. The Admiral passed around the projecting tongue of land on the southwest point of Trinidad by a turbulent channel, between it and Isla Santa, which he called *Boca del Serpiente* (the Serpent's Mouth). While anchored here at night his vessels are nearly swamped by a giant wave, or bore, the dreaded *pororoca* of the Orinoco river. Once inside Point Icacos, Columbus found himself in an immense body of water, as quiet as a pond, and sweet to the taste.

To the north of the lowlands of Isla Santa (really the delta of the Orinoco) was a range of mountains, seemingly on a third island, to which the Admiral gave the name *Isla de Gracia* (Island of Grace, or Mercy). The Indians on the latter were taller, fairer, and more intelligent than any yet encountered in the Indies. They called their land Paria, a name yet preserved in designating the cape and gulf on the northeast corner of Venezuela, opposite the island of Trinidad. Columbus, however, called the gulf *Golfo de las Perlas*, on account of the many pearls collected from the Indians; and confirmed the statement by Pliny, that oysters generate pearls from dewdrops,

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when he beheld, at low tide, oysters clinging to the mangrove bushes, with their mouths open to receive the falling dew. The good Bishop Las Casas, who came here later, is more accurate in his observation, for he notes that these oysters living in shallow waters do not produce pearls, but that the pearl oysters, "by a natural instinct, as if conscious of their precious charge, hide themselves in the deepest waters."

The Admiral spent two pleasant weeks about the gulf in friendly intercourse with the natives of Trinidad and Paria. Besides pearls, they wore ornaments of *guanin*, an alloy of gold, silver, and copper. Columbus found deer and numerous monkeys, the first seen in the New World; and is surprised to find the temperature much lower than in the same latitude on the coast of Africa. Vainly seeking an exit on the western side of the gulf, he is met everywhere by rivers of fresh water and shallow soundings, and is compelled to turn back and risk passage to the north through the rushing currents of the *Boca del Drago*, or Dragon's Mouth. The attempt is made, by moonlight, on the night of August 13th, and is successful, though the Admiral commits one of his rare errors of seamanship when he lets go his anchors on encountering a great wave, similar to the one met in the Serpent's Mouth.

Safely in the Caribbean Sea, Columbus descries two islands faintly perceptible in the northeast, probably *Tobago* and *Granada*, but is satisfied to name them Asuncion and Concepcion, and steers west along the north coast of Paria for about one hundred and fifty miles, when he became convinced from its extent and particularly from the mighty volumes of fresh water flowing into the Gulf of Paria that it was not an island, but "Terra Firma, of vast extent, of which until this day nothing has been known."

Near the shore are a number of islands, at the largest of which he collects three pounds of pearls from the Indians, and calls it *Margarita*—the Pearl. Near by are *Cubagua* and *Coche*, and to seaward of Margarita are *La Blanquilla* and *Los Testigos*. The Admiral called this region *Costa de las Perlas*, and the islands soon became famous as the Pearl Islands. Ojeda, who robbed the natives later, started a settlement on Cubagua,, which he named New Cadiz, but it was afterwards abandoned.

For some time Columbus had been suffering with fever and inflammation of the eyes, and gave his orders from a couch on deck. While ruminating over the strange phenomena he had observed, of which Marco Polo said nothing, and which neither the Ancient Philosophers nor the Holy Fathers could explain,

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his disordered and fevered fifteenth-century brain conceived that he now was near the apex of the earth, upon which was situated the Earthly Paradise, which none could enter except by Divine permission; that in this Eden was the Tree of Life, and from it issued the rivers of fresh water, which we now know as the mouths of the Orinoco. He was willing to concede that the Eastern hemisphere was perfectly round, as Ptolemy and others proved by the eclipses of the moon, "but this western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear, having a raised projection for the stalk, as I have already described, or like a woman's nipple on a very round ball."

On the morning of the 16th of August, the Admiral sailed out of the bay of *Cumana*, opposite the island of Margarita, and steered northwest for Santo Domingo (then called Nueva Isabella), the new town established by Don Bartolomé in 1496, on the south coast of Hispaniola, at the mouth of the Ozama river. Columbus had noted, on leaving the Dragon's Mouth, that a current set strongly to the west, but on turning from the coast he failed to allow for this drift, and found himself, on the evening of the 19th, off the island of Beata, fifty leagues west of the new capital of the Indies. Here he was joined by his brother Bartholomew, and together they arrived at Santo Domingo, August 30, 1498.

During the two years absence of the Viceroy, the thriftless and vicious Spaniards, who constituted a majority of the colonists, tired of robbing and maltreating the Indians, and rebelled against the rule of Columbus and his brothers. They were headed by Francisco Roldan, the *alcalde mayor*, or chief judge of the island, who, like the other Spaniards, did not relish the honors and authority conferred upon these foreigners. At the same time the enemies of Columbus in Spain—and they appear to have been numerous—aided and encouraged by Bishop Fonseca, who was in charge of all business relating to the Indies—besieged the Court with slanders and charges against him; and the King and Queen decided to send out Francisco de Bobadilla, commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava, to inquire into affairs on Hispaniola; and, if necessary, relieve Columbus of command.

After weary months of humiliating negotiations with Roldan, and the hanging of Moxica and several other renegades, the Viceroy succeeds in suppressing the revolt; but no sooner are things again peaceful and promising than Bobadilla arrives, and with as little sense as decency, places Columbus and his brothers in irons. Las Casas tells us that the shackles were put on the

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Admiral by one of his own servants, "a graceless and shameless cook. I knew the fellow, and I think his name was Espinosa." The first, and perhaps the greatest, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, the man who widened the intellectual as well as the physical world for mankind, and who had given an empire to the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon, was carried to Spain in chains.

During the voyage, or directly upon reaching Spain, Columbus wrote a beautiful letter to Doña Juana de la Torres, who had been *aya* or governess to the Infante, Prince Juan, and who was on intimate terms with Queen Isabella, giving a simple narrative of events on Hispaniola, and the wrongs he had suffered. It is one of the sanest documents he ever penned—nothing about Marco Polo, the Cham of Tartary, or a terrestrial Eden; and no golden promises impossible to fulfill. The Admiral arrived at Cadiz November 25, 1500, and this letter, probably with the connivance of Vallejo, was forwarded to Doña Juana, then with the Court at Granada, before the dispatches of Bobadilla; and in a short time Columbus and his brothers were released from arrest.

Ferdinand and Isabella were sorry for the way in which Columbus had been treated by Bobadilla, and renewed the assurance of their high appreciation and regard—but were careful not to restore him to his viceroyalty, or to revoke the general license, of 1495, permitting other navigators to explore and barter in the West Indies. Under this license, during 1499 and 1500, Alonso de Ojeda, with Amerigo Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa; Pedro Alonso Niño, with Cristoval Guerra; Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Diego de Lepe, had followed the course laid down by the Admiral to Paria, and had discovered the coasts of Brazil, and Venezuela, westward of the island of Margarita; all returning to Spain with pearls or slaves. In October, 1500, just preceding the return of Columbus, Rodrigo de Bastidas had set sail for the Pearl Coast, with Juan de la Cosa as pilot, and having on board a bright young man by the name of Vasco Núñez de Balboa.

Nor was Spain the only nation engaged in making voyages into unknown seas. The English Court, which had favored the initial voyage of Columbus, and pronounced his Discovery more divine than human, sent out John Cabot and his son Sebastian, in 1497, who returned in three months and reported finding land in the west; which probably was Labrador. In 1498, Sebastian Cabot again sailed to the west for Henry VII, and followed the shores of a continent south to near the latitude of Cuba.

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But most important of all was the voyage of Vasco da Gama, who sailed from Portugal in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast of Hindustan. By sailing to the east, around Africa, Gama had found the Spice Islands and people so long sought by Columbus in the west. King Emanuel of Portugal sent Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, in 1500, with a fleet, to follow up the work of Gama and start a Portuguese colony in India. Cabral had just sent back the intelligence, by one of his ships, that he had found land southwest of Cape de Verd Islands, lying east of the Pope's Line. This land was Brazil, which had been discovered two months before, January 20, 1500, by Pinzon; but the Pope's ruling, and a subsequent treaty between Spain and Portugal, gave the region to the latter.

These expeditions, particularly the return of Gama, in 1499, with the rich spoils of the East, tended to dim the fame of Columbus, and rob Spain of the wealth of India and Cathay. Accordingly, about the middle of 1501, the Admiral proposed another voyage to the King and Queen; and they were only too ready to enter into any scheme that might thwart the encroachments of their rival, Portugal.

In the meantime, Don Nicolas de Ovando, a militant priest of the Order of Alcántara, is made Governor and Judge of Hispaniola; and sails in great state, February 13, 1502, with thirty ships and twenty-five hundred people, to relieve the blundering Bobadilla, and establish the sovereignty of Spain more firmly in the West Indies.

While awaiting the preparation of his own modest squadron, the unstable mind of Columbus wanders off into mystic meditations, and he writes a treatise on the fulfillment of prophecies. The manuscript of *Los Libros de las Profecias*, though edited and commended by Fray Gaspar Gorrico, and dedicated to their Most Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, still awaits a publisher.

Copy of letter written to Nicoló Oderigo, at Genoa, by Christopher Columbus, concerning the bequests the latter had made to the Bank of St. George, in trust, to reduce the tax on corn, wine, and other provisions in his native city:

"Virtuous Sir:

"When I departed for the voyage from which I now come, I talked with you at length. I believe that you well remember all that was said then. I believed that on arriving I would find letters from you and a person with a message. Also at that time I left with Francisco de Ribarol a book of copies of letters and another book of my *Privileges* in a case of red Cordovan leather with a silver lock; and I left two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assigned the tenth of

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my revenue, for the reduction of taxes on wheat and other provisions. To nothing of this have I had any reply. Mr. Francisco says that everything reached there in safety. If there is discourtesy in the matter it was on the part of the gentlemen of St. George in not having replied, and their fortune is not increased thereby. And this is the reason for its being said that whoever serves all serves no one. Another book of my *Privileges* like the aforesaid I left in Cadiz with Franco Catonio, the bearer of this letter, that he might send it to you. Both were to be placed in safe-keeping wherever you might consider it best. I received a letter from the King and Queen my Lords, at the time of my departure. It is written there. Look at it and you will find it very good. Nevertheless Don Diego was not placed in possession according to the promise.

"During the time I was in the Indies I wrote to their Highnesses about my voyage, by three or four different ways. One letter was returned to me, and sealed as it was I send it to you with this. In another letter I send you the supplement to the description of the voyage, for you to give it to Mr. Juan Luis, together with the other letter of information, and I have written him that you will be the reader and interpreter of the letters. I would like to receive letters from you and desire that they speak cautiously of the purpose to which we have agreed.

"I arrived here very sick. At this time occurred the death of the Queen, my Lady, whom God has, without my seeing her. Up to the present I cannot tell you what will be the result of my achievements. I believe that her Highness will have provided well for me in her will and the King, my Lord, answers very well.

"Franco Catonio will tell you the rest at length. May our Lord have you in His keeping.

"From Seville, December 27, 1504.

"The High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Viceory and Governor-General of the Indies, etc.

.S.
.S. A. S.
X M Y
Xpo Ferens"

[Showing the *rubrica* or peculiar signature of Columbus.]

■

CHAPTER VI

FOURTH VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA

1502

Discovery of Central America and the Isthmus of Panama

"Push off, and sitting well in order, smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western stars, until I die."

Alfred Tennyson.



THE previous voyages of Columbus westward towards Asia were in search of land; his fourth and last voyage was undertaken to find a water passage, or strait, leading to the region of Cathay visited by Marco Polo; or which would pass south of Asia into the Indian Ocean.

The Admiral had found two mainlands, as he thought. To the north was Cuba, which he believed to be a part of Mangi (Cochin China); in the south was Paria, with the Garden of Eden somewhere on its more elevated parts. Between these two *Terrae Firmae* was an unexplored region in which the two mainlands either joined, forming one immense continent; or, what was more probable, they were separated by a body of water. When Columbus left the south coast of Cuba, in 1494, at a point three hundred and thirty-five leagues west of Cape Maisi, the coast to the westward turned to the south. The shores of Paria and his Eden *Terra Firma* (South America), extended indefinitely towards the west. Along this coast was a strong current setting to the west, and the same drift was observed as far north as Hispaniola. Besides, the lay of the islands was east and west, and the prevailing winds blew also in that direction. All these natural phenomena proved to the Admiral that the waters of the Western or Atlantic Ocean flowed through a strait between his two mainlands.

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This seems to be a point against the alleged voyage of Pinzon, Vespucci, Solis, and Ledesma, through the Yucatan Channel into the Gulf of Mexico and around Cuba, in 1497-8, which would have given Amerigo Vespucci a sight of the continent of America a year ahead of Columbus. If this voyage really occurred, and it was known that the westward-flowing currents of the Caribbean Sea found an outlet through the passage west of Cuba, a hundred miles in width, why did the Admiral dream of a strait to the southwest of Hispaniola, where the two continents would tend to approach each other? Columbus located this strait at about the Isthmus of Panama, where it was found, later, that the waters of the western and eastern oceans almost mingled. His unbridled imagination again held sway, and he planned to sail around the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) to the Spice Islands and the mouth of the Ganges, cross the Indian Ocean, double the Cape of Good Hope, and so back to Spain. The conception and planning of a circumnavigating voyage in 1494, and again at this time, are sufficient in themselves to mark Columbus as a man of exceptional talent.

With this end in view, he supplied himself with credentials to the Asiatic rulers, and the Portuguese officials he might encounter; and carried interpreters familiar with Arabic. As a result of this voyage, the Admiral expected increased riches for himself and family, and renewed his promise to their Majesties and Pope Alexander VI to equip a force and restore the Holy Sepulchre to the Christians.

Ferdinand and Isabella renewed their pledges to keep their contracts with Columbus, and the latter, before sailing, sent attested duplicates of all his grants and agreements to the Signory of his native city, Genoa, where they are still preserved.

For this, the last venture of Columbus, four vessels were chartered, named the *Capitana*, *Santiago de Palos*, *Gallego*, and *Vizcaina*, the largest of seventy tons, and the smallest of fifty tons burden. With these small vessels, more or less dilapidated, the Admiral proposed to sail around the world; but, as we shall see later, within a little more than a year the worm-eaten hulks of his entire fleet were strewn about the shores of the Carib Sea. The crews, men and boys, numbered one hundred and forty-one; and the Admiral's staff raised the complement to about one hundred and fifty souls. They were provisioned for two years, and carried goods for barter with the Indians. It was fortunate that Columbus was able to induce his brother Bartholomew, somewhat against his will, to go along as captain of one of the caravels.

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The Admiral asked and received permission to take with him his second son, Fernando, then scarcely fourteen years of age. Fernando Colon was of a literary turn of mind, and in after years wrote the biography of his father, to which we are indebted for the best account of the last voyage of Columbus.

The fleet sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502; and on the 11th parted from St. Catherine and went to Arcila, a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, held by the Portuguese, and lately besieged by the Moors. The Admiral exchanged civilities with the wounded Governor, and was visited by some kinsmen of his dead wife, Doña Felipa. The same day he left for the Canary Islands, which he reached on the 20th, where the ships were supplied with wood and water. The night of May 25, 1502, the fleet set out for the Indies; on the 26th passed Ferro, and, "without handling the sails," was borne speedily by the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, arriving at Matinino on Wednesday, the 15th of June. Matinino was the "Island of Amazons," and is generally believed to be Martinique, the birth-place of the Empress Josephine, and the site of the volcanic eruption which destroyed St. Pierre. Here Columbus secured fresh water and wood, and made the men wash their clothes. On Saturday he resumed the voyage, passing Dominica, Santa Cruz, and the other islands; till, on the 24th, the fleet was sailing along the south side of *San Juan de Puerto Rico*.

"Thence we took the way for San Domingo, the Admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ships for another, because it was a bad sailer, and, besides, could carry no sail, but the side would lie almost under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, because his design was to have gone directly upon the coast of Paria and keep along that shore till he came upon the strait, which he certainly concluded was about Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But, seeing the fault of the ship, he was forced to repair to San Domingo to change it for a better."

Columbus arrived off the mouth of the Ozama on the 29th of June, but did not enter the harbor, as he had been forbidden by the King to stop there; but from a little bay farther west he sent Pedro de Terreros, captain of the *Gallego*, to Governor Ovando to seek an exchange for his unseaworthy craft, or to purchase a new one. Ovando declined to aid Columbus, and likewise refused his request to shelter his caravels in the river from an impending storm. The large fleet brought out by the new Governor was just about to set sail for Spain, and the Admiral sent a second message to Ovando entreating him not to permit the fleet to leave the harbor under eight days. The

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warnings of the old Admiral were received with derision by the Governor and his pilots, and the big fleet stood bravely out to sea on its homeward journey. When barely clear of the island it was overtaken by a typical West Indian hurricane, and more than twenty of the ships foundered off the southeast end of Hispaniola, near the islet of Saona. Among those who perished were Bobadilla, Roldan, and other enemies of Columbus; Guarionex, cacique of the Vega Real; and many prisoners, both Indian and Spanish; besides 200,000 *castellanos* in gold, including the largest nugget ever found on Hispaniola. A few vessels¹ managed to get back to Santo Domingo, and only one, *La Aguja*, proceeded on to Spain. This was the worst ship in the fleet, and on it were four thousand *pesos* in gold and other goods belonging to the Admiral, collected by his agent, Carvajal.

Fernando Colon says that his father was much vexed "to behold the baseness and ingratitude used towards him in that country he had given to the honor and benefit of Spain, being refused to shelter his life in it." Three of the Admiral's vessels were driven from the shelter he had sought, and each thought the others lost; but all came together again at Azua, about sixty miles west of Santo Domingo, on the Sunday following. Each gave an account of his misfortunes, when it appeared that Bartolomé Colon, on the *Bermuda*,² "had weathered so great a storm by flying from land like an able sailor, and that the Admiral was out of danger by lying close to the shore, like a cunning astrologer, who knew whence the danger must come." The common Spaniards held that Columbus had used "art magic" to overthrow his enemies; Las Casas considered the tempest a Divine judgment; and Columbus believed that he had been preserved by the Lord for still other accomplishments.

The Admiral remained in Azua, or Puerto Hermoso, long enough for his men to rest and repair damages to the caravels.

¹ On one of the vessels escaping the storm was Rodrigo de Bastidas, arrested by Bobadilla, and being carried to Spain for trial.

² The name "*Bermuda*," as one of the ships, is used only by Fernando Colon, and does not appear in the official list given at the end of this chapter. Several conjectures are allowable: In spite of the opposition of Ovando, Columbus may have succeeded in exchanging for another vessel at Santo Domingo; or, the "*Santiago*" may have been so-called after the master, Francisco Bermudez; or, Bermuda may have been the name of the *Capitana*, which means simply the flagship. The Admiral was getting old, and in bad health, and may have changed his flag from a rough sailer to a smoother ship; assigning his skillful brother to command the poor sailer.

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When at leisure they went fishing, and one day caught a manatee, or sea-calf. Columbus then went to sea again, and laid his course for Jamaica; but ran into another storm, and put into the port of Brazil, now Jacmel, Haiti. On the 14th of July he made another start, and two days later arrived at the Pozas or Morant keys, off the Jamaican coast, where he collected water from puddles (*pozas*) made in the sand.

The Admiral then steered west-southwest in the direction of the supposed strait, but the wind was so light and the currents so strong that, on the 24th, he found himself again among the Queen's Gardens, along the southern shore of Cuba. Believing, as he did, that the south coast of Cuba continued in a southerly direction, Columbus now headed south-southwest; and, on July 30, 1502, reached an inhabited island called *Guanaja*. This is now known as Bonacao, or Bonacca, one of the bay islands lying north of Truxillo, Honduras.

Don Bartolomé landed on *Guanaja*, and interviewed the Indians, whose chief was named Imibe. They had very low foreheads, but differed but little from the other natives already encountered.

On the way back to the ships, two canoes are seen coming along the island from the west, which are captured without resistance and brought to the flagship. One canoe is eight feet wide, and as long as a galley. It was propelled by a score of paddlers, and in the stern, beneath a neatly thatched canopy, sat the *cacique*, surrounded by his females and children. He seemed to be on a trading voyage, for the canoe was loaded with many articles, all strange to the Spaniards. There were cotton cloaks and tunics finely worked and dyed; hatchets, cups, and bells made of copper; crucibles for melting metals; knives chipped from obsidian; wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; and vessels of stone, clay, and wood. They carried bread made from roots and maize, and a beer concocted from the latter; also a store of *cacao* (chocolate) beans, for food and money, which the Spaniards thought were a new variety of almond.

It was obvious at a glance that here was a superior race, much in advance of the Indians of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Paria. Both men and women wore clothes, and were modest in demeanor. Fernando Colon says that the females covered their bodies and faces as completely as the Moorish women of Granada. Columbus thought that at last he was nearing the precincts of the Grand Khan.

By the use of signs and the Haitian dialect, the Spaniards

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understood that these people came from a country nine days' journey to the west, called Ciguaré, where gold, coral, pearls, and spices abounded. The King possessed ships, cannon, and animals, which were believed to be horses. Ciguaré was on another ocean, and ten days beyond was a river called the Ganges—so it was understood.

"This moved the Admiral to use them well, to restore their canoe, and give them some things in exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them, but an old man, whose name was Giumba, who seemed to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something of him concerning the country, and that he might draw others to converse with the Christians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we sailed where his language was understood. Therefore, as a reward for his services, when we came where he was not understood, the Admiral gave him some things, and sent him home very well pleased."

From Guanaja, Columbus sailed toward land faintly visible in the south, about forty miles away, and found a cape, which he christened Caxinas. This is now known as Cape Honduras, and was a turning point not only in the voyage, but also in the destiny of Columbus. From here the land extended east and west, and when the old Indian was asked where the gold came from, he pointed to the east, and thereby saved his country, Yucatan, from the Spaniards until 1517, when it was discovered by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, under the pilotage of Antonio de Alaminos, who was with Columbus on this voyage. Cordova was followed the next year by Grijalva, who went to Tabasco and San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz); and, in 1519, Hernando Cortes landed at the latter place and began the conquest of Mexico. The nearest Columbus came to a culture-stage approximating that of the Grand Khan was his sight of the canoe-load of Mayan products at Guanaja.

As another reason for turning eastward, advocates of the alleged Pinzon-Vespucci-Solis-Ledesma voyage of 1497 claim that the Admiral knew, at this time, that Cuba was an island; and that Ledesma, who was now with Columbus, assured him there was no strait to the west. Inasmuch as both Pinzon and Ledesma testified, in 1513, in the lawsuit of Diego Colon against the Crown, that they entered the Gulf of Mexico after the Admiral's search for a strait, I shall continue to think that Columbus believed Point Caxinas to be continuous on the west with the south coast of Cuba, and that only to the eastward could a passage exist.

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Anyhow, Columbus followed the coast to the east, which seemed like turning back to the Caribbee Islands, on the route to Spain. He met a storm, and sheltered his ships for a few days behind Point Caxinas. The natives were friendly, and on Sunday, the 14th of August, the *padre* and crews held mass on shore. The Indians called their country *Maia*, and on the 17th the Adelantado took possession for Spain, at a stream which he called the River of Possession, now known as Black river. Some of the natives wore cotton jackets and head-dress, and painted their bodies with the figures of animals in red or black. In this same region were Indians who made such large holes in the lobes of their ears that Columbus called that part *La Costa de la Oreja* (The Coast of the Ear).

For seventy days the little fleet fought against head winds and contrary currents, and made only sixty leagues. During this time there was one continuation of rain, thunder, and lightning, and neither sun nor stars were seen. The vessels opened their seams, the sails were in rags, and anchors, rigging, boats, and provisions were lost. The Admiral fell ill, and the sailors meek and humble in spirit, so that they confessed their sins one to another.

"Other tempests there have been, but none which lasted so long or caused such fear."

On the 14th of September the ships rounded a narrow point, from which the land turned due south. This brought the wind on the quarter, and the weather improved; in gratitude of which, Columbus named the cape *Gracias á Dios* (Thanks to God). By the 16th they had sailed sixty-two leagues in this direction; when, being in need of wood and water, the boats were sent up a deep river in search of them. On coming back, one of the boats was overturned while crossing the bar and the crew lost. This disaster led the Admiral to call the river *El Rio del Desastre*.

Columbus continued to sail southward along the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua. On Sunday, the 25th of September, the fleet anchored by a little island near the mainland, opposite the mouth of a river, where was situated an Indian village called Cariari. The name of the island was Quiriviri; but, from the abundance of its fruits, the Admiral called it *La Huerta*, or the Orchard. Besides bananas and cocoanuts, there was a fragrant and luscious fruit which he mistook for the mirabolane of the East Indies. The main shore was covered with beautiful forests extending back to cloud-capped mountains.

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The Indians gathered under arms, and made hostile demonstrations against the Spaniards; but, soon seeing no harm was intended, they swam out to the ships and offered to barter cotton gowns and ornaments of *guanin*, or pale gold. Columbus gave them presents, but would not trade, hoping they would produce more valuable possessions.

When the Spaniards made a landing, on the following Wednesday, they found all their gifts neatly tied up and lying on the beach. This was an intimation that they would receive nothing except in what they considered fair trade, and was an unusual exhibition of independence by such primitive people. To further propitiate the strangers, they sent two girls, of not too modest demeanor, to Columbus, who promptly clothed them in Castilian garments, and returned them to the shore. This won the confidence of the Indians, so that when the Adelantado went ashore the next day, two of their principal men waded out to his boat and carried him to land. When he questioned them, the notary, Diego de Porras, began to take notes, which so alarmed the Indians that they fled in terror, and only returned after burning a sweet-smelling powder and blowing the fumes over the white men, as if to nullify some evil spirit.

These Indians were more advanced than those of Haiti and the other islands. Their houses were better constructed, and in some were seen the mummified corpses of chiefs and relatives. The women wore their hair short, but the men had long braids wound about the head. Both sexes wore some clothing, and ornaments of *guanin*, from mines in the interior. They stated that more gold was found in the country of Carabarú (or Caravaró), adjoining them on the south. Columbus seized two men for guides, which the Indians vainly tried to redeem with two peccaries; and, on October 5th, he left Cariari and sailed southeast along what is now called Costa Rica. The "crocodiles," monkeys, and shrubbery remind Columbus of descriptions of the East Indies by Pliny and Marco Polo, and he thinks he is approaching the Ganges.

There is considerable similarity about scenes in the tropics, and at many ports in the Caribbean we find the mouth of a river, a small island near the shore, and the same green vegetation the whole year round. Hence, it is not always easy to identify the places visited by Columbus and the early explorers. Most writers state that Bluefields, Nicaragua, corresponds to the *Cariari* of Columbus; while others say it was Greytown (*San Juan del Norte*). The Admiral and Fernando write that in one day's sail, of some twenty-two leagues, they arrived at

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the bay of *Carambaru*, easily identified as Almirante Bay, Panama. Now, Bluefields is almost three degrees, and Greytown nearly two degrees of latitude from Almirante Bay; and the difference in longitude from both places is one degree and a half. In order to examine the coast, Columbus sailed only by day; and if we consider the short Spanish league, the miserable condition of the caravels, and the constant complaints of head winds and currents, we are forced to locate Cariari much nearer to Almirante Bay than either Bluefields or Greytown. Reckoning the twenty-two leagues as about fifty-five miles, and remembering that the vessels were poor sailers against wind and tide, and that so good a seaman as was Columbus would sail cautiously through the islands about Almirante Bay and the Chiriqui Lagoon, the distance traveled by daylight would not be over sixty miles. This would place Cariari at *Puerto Limon*, Costa Rica, where are found a small island near the shore, a river, and mountains in the background.

Columbus anchored in the bay still known by his rank of Admiral, and sent boats to the islands, where they obtained some ornaments, and heard of a much better place to trade, a few miles farther on. The same day the ships got under way and passed through a narrow channel to a larger bay to the south and east, which the Indians called *Aburena*, now known as the *Laguna de Chiriqui*. Here the Spaniards found a profusion of golden ornaments in the shape of eagles, frogs, tigers, and other animals, and also worn as coronets, armlets, and plates hung about the neck. These last Columbus calls *espejos de oro*, or golden mirrors, and were, no doubt, used as such. Many of these images have been recovered from the *guacas*, or old graves, and can be seen in our principal museums, together with stone implements and the beautiful pottery obtained from the same sources. The writer has several of these golden figures, which he secured when in this region. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot with Columbus, states that eighty canoes gathered about the ships at one place, the occupants eager to exchange their gold for hawk-bells and needles.

Most of this time the Admiral suffered from what has been called the gout, and directed his fleet from his couch. His brother Bartholomew, the Adelantado, and the captains visited the islands and the main shore, bartering with the natives. Repairs were made, and on one of the islands, yet known as Careening Cay, the ships were careened and cleaned. Columbus inquired about his strait, and the natives told of another sea on the south, and a "narrow place" leading to it. The

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Indians were perfectly honest, and meant to indicate that another great water (the Pacific Ocean) existed beyond a narrow strip of land (the Isthmus of Panama). The mind of the Admiral is fixed on a strait, and he interprets the "narrow place" as water and not land; the Strait of Malacca, which will carry him into the Indian Ocean. He understood that the strait was a little farther on, in the direction of regions called *Veragua*, and *Cobija* (*Cubigá*), where gold was even more plentiful than where they then were.

On October 17, Columbus departed from Aburena (Chiriqui Lagoon), taking with him two of the natives as additional guides. He followed the coast toward Veragua, and found it turning now to the east. After sailing about twelve leagues, the fleet came to a river called *Guaiga*, where "the Admiral commanded the boats to go ashore, which as they were doing, they saw above a hundred Indians on the strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the middle into the water, brandishing their spears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their country, throwing the salt water towards the Christians, chewing herbs and spurning it towards them." Through the interpreters the Spaniards appeased the natives, and relieved them of sixteen gold plates they had about their necks, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day, being Friday, the 19th of October, the boats went to land again to barter, and were received in the same hostile manner; when, not wishing to be despised by the Indians, the Christians wounded one in the arm with an arrow, and fired a cannon, which so frightened them that they parted with three more golden plates.

The Admiral was content to get samples of what these parts afforded, and proceeded on his quest of a pass. His next stop was in the mouth of a great river, called *Catiba*, where the warriors assembled at the sound of conchs and tom-toms to repel the white men. Diplomacy again prevailed, and the Spaniards landed and found the King, "who differed in nothing from the rest but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, because at that time it rained hard." Here they secured nineteen plates of pure gold. Fernando Colon further says: "This was the first place in the Indies where they saw any sign of a structure [masonry], which was a great mass of wall, or imagery, that to them seemed to be of lime and stone: the Admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity."

The fleet continued eastward and came to *Cobrava*, and the

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wind being fresh, Columbus held on his course, "and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made."

"The next day he came to a town, called Cubiga [or Cobija], where the Indians of Cariari said the trading country ended, which began at Carabora [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay], and ran as far as Cubiga, for fifty leagues along the coast."

"The Admiral, without making any stay, went on till he put into *Puerto Bello*, giving it that name because it is large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompassed by a well-cultivated country. He entered this place on the 2d of November [1502], passing between two small islands, within which the ships may lie close to the shore, and turn it out if they have occasion. The country about that harbor, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled and full of houses, a stone's throw or a bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest landscape a man can imagine. During seven days we continued there, on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the country about to trade for provisions and bottoms of fine spun cotton, which they gave for some trifles, such as points and pins."

"On Wednesday, the 9th of November, we sailed out of Porto Bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by stress of weather, and put in among the islands near the continent, where is now the town of Nombre de Dios; and because all those small islands were full of grain, he called it Puerto de Bastimentos; that is, the Port of Provisions."

At this place a boat pursued a canoe full of Indians and failed to catch even one of them after they took to the water; "or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow shot or two from the place."

Columbus remained at Bastimentos, mending his ships, until the 23d, when he sailed east to a place called Guaiga, "there being another of the same name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*." [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay]. Here were found three hundred Indians on the beach, "ready to trade for such provisions as they have, and some small things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noses." The Admiral made no stay here, and Saturday, the 24th of November, on account of rough weather, put into a little cove, which he named *Retrete*, "that is, Retired Place, because it could not contain above five or six ships together, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces over, and on both sides of it rocks appearing

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above the water as sharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was so deep that they found no bottom." The fleet continued here during nine days of bad weather. The Indians were friendly, but the Christians stole away from the ships, and, "like covetous, dissolute men, committed a thousand insolences," which brought on some skirmishes between them. The vessels were so near the shore, and the natives so threatening, that Columbus ordered some cannon fired to terrify them; but they had become skeptical of the heavenly origin of the white men, and answered with shouts and defiant gestures. "Therefore, to abate their pride, and make them not condemn the Christians, the Admiral caused a shot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a thunderbolt, as well as thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains."

Perceiving he could make no progress against the violent east and northeast winds, the Admiral determined to run back to Veragua and investigate for himself the richness of the mines. On Monday, the 5th of December, he left *El Retrete*,³ and that night was back again at *Puerto Bello*, ten leagues to the west. The next day he continued his course; but, instead of being hurried along by the strong east winds which he had combatted for the last three months, he now faced gales from the west, which led Columbus to call this the Coast of Changing Winds—*Costa de Contrastos*. The Admiral, in his letter to the King and Queen, says:

"For nine days I wandered as one lost, without hope of salvation. Never have eyes seen the sea so high and ugly, or so much foam. The wind was not available for making headway, and did not permit us to run for any shelter. There I was, held in that sea turned into blood and seething like a cauldron upon a huge fire. So awesome a sky was never seen; for a day and a night it blazed like a furnace, vomiting forth sheets and bolts of lightning, until, after each one, I looked to see whether it had not carried away my masts and sails. With such frightful fury they fell upon us that we all believed the ships would founder. During the whole time the water never ceased falling from the skies; not in what would be called rain, but rather as though another Deluge were upon us. My people were already so

³ Puerto del Retrete, afterwards called Escribanos, was the Port Scrivan of English writers of buccaneer history. This description by Fernando Colon tallies with that by Lionel Wafer, surgeon of the Buccaneers.



From Herrera, *Historia General*, dec 1

COLUMBUS ENCOUNTERS GREAT STORMS OFF VERAGUA. HIS BROTHER, DON
BARTOLOMÉ COLON, FIRST ADELANTADO OF THE INDIES

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worn out that they courted death, to be free from such continued martyrdom. The ships, for the second time, lost boats, anchors, cables, and sails, and were leaking. When it was our Lord's pleasure, I sought Puerto Gordo, and there repaired as well as I could."

His son Fernando, who was with him, graphically describes the dangers of the sea when he writes: "For in such dreadful storms, they dread the fire in flashes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and sands which sometimes a man meets with near the port where he hoped for safety, and not knowing them, chooses rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has less share."

Don Fernando further relates that on Tuesday, the 13th of December, they were in danger of a water-spout, but dissolved it by saying the Gospel of St. John. That same night they lost sight of the *Biscaina*, and did not see her again for three dreadful days. A day's calm gave the men a little rest, but brought multitudes of sharks, dreadful to behold, especially for the superstitious. Nevertheless, they catch some, and are glad to eat the meat, instead of the mouldy biscuits infested with maggots. Many of the seamen waited till night to eat their pottage that they might not see the maggots; "and others were so used to eat them that they did not mind to throw them away when they saw them, because they might lose their supper if they were so very curious."

Father and son call the same place by different names. The Admiral generally uses the name he gave the port, and Fernando cites the Indian designation, which, with erroneous dates, cause some confusion between the two accounts. The *Puerto Gordo* of Columbus is usually stated to be Puerto Bello; but I figure it to be our Limon (Colon) Bay, three leagues east of *Pennon*, which I identify with the mouth of the Chagres river.

Fernando Colon calls Puerto Gordo, *Huiva*, and this is what he says about it: "Upon Saturday, the 17th, the Admiral put into a port three leagues east of *Pennon*, which the Indians called *Huiva*. It was like a great bay, where we rested three days, and going ashore, saw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying sticks across from bough to bough, and building huts upon them rather than houses. Though we knew not the reason of this strange custom, yet we guessed it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that country, or of enemies; for all along that coast the people at every league distance are great enemies to one another."

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The fleet sailed from Huiva on the 20th, and immediately encountered another tempest, which drove them into "another port," whence they departed again the third day. Contrary winds again drove them back and forth between Pennon and Veragua, and "not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn," as indicated by the almanac, the Admiral put into "that port where we had been before on Thursday, the 12th of the same month." Columbus writes: "This was on Christmas day, about the hour of mass."

Writers commonly say that the Admiral again sought shelter in Puerto Bello, but I believe this port was the Pennon of Don Fernando, which I reckon to be the mouth of the Chagres. Here the Spaniards spent the last of the old and the first of the new year. They repaired the ship called *Gallega*, and took aboard abundance of Indian wheat (maize), water and wood. On the 3d of January, 1503, they made another start for Veragua.

"Upon Thursday, being the Feast of the Epiphany,⁴ we cast anchor near a river which the Indians call *Yebra* [also written *Hiebra*], and the Admiral named *Belem*, or *Bethlem*, because we came to that place upon the feast of the three Kings. He caused the mouth of that river, and of another westward, to be sounded; the latter the Indians call Veragua, where he found but shoal water, and in that of Belem four fathom at high water." On the bar of the Rio Belen, however, there were but ten palms (eighty-inches) of water; but the two smaller caravels, the flagship, and the *Biscaina*, manage to cross it, and enter the river on January 9th; followed the next day, at high tide, by the other two vessels. This was fortunate, as it again turned stormy; which would have prevented crossing the bar.

A short distance within the river was a village, the Indians of which assembled to hinder the landing of the Christians; but they were soon pacified, and bartered fish and gold for pins and the little bells they loved so much. The third day after reaching Belen the Admiral sent his brother, the Adelantado, around by sea in boats to the Veragua river, one league to the west, where dwelt the *Quibian* (called *Quibio* by Don Fernando), or head chief of the Indians of this region. The chieftain and his warriors come down the river in canoes to meet the strangers, and fight if necessary, but the Indian guides from up the coast tell him about the Spaniards, and he receives

⁴ January 6th, 1503. The Admiral called the port Belen, "because the day on which the Wise Men found shelter in that Holy Place."

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Don Bartolomé in a dignified and friendly manner.⁵ Gifts are exchanged, and the Quibian and his people parted with twenty golden plates, or mirrors, some tubes of gold, and nuggets of native gold, which they said were collected upon remote and rough mountains, "and that when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which same thing the people of Hispaniola said when it was first discovered." Next day the Quibian returned the visit, and discoursed about an hour with the Admiral, aboard his ship.

Columbus relates that it rained continuously until February 14th; but on Wednesday, the 24th of January, the Belen river rose so suddenly that the Spaniards believed some great shower had fallen on the mountains of Veragua, "which the Admiral called St. Christopher's, because the highest of them was above the region of the air where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever seen above, but all below it." This flood drove the *Capitana* foul of the *Gallega*, lying astern, bringing the foremast by the board, and nearly wrecking both ships. It also partly filled up the channel with sand and silt, so that the vessels could not now leave the river if they wished to do so. The bad weather continued for some time, during which they caulked and repaired the ships.

When it turned calmer, on Monday, the 6th of February, Don Bartolomé, with sixty-eight men, started out in the rain, and rowed by sea to the Veragua river. A league and a half up this stream he arrived at the village of the Quibian, who received the Adelantado hospitably, and entertained him the next day with accounts of the mines. "On Wednesday they

⁵ Of the Quibian, Bancroft writes as follows: "He is tall, well-modelled, and compactly built, with restless searching eyes, but otherwise expressionless features, taciturn and dignified, and, for a savage, of exceptionally bland demeanor. We shall find him as politic as he is powerful; and as for his wealth, unfortunately for him, his domain includes the richest gold mines of that rich coast. On the whole, the Quibian is as fine a specimen of his race as the adelantado is of his. And thus they are fairly met, the men of Europe and the men of North America; and as in the gladiatorial combat, which opens with a smiling salutation, this four-century life-struggle begins with friendly greetings. Pity it is, they are outwardly not more evenly matched; pity it is, that the European with his civilization, saltpetre, Christianity and blood-hounds, his steel weapons, and strange diseases, should be allowed to do his robbery so easily! But ravenous beasts and bloody bipeds are so made that they do not hesitate to take advantage of the helpless; it is only civilized man, however, that calls his butcherings by pleasant names, such as progress, piety, and makes his religion and his law conform to his heart's unjust desires."

History of Cent. Amer., Vol. I., p. 219.

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traveled four leagues and a half, and came to lie near a river, which they passed forty-four times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines shewed them by Indians sent by Quibio to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither every man gathered some gold about the roots of the trees which were there very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, because none of those that went had any tools to dig, or had ever gathered any. Therefore, the design of their journey being only to get information of the mines, they returned very well pleased that same day to Veragua, and the next to the ships."

Only those of my readers who have hiked and scrambled through the jungles of the Isthmus can picture these poor, tired white men, many no doubt in cuirass and helmet, carrying sword, buckler, arquebus, and cross-bow, toiling and sweating after their fleet-footed guides. It is probable that the Quibian had heard of the doings of the Spaniards in Haiti, and he was wise enough to conduct them out of his own domain, and show the mines belonging to his enemy, the chief of *Urira* (*Hurirá*). From an elevation the guides pointed out the mineral lands of the other chieftains, and proclaimed that at the end of twenty days' journey to the westward one would still be among them.

The report of his brother was so confirmatory of the wealth of this region that Columbus determined to leave a garrison to hold the country; while he went back to Spain for reinforcements. He believed that the gold of Veragua would fully atone with Ferdinand for his failure to find a strait leading to India. In his letters to the King and Queen, from aboard his water-logged wrecks on the shores of Jamaica, in the following July, the Admiral writes:

"One thing I can venture upon stating, because there are so many witnesses of it, viz: that in this land of Veragua I saw more signs of gold in the two first days than I saw in Española during four years, and that there is not a more fertile or better cultivated country in all the world, nor one whose inhabitants are more timid; added to which there is a good harbor, a beautiful river, and the whole place is capable of being easily put in a state of defense."

In that same letter he contended that the mines of Aurea were identical with those of Veragua, from which, according to Josephus, came the gold left by David to Solomon wherewith to build the Temple. Columbus further adds: "They say that when one of the lords of the country of Veragua dies, they bury all the gold he possessed with his body."

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On Thursday, the 14th of February, Don Bartolomé, with forty men on shore and fourteen more in a boat, made a reconnaissance along the coast to the west, to see if he could find a better site than the Belen river for a settlement. The next day the party reached the river of *Urirá*, seven leagues from Belen; and the cacique of that territory came a league from his town to meet the white men, and offer them provisions and golden plates. "Whilst they were here the cacique and chief men never ceased putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd." Christians and Indians went together to the village of the latter, where the Spaniards were given abundance of food and a great house to lie in.

While at *Urirá* the chief of the neighboring town of *Dururi* called upon the Adelantado, and his people "trucked" some gold plates for European trifles. These Indians said that further on were caciques who had plenty of gold and abundance of men armed like the Spaniards. The following day Don Bartolomé ordered a part of his men to return by land to the ships, and he, with thirty he kept with him, journeyed to *Zobrabá* (*Cobrava*), "where the fields for about six leagues were all full of maize." Thence he went to *Catebá* (*Cotiba*), another town, where he was well entertained, and exchanged trinkets for the golden plates they wore hanging from a string about the neck.

Finding no port, nor any river bigger than the Belen, the Adelantado returned on the 24th, and so reported to the Admiral. Accordingly, Columbus gave orders to establish his colony on the River Belen, "about a cannon shot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at a mouth of which there is a little hill."

A large storehouse was constructed, in which were placed provisions, goods for barter with the Indians, and several pieces of cannon and ammunition. About this building eight or ten huts were erected, made of timber and covered with palm leaves. Columbus gave the command of the settlement to his brother, Don Bartolomé, and eighty men, more than half the number on the ships, were assigned to remain as a garrison. The ship *Gallega* was left for the use of the Adelantado, with a lot of fishing tackle on her, besides the stores of wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese, and much grain.

All things were now settled for the Christian colony, but the mouth of the river remained so choked up with sand that the Admiral could not depart with his ships. The natives, of course, noted the actions of the Spaniards, and understood their

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intention to stay in their country. Gifts were liberally distributed to the Quibian and his people, and, apparently, all was peaceful.

Columbus was a poor judge of human nature, and was never alert to evil designs of either white men or red men; but not so Diego Mendez, the notary of the fleet. In the latter's will, made in Valladolid in June, 1536, he tells how he observed a number of canoes passing the mouth of the Belen, going always in the direction of Veragua; which suspicious incident he reported to the Admiral. He then led a boat-load of armed men after the canoes, and came upon a thousand dusky warriors on the seashore between the two rivers. The Indians explained their gathering by saying they were about to attack the people of Cobrara Aurira (Cobravá); but when Mendez offered to join them they declined so promptly that he was convinced the real point of attack was the new settlement on the Belen.

Next day, with only Rodrigo de Escobar to accompany him, Mendez made a scout on foot. At the mouth of the Veragua he met two canoes filled with strange Indians, who warned him that in two days the Veraguans intended to attack the white men and burn their houses. Nothing daunted, the notary bribed these Indians to paddle him up the river to the royal house of the Quibian, which he found on a hilltop, occupying the side of a plaza surrounded by the heads of three hundred of his enemies. The King claimed to be suffering from an arrow wound in the leg, and Mendez pretended to be a surgeon come to heal him. Exhibiting a box of ointment, and boldly approaching the entrance of the royal household, he was met by the Quibian's son, who angrily pushed him away. Mendez then calmly took a seat, brought forth comb, scissors, and mirror, and directed Escobar to trim his hair. This performance first astonishes, then charms the surrounding natives. The young chieftain begs to have his hair cut likewise, and when presented with the cunning instruments he and Mendez part in seeming friendship.

Don Fernando does not mention this ridiculous and foolhardy adventure; but, even if true, I fail to see what benefit resulted from it.

It being evident that the Quibian intended to attack the Spaniards, it was thought fit to seize him and his principal men and send them to Spain. On March 30th the Adelantado, with seventy-six men, went to the village of Veragua. The Quibian sent him word not to come up to his house; but Don Bartolomé,

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with only five men, kept on to the entrance thereof, where another messenger bid him not to enter; that the Quibian, though wounded, would make his appearance.

"Accordingly he came and sat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on as soon as he laid hold of his arm." Through an Indian he had taken along, the Adelantado questioned the chieftain concerning his indisposition, and, pretending to look at the wound, grasped him securely. His companions hurried to the assistance of Don Bartolomé, and Mendez fired his musket, which scared the Indians, and called up the main body of the Spaniards.

Besides the Quibian, a number of his captains, wives, and children were captured, "and never a one wounded, for they, seeing their King taken, would make no resistance." The natives, amid great lamentation, offer a great treasure to be set free; but the Adelantado hurried his prisoners to the boats to be carried back to the ships. The captives were placed in charge of Juan Sanchez de Cadiz, a pilot of good reputation, who volunteered for the honor. Sanchez was cautioned not to allow the cacique to escape, and he boastingly answered "he would give them leave to pull off his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his custody, and went down the river of Veragua. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Juan Sanchez, out of compassion, loosed him from the seat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, Quibio observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the water; and Juan Sanchez, not being able to hold fast the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and those in the boat being all in a confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a stone had fallen into the water. That the like might not happen with the rest of the prisoners, they held on their way to the ships with much shame for their carelessness and oversight."

The Adelantado, with the greater part of his men, remained at Veragua to pursue the Indians; but finding their houses far apart, and the country woody and mountainous, he returned to Belen on the following day. The gold plates, coronets, eagles, and little quills plundered from the Quibian's house, amounting to three hundred ducats, were presented to the Admiral, who, after deducting the royal fifth, divided the remainder among the members of that expedition, the Adelantado, in token of victory, receiving one of the golden twists, or

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coronets. This was an exhibition of generosity so rare as to be almost unique. Indeed, the illiberality of the Admiral—conscientiousness you may choose to call it—was one of the reasons for his unpopularity with his men.

Neither Columbus nor his brother anticipated trouble from the escape of the Quibian, and the colony being provided for, the Admiral resolved to depart for Hispaniola, from whence to send supplies to Belen. With the advent of the rainy season, early in April, the river cut a channel through the bar, and the Admiral took advantage of a calm day to lighten his three ships and tow them out of the river, each keel scraping the loose sands as it went out. The unladed goods were then brought off in the boats, and the ships anchored a league from the mouth of the Belen, awaiting a fair wind.

While most of the garrison were at work with the vessels, and bidding their comrades good-bye, the Adelantado was left at Belen with only about twenty men. Their experience with the timid Haitians caused the Spaniards to underestimate the valor of the Veraguans, and no one was on guard to sound warning of danger. This gave the Quibian, who had not drowned, as many supposed, a fine opportunity to attack the reduced garrison and destroy the settlement. The dense jungle had not been cut away around the huts, and concealed the Indians until they were directly upon the Spaniards, and had fired a volley of arrows. Four or five of the little band were wounded at the start, but the Adelantado, being a man of great resolution, seized a spear and led his men against the enemy, forcing them to the woods. The Indians fought with large wooden swords (*macanas*), and cast their javelins like in the Spanish sport called *Juego de Cañas*, but fled from the Christians after feeling the edge of their swords, and the teeth of a dog which furiously assailed them.

Don Fernando tells us one Spaniard was killed and seven wounded, including his uncle, the Adelantado, who was hurt in the breast by a javelin. During the fighting Diego Tristan, captain of the flagship, came in the river, with a dozen men, in two boats, to get a supply of fresh water. When called by his countrymen, he refused to help them, and would not even go near the shore for fear, as he said, they would rush on the boats and swamp them, and all perish, besides leaving the Admiral without any boats. In spite of his refusal to aid them, those on shore warned him not to go up the river; that the woods were full of Indians; but Tristan said his orders were to get water, and up the river he would go. That was

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the last seen of the selfish and stubborn, but brave, captain. Shortly after, pieces of the boats came floating down the river, together with the corpses of some of his men, each attended by a lot of vultures.

The next day Juan de Noya, of Seville, one of the pilots of the *Viscaino*, badly wounded, came crawling into the settlement, the sole survivor of the unfortunate party. He told how they had been attacked, about a league above the colony, by a multitude of Indians in canoes, who cast their javelins from all sides and made a most hideous noise with their horns. Captain Tristan fought bravely, being wounded in many places, till at last a spear pierced his eye, and he fell dead. In the height of the fray Juan tumbled out of his boat and swam under water to the shore, without being observed by the Indians, and so saved his life.

The situation of the small party at Belen was now extremely critical, and they would have left the river on the *Gallego* had not the heavy surf again filled the channel with sand. Neither they nor the Admiral had a boat capable of crossing the bar, and the two parties were miles apart and invisible to each other.

Flushed with victory, the Quibian again turned his attention to Belen. The jungle resounded to the noise of war-drums and conchs, and for several days he besieged the handful of white men. When almost exhausted, the latter abandoned their buildings and moved to an open beach to the eastward, close by the caravel, where a breastwork was made with the casks and stores, and the cannon planted at convenient places for defense. They were now out of range of the arrows unless the Indians exposed themselves by coming out of the woods.

In the meantime, Columbus, racked with pains and filled with anxiety, waited for the return of Tristan, or some message from his brother. His ships were eaten up by the teredo, and at any time a storm might drive them upon the lee shore. To add to his troubles, the Indian prisoners, kept in the hold of the *Bermuda*, piled up the stones used for ballast, one night, upon which they mounted and threw off the hatch, and with it their guards, sleeping thereon. Many got out and sprang overboard, no doubt reaching the land in safety. Those not able to escape, preferring death to captivity, hung themselves from the deck-beams, which, being low, the poor Indians had to draw up their legs in order to stretch their miserable necks. Others there were who simply attached the end of the noose to their foot and slowly strangled themselves to death.

The escape of the family and friends of the Quibian

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removed any hold the Admiral might have upon the chieftain of Veragua, but it likewise solved the problem of how to communicate with the shore. Some of the sailors affirmed that if the Indians could swim a league to land to obtain liberty, they could risk going through the surf to save themselves and comrades. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot of Seville, was the one to make the attempt. In the only remaining boat, that of the *Bermuda*, he was rowed up to within a musket-shot of land, when he threw himself into the water, "and with a good heart got ashore." After some time he came back through the breakers to the waiting boat, and reported to the Admiral the disaster to Tristan and the serious plight of the colony.

Nearly the entire voyage Columbus was so invalidated that he seldom went ashore; but delegated his authority to his brother, Don Bartolomé. While lying off the Belen, worried about the fate of his men and the safety of his ships, Columbus, tired out and sick in both body and mind, fell into a sleep, as he calls it, and experienced what historians have called his "vision." It was a dreamland hallucination of hearing and not of sight, as the word vision would indicate. Considerable incredulity has been expressed as to the genuineness of this so-called "vision," but I believe it to have been a very natural result of his poor physical and abnormal mental conditions.

The Admiral, in his report of this voyage, states that he had a strong fever, and that his wound—probably a reminder of his pirate days—reopened. He felt that all was lost. "I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and with a quivering voice and fast-falling tears, I called upon your Highness' war-captains from each point of the compass to come to my succor, but there was no reply." He then fell asleep, during which a compassionate voice likened him to Moses, David, and Abraham, and concluded by saying: "Fear not, trust; all these tribulations are recorded on marble, and not without cause." Don Fernando makes no mention of this incident, or of anything unusual happening to his father at this time.

Understanding the situation of those ashore, and the danger of leaving his colony as planned, Columbus gave orders to bring off his men and supplies. Diego Mendez, who was with the Adelantado, was put in charge of the work. It being impossible to get the *Gallega* out of the river, the ship was dismantled, and her spars lashed across some canoes, forming a sort of catamaran. Out of her sails Mendez made sacks for carrying the biscuit and other stores. In eight days the weather mended so much that they could pass out with the improvised trans-

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port, towing the oil, wine, and vinegar casks with ropes. All used such diligence that in two days nothing was left behind but the worm-eaten hulk of the *Gallega*. Seven trips were required to transfer the goods, Diego Mendez, with five men, being the last to leave. He affirmed that the Admiral was so pleased with his labors that he kissed and embraced him, and gave him the vacant captaincy of the flagship.

The settlement of Bethlehem (Nuestra Señora de Belen), on the Bethlehem river (Santa Maria de Belen), perhaps the first attempt of the Spaniards to obtain a footing on the continent of the New World, was even more short-lived than Navidad, their first settlement on Haiti. Columbus writes: "I departed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, on Easter night, with the ships rotten, wornout, and eaten in holes."

From my study of the subject, as shown in a later chapter, I give the credit for the first attempt at settlement to Ojeda, for his effort at Bahia Honda, near the Gulf of Venezuela. "There is glory enough for all."

Again, taking up the narrative of Don Fernando, who says: "Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we sailed up that coast eastward; for though all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to St. Domingo, standing away to the north, yet only the Admiral and his brother knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that coast before they struck across that gulf that is between the continent and Hispaniola, which our men were much displeased at, thinking the Admiral designed directly for Spain; whereas, he neither had provisions, nor were his ships fit for that voyage." For the third time Columbus passed the Chagres river and Limon Bay, and entered Puerto Bello. The ship *Biscaina* was leaking so badly that she was abandoned here, where her anchor was found a few years later by Diego de Nicuesa, who likewise met disaster on this coast. From Puerto Bello the Admiral continued to the east, passing Bastimentos, El Retrete, and Punta San Blas. Beyond this point was the country of the cacique Pocorosa, and opposite the main was a string of islets, which Columbus named *Las Barbas* (now known as *Las Mulatas*), where he spent a night at anchor. The Admiral kept on along the Isthmus for ten leagues farther, and at the region which

*"Y este fué el primer pueblo que se hizo españoles en tierra firme puesto que luego desde a poco vino en nada." Comment of Las Casas on his transcription of the Journal of Columbus.

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Fernando Colon calls *Marmora* turned northward for Hispaniola, on the 1st day of May, 1503.¹

Writers commonly state that Columbus sailed as far east as Cabo Tiburon, and that he saw the Gulf of Darien (Urabá); but I doubt if he went east of Punta Mosquito. He still believed that a strait existed somewhere in this region, and it is hardly probable that he would have failed to investigate, or at least to mention seeing, this body of water, which extends into the land towards the south, and looks so much as if it ought to be a strait.

Columbus tells us that he did not wish his pilots to know the location of Veragua, and to accomplish this, according to Porras, he took from them the charts.

Still another reason for sailing so far to the east was to overlap the western limits of the voyage of Rodrigo de Bastidas, who sailed along the eastern half of the Isthmus, in 1501. When stopping at Santo Domingo, on the outward voyage, the Admiral or his captains heard something of the route followed by Bastidas; and from Porto Bello eastward he found evidences of a former visit by white men.

When Columbus departed from the Isthmus, in the region of Punta Mosquito, all hands were working with pumps and kettles to keep the two ships from being swamped by the water which was coming in through the holes made by the worms. On Wednesday, the 10th of May, they passed two low, small islands, full of turtles, for which reason the Admiral named them Tortugas, probably the Little Caymans of modern maps. Though all the pilots said the course would carry them east of the Caribbee Islands, yet the Admiral feared, on account of the westerly winds and currents, that he would not be able to make Hispaniola, which proved to be the case, for he was now not only west of Hispaniola, but also west of Jamaica; and

¹ Columbus, in his letter from Jamaica, 7th of July, 1503, gives a different name and date. "On the 13th of May I arrived at the province of Mago, which borders upon that of Catayo, and from there I departed for Española." Obviously, Mago and Catayo stand for Mangi and Cathay, and were not names of regions along the Isthmus of Panama. The Admiral may have really believed that he had arrived at these Asiatic provinces; but more likely he was deceiving the authorities at home as to the location of Veragua and neighboring regions. In fact, in this same incoherent letter, Columbus defies his pilots to say "where is the situation of Veragua." In addition to gathering up all the charts in the fleet, the Admiral took a book describing the places visited, from Pedro Mateos, a sailor on the Gallego, who testified to the fact in Court in after years. A few years later, Diego de Nicuesa did find it difficult to locate Veragua.

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on the evening of the following Friday, Columbus found himself among the familiar islets of the Queen's Gardens, still known as the *Jardines*, off the south coast of Cuba, near the Isle of Pines. While at anchor, ten leagues from the main, a great storm arose in the night and drove the *Bermuda* into the stern of the *Capitana*, to the injury of both.

From here, the Admiral sailed eastward for Hispaniola, along the shore of Cuba, and came to an Indian town, called Mataia, where he obtained some much-needed provisions. The winds and currents still setting to the west, and the water in the ships being almost up to the deck, Columbus gave up hope of reaching Hispaniola and headed for Jamaica. On the 24th of June he put into Puerto Bueno, in the northwest corner of Jamaica, which was a good harbor, but had no fresh water nor any Indian village near it at which to get food. "On the day after the Feast of St. John," the Admiral managed to get his ships into another harbor, a few miles farther east, which he had visited in 1494, and named *Santa Gloria*. Here, on the 25th day of June, 1503, the two foundering caravels, the *Capitana* and the *Bermuda* (Santiago), were run aground about a bow-shot from land, and the active life of Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, came to an end. *Santa Gloria* is now called St. Ann's Bay, and the sandy shore on which he beached his vessels is yet known as Don Christopher's Cove.

The ships lay board to board, and were shored up so that they could not budge. Sheds were built on deck, poop, and forecastle for the protection of the men, and Columbus spent a weary year waiting for succor from Santo Domingo.*

In July, Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman who had been captain of the forsaken *Biscaina*, made the perilous trip to Haiti in two canoes, each manned by six sailors and ten Indians. The second night from Jamaica, when nearly exhausted, the rising moon disclosed "a small island called *Nabazza*" (now Navassa), where they landed the next morning and secured rain-water from holes in the rocks, the thirsty Indians drinking so much of it that some of them

* There was no white settlement, as yet, on Jamaica, as Juan de Esquivel, by order of Admiral Diego Colon, did not make an entry into this island until November, 1509. Columbus and his party certainly acted very foolishly at this time,—the Admiral in stubbornly trying to hold together his party on the stranded hulks; the mutineers in attacking Columbus when it was evident there was nothing to gain.

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died on the spot. Mendez⁹ struck a fire and cooked some shell-fish, which they found along the shore. Having rested and refreshed themselves, they set out again about sun-setting, in the cool of the evening, and the next morning arrived at Cape St. Michael, the nearest land of Haiti.

"Notwithstanding he suffered under a quartan ague," Mendez traveled across the mountains of Xaragua until he found Ovando, butchering the subjects of the queenly *Anacaona*, whom he hanged shortly afterwards. The Governor had neither the desire nor time to devote to the relief of the old Admiral, and proceeded with his killing. The faithful Mendez then went to the town of Santo Domingo, and with Diego de Salcedo, the agent of Columbus, succeeded, after nearly a year, in purchasing with the Admiral's money a vessel with which to go to his relief.

Meanwhile, the Admiral found great difficulty in getting the natives to furnish supplies for his men, and at one time utilized his knowledge of astronomy to foretell an eclipse of the moon to the caciques, in order to extract greater quantities from them.

One day, in March, a caravel came to Santa Gloria, bringing a messenger, or spy, from Ovando, one Diego de Escobar, whom Columbus had previously condemned to death for the part he took in the Roldan rebellion. He gave the Admiral a letter from Ovando, with "a cask of wine and two flitches of bacon," and mysteriously hurried away.

On the 2d of January, 1504, the two brothers, Francisco and Diego de Porras, headed a mutiny and deserted the Admiral, followed by forty-eight of his men. They made a futile attempt to reach Hispaniola, and then roamed over Jamaica, robbing and insulting the natives. Tiring of this, the mutineers decided to attack the ships and make prisoners of Columbus and his brother. About a mile from the two stranded vessels, near the Indian village of Maima,¹⁰ on the 19th of May, the rebels

⁹ The Admiral appreciated the great services of Diego Mendez, and granted his request to be appointed to the office of Alguacilazgo Mayor of the island of Española for life. Soon after this, Columbus died, and Diego Colon paid scant heed to the wishes of his father. Oviedo relates that the Catholic King gave Mendez for arms a lonely canoe upon the sea.

¹⁰ "Where afterwards the Christians built the town they called Sevilla," writes Don Fernando.

By order of the Admiral Don Diego Colon, Juan de Esquivel, in November, 1509, proceeded to Jamaica, and brought the natives to subjection without the effusion of blood. On the site of the Indian village

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were met and defeated by the Adelantado and fifty loyal adherents. This was the first fight between white men on the island of Jamaica. Francisco de Porras was captured, and among the dead mutineers was Juan Sanchez, who allowed the Quibian to escape at Veragua. The pilot, Pedro de Ledesma, "who went with Vicente Yañez [Pinzon] to Honduras, and swam ashore at Belen," also a rebel, was almost hacked to pieces, but was nursed back to life by barber-surgeon Mark, and lived to be assassinated in Spain. The Adelantado was wounded in the hand by the sword of Francisco de Porras as it pierced his buckler; and Pedro de Terreros, the loyal captain of the *Gallega*, was killed.

A few weeks later, the ship purchased by Mendez, and another sent by Ovando in response to public opinion, arrived at Santa Gloria. June 28, 1504, Columbus and his crews departed for St. Domingo, but encountered westerly winds and currents, as usual, and it was not until the 13th of August that they reached their destination. The people welcomed the Admiral with distinction, and he was lodged in the Governor's house. On the 12th of September he sailed for Spain, and after a tempestuous voyage anchored in the harbor of San Lucar, on the 7th of November. That same month his friend, Queen Isabella, died, and Columbus received but scant consideration from the wily Ferdinand.

The Admiral urged his claims against the Crown, but was never restored to his viceroyalty; nor did he receive the share of the profits from the Indies granted him under the royal seal. "It was believed," observes Las Casas, "that if the King could have done so with a safe conscience, and without detriment to his fame, he would have respected few or none of the privileges which he and the Queen had conceded to the Admiral, and which had been so justly merited."

Worn out with disease and disappointment, he made a codicil to his will, bequeathing all his titles and privileges to his son Diego, and prepared for death. After receiving the sacrament, he said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." Columbus "gave up his soul to God on Ascension Day, being the 20th of May, 1506." He died in Valladolid, in an inn, the room of which is still pointed out. Above his death-bed hung

of Maima, Esquivel founded the pueblo of *Nueva Sevilla*, where a few years later he died and was buried. In more recent times the town had disappeared, the location being occupied by the Seville sugar plantation.

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the chains in which he had returned to Spain, in 1500, and which, in conformity to his wishes, were buried with him.

The remains of Columbus have experienced the same vicissitudes of fortune that followed the Admiral in life. At first his body was interred in the Convent of St. Francisco, in Valladolid, and a few years later was moved to the Carthusian Monastery of Las Cuevas, in Seville. Here also, in 1526, was deposited the body of his son, Don Diego Colon. On the petition of Doña Maria de Toledo, widow of Don Diego, about 1540, the remains of both Admiral and son were transported to Santo Domingo, Hispaniola. It is probable that Don Bartolomé, and the two sons of Don Diego, Luis and Cristobal, likewise found sepulchre in Santo Domingo.

By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, Spain ceded to France all her title to Hispaniola, "the cradle of her greatness in the New World"; so the Duke of Veragua, lineal descendant of Columbus, and the Spanish authorities, decided to again remove the ashes of the Admiral, and bear them to Cuba, in order to preserve the sacred relics under the Spanish flag. A small vault on the right, or Gospel, side of the high altar of the cathedral was opened, wherein were found some dust and fragments of bones, supposed to be the remains of Columbus. The crumbling bones were carried on the warship *San Lorenzo* to Havana; and in January, 1796, reinterred, with pomp and ceremony, in the wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in that city.

However, in the year 1877, a tomb was uncovered in the Cathedral at Santo Domingo, which contained a leaden box, holding human vestiges, and also a bullet. From the inscriptions on the casket, as well as from its location, these were judged to be the true relics of Christopher Columbus; and the ashes taken to Cuba, in 1795, to have been those of his son, Don Diego Colon.

At present both Santo Domingo and Havana claim to possess the *restos*, or remains of Columbus.

Furthermore, it is affirmed that the Havana ashes, whosoever they be, were carried to Spain, in 1898, before the occupation of the city by United States troops.

Relacion de la gente é navios que llevó á descubrir el Almirante Don Cristobal Colon.

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CARABELA CAPITANA.

Diego Tristan, capitan. falleció jueves seis de Abril de 1502 [3].
Ambrosio Sanchez, maestre.
Juan Sanchez, piloto mayor de la armada: falleció á 17 de Mayo de 1504.
Anton Donato, contramaestre.

MARINEROS.

Martin Dati.
Bartolomé Garcia: falleció domingo 28 de Mayo de 503 años.
Pero Rodriguez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Rodriguez.
Alonso de Almagro.
Pedro de Toledo.
Pedro de Maya: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Gomez.
Diego Roldan.
Juan Gallego.
Juan de Valencia: falleció sábado 13 de Enero de 504.
Gonzalo Rodriguez: falleció martes 4 de Abril de 503.
Tristan Perez Chinchorrero.
Rodrigo Vergayo.

ESCUDEROS.

Pedro Fernandez Coronel.
Francisco Ruiz.
Alonzo de Zamora.
Guillermo Ginovés.
Masetre Bernal, Fisico.

GRUMETES.

Diego Portogalete: falleció miércoles á 4 de Enero de 503.
Martin Juan.
Donis de Galve.
Juan de Zumados.
Francisco de Estrada.
Anton Chavarin.
Alonzo, Criado de Mateo Sanchez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Grigorio Sollo: falleció miércoles 27 de Junio de 504.
Diego el Negro.
Pero Sanchez.
Francisco Sanchez.
Francisco de Moron.
Juan de Murcia.
Grigorio Ginovés.
Ferrando Dávila.
Alonzo de Leon.
Juan de Miranda: falleció martes 11 de Abril de 503.
Garcia de Morales: quedó por doliénte en Cádiz; era criado del Almirante.
Juan Garrido: falleció á 27 de Febrero de 504.
Baltasar Daragon.

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OFICIALES DE NAO.

Martin de Arriera, tonelero.
Domingo Viscaino, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Francés, carpintero.
Juan Barba, lombardero: falleció á 20 de Mayo de 504.
Mateo Bombardero: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de Cuellar, trompeta.
Gonzalo de Salazar, trompeta.

CARABELA SANTIAGO DE PALOS

Francisco de Porras, capitán.
Diego de Porras, escribano é oficial de la armada.
Francisco Bermudez, maestre.
Pero Gomez, contramaestre.

MARINEROS.

Rodrigo Ximon.
Francisco Domingo: falleció sábado 4 de Febrero de 503.
Juan de Quijo.
Juan Rodriguez: falleció á 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de la Feria.
Juan Camacho.
Juan Grand.
Juan Reynaltes: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Gomez.
Alonzo Martin.

ESCUDEROS.

Francisco de Farias.
Diego Mendez.
Pedro Gentil.
Andrea Ginovés.
Juan Jácome.
Batista Ginovés.

GRUMETES.

Gonzalo Ramirez.
Juan Bandrojin: falleció á 23 de Octubre de 503.
Diego Ximon.
Aparicio Donis: falleció jueves 1º de Junio de 503.
Alonzo Escarraman, Francisco Marquez y Juan de Mogues llevan sueldo de dos grumetes: el Alonzo falleció martes 23 de Enero. de 504.
Alonso de Cea.
Pedro de Villatoro.
Ramiro Ramirez.
Francisco Dávila.
Diego de Mendoza.
Diego Cataño.

OFICIALES DE NAO.

Bartolomé de Milan, lombardero.
Juan de Noya, tonelero.
Domingo Darana, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Machin, carpintero.

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NAVIO GALLEGO.

Pedro de Terreros, capitan: falleció miércoles 29 de Mayo de 504.

Juan Quintero, maestre.

Alonso Ramon, contra maestre: falleció jueves á 6 de Abril de 503.

MARINEROS.

Rui Ferrandes.

Luis Ferrandes.

Gonzalo Garcia.

Pedro Mateos.

Julian Martin: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.

Diego Cabezudo.

Diego Delgado.

Rodrigalvares.

ESCUDEROS.

Gonzalo Camacho.

GRUMETES.

Pedro de Flandes.

Bartolomé Ramisez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.

Anton Quintero.

Bartolomé Dalza.

Gonzalo Flamenco.

Pedro Barranco.

Juan Galdi: falleció 9 de Setiembre de 504.

Alonso Peñac.

Esteban Mateos, page.

Diego de Satander.

García Polanco.

Juan Garcia.

Francisco de Medina, huyó en la Española, no se supo mas de él.

Juan de San Martin.

NAVIO VIZCAINO.

Bartolomé de Fresco, Ginovés, capitan.

Juan Perez, maestre: falleció sábado 7 de Octubre de 503.

Martin de Fuenterrabia, contra maestre: falleció á 17 de Setiembre de 502 [3].

MARINEROS.

Pedro de Ledesma.

Juan Ferro.

Juan Moreno.

San Juan.

Gonzalo Diaz.

Gonzalo Gallego, huyó en la Isla Española y dijeron que habia fallecido.

Alonso de la Calle: falleció martes 23 de Mayo de 503.

Lope de Pego.

ESCUDEROS.

Fray Alejandro, en lugar de Escudero.

Juan Pasau, Ginovés.

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GRUMETES.

Miguel de Lariaga: falleció sábado 17 de Setiembre de 502 [3].

Andrés de Sevilla.

Luis de Vargas.

Batista Ginovés.

Francisco de Levante.

Francisco de Córdoba, entró en lugar de un escudero, criado del Almirante, que se quedó en Sevilla. Se huyó en la Española á la ida, y está allá.

Pedro de Montesel.

Rodrigo de Escobar.

Domingo de Barbasta ó Narbasta: falleció martes 26 de Marzo de 504.

Pascual de Ausurraga.

Cheneco ó Cheulco, page.

Marco Surjano: falleció miércoles 11 de Setiembre de 504 años.

(*Navarrete—tomo 1, pags. 437-43*)



Photo by the *Author*.

RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF SAN LORENZO.

CHAPTER VII

DON RODRIGO DE BASTIDAS

Discoverer of the Isthmus of Darien

"Conquistador y Pacificador de Sancta Marta"

"Spain's Best and Noblest Conquistador"

"Aqui hace su manida
Don Rodrigo de Bastidas,
Que con crüeles heridas
Acabó la dulce vida.

"Tuvo pujanza y valor,
De riquezas copia harta,
Y así fué gobernador
Primero de Santa Marta."

Juan de Castellanos.



HE first European to reach the Isthmus of Panama was Rodrigo de Bastidas, who, in 1501, a year before the visit of Columbus, discovered the eastern half of the Isthmus, from the Gulf of Darien as far west as Bastimentos and Punta Manzanilla.

When the letters of Columbus reached Spain, containing an account of his third voyage, of 1498, with specimens of gold and drugs from Paria, and numerous samples of pearls from what he called the Pearl Coast, navigators and adventurers were excited to renewed interest in the lands of the Western ocean. It was believed that, at last, Columbus had arrived at the borderland of the rich East, if not close to the terrestrial paradise, as he himself thought. The first to follow the Admiral to Paria was Alonso de Ojeda, the hot-headed soldier of fortune who had made the dashing capture of Cacique Caonabó. Ojeda had returned from Hispaniola to Spain, and was loitering about the Court when the glowing reports of Columbus arrived. Bishop Fonseca showed

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the letters and charts of the Admiral to Ojeda, and the latter, with his knowledge of the Indies, immediately perceived that here was an opportunity not only to achieve greater distinction, but also to garner the first fruits of this new discovery.

Under the royal license of April 10, 1495, issued when Columbus was in great disfavor, any subject of Spain might make a voyage on his own account; provided he carried inspectors appointed by the Crown, which should receive a share of the profits. He was forbidden to touch at any land belonging to Portugal, nor lands discovered by Columbus prior to 1495. The share of the Crown varied from a tenth to one-third. The ships usually carried a treasurer and a notary. Later sovereigns modified this license so as to regulate discovery, trade, and settlement in Spanish territory. At least two ships should undertake the voyage; they should carry two pilots, and two priests; and the articles allowed for trading were specified. Under date of September 3rd, 1501, *Los Reyes*, as the King and Queen were designated in documents, decreed that anyone sailing without the royal license should suffer a forfeiture of ship and goods.

Always venomous towards the Admiral, Fonseca was only too glad to further the scheme of his favorite, and with his own name signed the license permitting Ojeda to follow Columbus to Paria and the Coast of Pearls. With the aid of wealthy speculators, Ojeda fitted out four ships, and sailed from Port St. Mary, opposite Seville, on the 20th of May, 1499. Twenty-four days after leaving the Canaries he reached the shore of South America, about two hundred leagues east and south of the mouth of the Orinoco, probably the coast of Surinam. Ojeda then followed the land to the northwest, sailing through the Gulf of Paria in the wake of Columbus. He continued westward until beyond the Gulf of Maracaibo, and at Cabo de la Vela (Cape Vela) turned away from the mainland and put in at Hispaniola. It is sometimes stated that Ojeda, on this voyage, sailed along the shores of Venezuela and Colombia as far west as Cabo Tiburon, in Darien, the western limit of the Gulf of Urabá. Under this surmise, Ojeda is given credit for being the first to view the Isthmus, in 1499; but the claim is not well founded, and the honor should be accorded to Bastidas.

The example of Ojeda roused the emulation of others, and Pedro Alonso Niño, a pilot of Moguer who had sailed with Columbus, obtained a similar commission from Fonseca. Taking with him Cristoval Guerra, whose brother furnished the

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money, they departed from Spain about the first of June, 1499, but a few days later than Ojeda. "They sailed from the little port of Palos," says Irving, "the original cradle of American discovery, whose brave and skillful mariners long continued foremost in all enterprises to the New World." Their little caravel of fifty tons reached Paria soon after the arrival of Ojeda, and likewise sailed westward, trading for pearls and *guanin* at Margarita, Cumaná, and Cauchieto. Niño returned safely to Spain in April, 1500, nearly two months ahead of Ojeda, "so laden with pearls that they were in maner with every mariner as common as chaffe." For being successful, after risking life and fortune, Niño was accused of not accounting for all his treasure, and thrown into prison, but freed later.

In June, Ojeda came sailing into Cadiz, his ships crowded with Indian slaves; but when the expenses of his large outfit were paid, but five hundred ducats remained to be divided between fifty-five adventurers.

In that same year of 1499, a second expedition started from Palos (the third to follow Columbus to South America), under command of Vicente Yañez Pinzon. In December, 1499, Pinzon departed from Palos with four caravels; and on the 20th of January, 1500, made the coast of Brazil at a point now called Cape St. Augustine. He landed and took possession for Castile with the usual formalities.

Pinzon sailed to the north, and found himself in fresh water, with which he replenished his casks. Standing in to the land, he came to a number of verdant islands, peopled by friendly Indians, who fearlessly came off to the ships. These islands were situated in the mouth of the great river of Marañon, later called the Orellana, and now the Amazon. Pinzon was also the first to cross the Equator on the American side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Having regained sight of the pole star, he continued his course to the northwest, passing the mouths of the Orinoco, and entered the Gulf of Paria, where he landed and cut Brazil-wood. The fleet left the Gulf by the Boca del Drago, and headed for Hispaniola, where they arrived about the 23d of June. Later, while among the Bahamas, Pinzon lost two of his vessels and many of his men; and when he got back to Palos it was to face weeping widows and angry creditors.

Closely following Pinzon was his fellow-townsmen, Diego de Lepe, who, early in 1500, sailed from Palos in two vessels for the new Terra Firma to the southwest. He passed Cape St. Augustine, the limit of Pinzon's voyage, and proceeded on

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down the shores of South America, going farther south than any other mariner reached for upwards of ten years afterwards.

The next voyager, in chronological order, to sail from Spain for the West Indies was Rodrigo de Bastidas (or Bastides), a wealthy notary of Triana, the maritime suburb of Seville. But too little is known of this man who has won the almost unique distinction of acting like a human being in his dealings with the natives of America, and exhibiting some of the tenets of that religion under whose banner the White Man conquered the Red Man. Bastidas was a gentleman, and a man of learning and honesty; an entirely different type from the impecunious courtier, the swashbuckler, and the adventurer. He was a man of standing in his community, and his character was superior to the weaknesses of common men, who found in the New World such free vent for their evil inclinations.

Bastidas encountered no difficulty in obtaining a royal license, in which he agreed to pay to the Crown a fourth of the profits of his voyage. A copy of this license is still in existence among the Archives of the Indies. He fitted out two vessels, and took with him that able pilot, Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus, and had just returned from his voyage with Ojeda to Paria and the Pearl Coast. The expedition set out from Cadiz in October, 1500, and took on wood, water, fresh meat, and cheese at Gomera. They reached the coast of what is now Venezuela, and steered west in the route taken by Ojeda and Cosa in 1499. From Cabo de la Vela, the farthestmost point reached by Ojeda, Bastidas continued on to the west, trading with the Indians for pearls and gold. He entered and named many of the ports. West of Cape Vela he came to Rio Hacha, Santa Marta, and the Rio Grande de Magdalena, which he discovered in March, on the day of the woman's conversion. Narrowly escaping shipwreck, he continued westward. At one place the Indians wore crowns, so Bastidas named the port Coronados. He sailed past the harbor of Cartagena and came to the river of Cenú.

Rounding Punta Caribana, the ships turned to the south in the Gulf of Darien; and we can imagine Cosa thinking that here was the strait leading to the Indian Ocean. He explored the gulf, and found the southern end to receive the fresh water of the Atrato river, so great in volume that, when the tide was low, the water in the gulf was sweet; so he called it Golfo Dulce. He also noted the *farallones*, or rocky islets near the Darien shore.

Sailing out of the gulf, Bastidas rounded Cabo Tiburon, and,

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in 1501, explored the north coast of the Isthmus as far west as Bastimentos and Punta Manzanillo. West of Cape Tiburon, he came to Caledonia Bay, Punta Mosquito, the islands of the Mulatas, Point San Blas, Nombre de Dios, and possibly to Puerto Bello. When Columbus reached the latter place, in 1502, he began to hear of the previous visit by white men to the eastward.

Bastidas was having great success collecting pearls and *guanin* and entrapping natives, when he found his vessels leaking so badly from the borings of the *broma*, or teredo, that he was compelled to terminate his traffic and exploration. About the region of Point Manzanillo he turned from the Isthmus and steered for Spain. The next land reached was Jamaica, where the ships were supplied with wood and water. After leaving here, Bastidas found so much water coming in through the worm holes that he stopped at an islet, called Contramaestre, one league off Hispaniola, and made repairs. He sailed again, but encountered a gale, and was glad to put back to the little island for shelter. Starting out a second time, the worm-eaten vessels filled so rapidly that La Cosa ran into the port of Jaraguá, where the two ships sank.

Most of the poor Indians, who were chained or beneath the deck, were drowned; and the Brazil-wood, and some gold and pearls were also lost, amounting in value to about 5,000,000 maravedis. Bastidas landed the most precious and portable articles of his cargoes; but later destroyed such of his arms and ammunition as he could not carry, lest they should fall into the hands of the natives. Placing what he had saved upon the backs of the surviving slaves, he set out for San Domingo, distant some seventy leagues to the eastward. In order the better to live off the country, Bastidas divided his men into three bands, two of them headed by La Cosa and himself, and traveled by separate routes. Each party carried a pack of trinkets, which they traded with the natives for provisions while on the way.

The pig-headed Bobadilla, who had superseded Columbus as Governor of Hispaniola, heard of these parties marching through the country; so when Bastidas arrived at the city of San Domingo he was seized and imprisoned for carrying on illicit trade with the Indians. Bobadilla claimed that the commission given to Bastidas permitted him to trade only in lands discovered by himself; while the notary maintained, very truthfully, that his commerce on Hispaniola consisted simply in paying for guides and supplies.

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As Bobadilla was just about to return to Spain, Bastidas was ordered thither for trial. The ship in which he sailed, in July, 1502, was one of the few which lived through the hurricane predicted by Columbus. Bastidas easily cleared himself before the sovereigns, and, notwithstanding his losses, paid a handsome royalty into the treasury. Three chests full of gold and pearls, which he brought back, were ordered to be displayed in the towns through which he passed, in order that others might be induced to venture in the Indies, gather in the gold, and pay the King his fifth.

Being successful, Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa were each awarded an annual pension of fifty thousand maravedis; which, like most all the rewards granted by the King, was to come from the future revenues of the new lands they had found. Cosa, in addition, was made *alguacil mayor* of Urabá.

Bastidas was so well pleased with the Indies that he took his wife and children to Santo Domingo, where he became rich in cattle, at one time possessing 8000 head, and that when a cow in Española was worth 50 *pesos de oro*. In 1504, the notary, in two ships, again sailed to Tierra Firme, carrying off six hundred natives from the mainland and from the island of Codego, to be sold as slaves in Española. The Emperor Charles, in 1520, gave Bastidas the pacification of the island of Trinidad, with the title of *Adelantado*. This grant was opposed by Diego Colon, on the ground that Trinidad was discovered by his father, and hence within his jurisdiction. Thereupon Bastidas waived his claim to that island, and the following year, 1521, the King gave him a license to settle and exploit a tract of land extending from Cabo de la Vela westward to the Rio Grande de la Magdalena.

The expedition was delayed, and it was not until 1524, or 1525, that Bastidas sailed from the city of Santo Domingo with four caravels and a ship which he bought of Xeronimo Rodriguez. He carried a great quantity of supplies, including lime and bricks, such as his long experience in the New World indicated to be useful by an infant colony. The force of Bastidas consisted of four hundred and fifty persons, many of them married. The Governor's staff included Pedro de Villafuerte, *Teniente General*; Rodrigo Alvarez Palomino, *Maestre de Campo*; and Juan de Ledesma, as *Contador*. Among the captains were Goncalo de Vides, Antonio Ponce Carrion, Carranca, and Hernan Vaez Portugues.

On the 29th of July, 1524, "*dia de Santa Marta*," Bastidas

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sailed into a port within the limits of his grant. Here he landed ("*saltó en tierra*"), and a few days thereafter started to build a town, which he named Santa Marta. One of the first acts of the Governor was to make peace with the chiefs of the Gayras, Tagangas, and Dorsinos, tribes of Indians surrounding his settlement.

Soon after founding the city, the Governor made a friendly reconnoissance of the adjoining territory, and marched into the interior with peace and good-will towards the natives. Four leagues from Santa Marta a band of Indians, called the Bondas, received the newcomers in a warlike manner, but were soon defeated by the superior arms of the white men, who captured their gold.

Eighteen or twenty leagues inwards, Bastidas came upon a very large Indian town, called Tarbo, the most attractive feature of which was a large *bohio* containing a smelter for gold ("*Casa de fundycion doro*"). The sight of gold always maddened the Spanish adventurers, though at the time they might be actually starving for the want of food. The ruffians became angry that they were not allowed to rob the place, and murmured against their leader, declaring that he cared more for the Indians than he did for them. As it was, Cazique Taybo thought it politic to present Bastidas with 600 pesos worth of gold. Instead of receiving their share of the spoils, his followers learned that the gold collected on this trip would be applied to defraying the expenses of the colonization.

The Governor had honored Pedro de Villafuerte by making him his lieutenant, and intended that he should succeed to the rulership of the colony. Nevertheless, ambition entered into Villafuerte, and he thought that if Bastidas were put out of the way, he would at once become Governor. Three or four days after returning from the rich Indian population to Santa Marta, Villafuerte took advantage of the discontent among the soldiers and plotted a conspiracy against the Governor with Montesinos de Lebrija, Montalvo de Guadalajara, Pedro de Porras, Xoan de Merlo, Samaniego, Serna, Bazantes, and other Spaniards to the number of fifty. Binding themselves by an oath, they bribed the captain of the guard, and two of their number entered the house of the Governor at night and stabbed the sleeping Bastidas five times, leaving him for dead.

As soon as the assassins went out, the Governor called for help, and Palomino hurried to his assistance. The conspirators now returned to finish their bloody work, but the faithful *maestre de campo* defended the door with a broadsword and

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drove them off. Nine of the rebels fled from the town, carrying the gold stolen from Bastidas, and hid themselves in the forests, where the good policy established by their commander protected them from the fury of the Indians. After wandering for days in the jungle, subsisting on roots found in the *labranzas*, Villafuerte and some of his companions returned to Santa Marta, where they were seized by Palomino and sent to Santo Domingo for trial, paying for the crime with their lives. Others of the conspirators had the boldness to pass in a canoe from Santa Marta to Española, and met with a similar fate. Unfortunately, Palomino, soon after this, came to his death by drowning in a river, to the grief of many.

There being no surgeon at Santa Marta, Bastidas decided to hasten to Santo Domingo to be cured of his wounds. The unfortunate Governor, in gratitude to Palomino, gave him his staff of office, and set sail in a ship having Alonso Miguel for pilot. Bastidas became worse during the voyage, and the currents carrying the ship to the west, he put into *Puerto de Sanctiago*, in the island of Fernandina, as Cuba was then called. At Santiago was Gonzalo de Guzman, judge of *residencia* and lieutenant of the Governor. There was some anger between Guzman and Bastidas because the latter had confiscated a ship and stores sent out by Guzman, under Gonzalo de Vides, to traffic and steal gold and slaves along the coast belonging to Bastidas. Nevertheless, Guzman received the wounded Governor in kindness, and when Bastidas died a few days later, gave him honorable sepulture. This was during the year 1526. Bastidas was advanced in years and worn out with his labors and wounds, so when he developed fever ("*unas calenturas*"), he quickly succumbed, having first received the sacrament as a Catholic Christian. They buried him in the great Church, whence afterwards his son, dean at Santo Domingo, and later bishop of Porto Rico, carried his body to Santo Domingo and reinterred it in the sumptuous chapel of the Cathedral in that city.

Early the following year Guzman made an inventory (still in existence) of the effects belonging to Bastidas at the lodging-house kept by Jeronimo de Alanis, notary public, and sent the list to the Royal Audience in the city of Santo Domingo, where the gold was deposited in the chest of the three keys.

In the meantime, the Royal Audience at Santo Domingo had despatched Pedro Vadillo, *licenciado*, to rule Santa Marta, *en interin*. Vadillo took for his lieutenant Don Pedro de Heredia.

In 1528, Charles V. appointed Garcia de Lerma Governor

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of Santa Marta. Lerma soon died, and the Audiencia at Santo Domingo again filled the office by naming Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman and the Licentiate Infante.

In 1535, the Emperor made Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, Adelantado of the Canaries, Governor of Santa Marta, with succession to his son, Don Alonso Luis de Lugo. With a large armada, including a force of eleven hundred persons, Lugo arrived at Santa Marta and continued the conquest and settlement of that province.

On the 22d of December, 1528, Don Rodrigo de Bastidas, legitimate son of the late Governor of Santa Marta, and dean of the holy church at Santo Domingo, presented a petition to the president and judges of the Audience praying that the services of his father be recognized, and that the estate be settled for the benefit of his widow and sons. Among the many witnesses in this hearing there appeared in January, 1529, Gaspar de Espinosa, who had won renown in Panama and was then residing at Santo Domingo.

This famous *Conquistador*, who discovered so many leagues of American coast, is not even mentioned in the bulky encyclopedias of today. If, in accordance with the custom of his time, Bastidas did enslave the Indians, yet he ever treated them humanely, and gave up his life at last to protect them from outrage. Within the old cathedral in the city of Santo Domingo is a chapel called the *capilla del Adelantado Rodrigo de Bastides*, wherein are interred, not far from the alleged *restos* of Columbus, the remains of Bastidas and his family. Thus the ashes of the two discoverers of the Isthmus of Panama rest beneath the same roof in the old capital of the Indies.

Of Bastidas, the eloquent *Quintana* has said: "Bastidas no se hizo célebre ni como descubridor ni como conquistador; pero su memoria debe ser grata á todos los amantes de la justicia y de la humanidad, por haber sido uno de los pocos que trataron á los indios con equidad y mansedumbre, considerando aquel pais mas bien como un objeto de especulaciones mercantiles con iguales, que como campo de gloria y de conquistas."

The license granted Bastidas to discover new lands and traffic with the natives, is yet preserved in the *Archivo de Indias*. As showing the character of the document, the following summary is presented.

"El Rey é la Reina, El asiento que se tomó por nuestro mandado con vos Rodrigo de Bastidas, vecino de la ciudad de Sevilla, para ir a descubrir por el mar Océano, con dos navios, es lo siguiente:—it goes on to state, First, that we give license to you, the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that with two vessels of your own, and at your own cost and risk, you may go by the said Ocean Sea to discover, and you may

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discover islands and firm land; in the parts of the Indies and in any other parts, provided it be not the islands and firm land already discovered by the Admiral Don Cristóbal Colon, our admiral of the Ocean Sea, or by Cristóbal Guerra; nor those which have been or may be discovered by other person or persons by our order and with our license before you; nor the islands and firm land which belong to the most serene prince, the King of Portugal, our very dear and beloved son; for from them nor from any of them you shall not take anything, save only such things as for your maintenance, and for the provision of your ships and crew you may need. Furthermore, that all the gold, and silver, and copper, and lead, and tin, and quicksilver, and any other metal whatever, and *aljófar*, and pearls, and precious stones and jewels, and slaves and negroes, and mixed breeds, which in these our kingdoms may be held and reputed as slaves; and monsters and serpents, and whatever other animals and fishes and birds, and spices and drugs, and every other thing of whatsoever name or quality or value it may be; deducting therefrom the freight expenses, and cost of vessels, which in said voyage and fleet may be made; of the remainder to us will belong the fourth part of the whole, and the other three-fourths may be freely for you, the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that you may do therewith as you choose and may be pleased to do, as a thing of your own, free and unincumbered. *Item*, that we will place in each one of the said ships one or two persons, who in our name or by our order shall be witnesses to all which may be obtained and trafficked in said vessels of the aforesaid things; and that they may put the same in writing and keep a book and account thereof, so that no fraud or mistake happen.' After stating further under whose direction the ships should be fitted out, and what should be done on the return of the expedition, the document is dated at Seville, June 5, 1500, and the signatures follow: Yo El Rey. Yo La Reina. Por mandado del Rey é de la Reina, Gaspar De Grizio.'. All this under penalty of the forfeiture of the property and life of the captain of the expedition, Rodrigo de Bastidas. *Archivo de Indias*, printed in *Pacheco and Cardenas, Col. Doc., ii. 362-6.*

CHAPTER VIII

TIERRA FIRME

Comprising Nueva Andalucia and Castilla del Oro.

THE GOVERNORS ALONSO DE OJEDA AND DIEGO DE NICUESA,

Rivals in Fame and Rivals in Misfortune

"Do you know the blue of the Carib Sea,
Far out where there's nothing but sky to bound
The gaze to windward, the glance to lee,—
More deep than the bluest spaces be
Betwixt white clouds in heaven's round?
Have you seen the liquid lazuli spread
From edge to edge, so wondrous blue
That your footfall's trust it might almost woo,
Were it smooth and low for one to tread?
So clear and warm, so bright, so dark,
That he who looks on it can but mark
'Tis a different tide from the far-away
Perpetual waters, old and gray,
And can but wonder if Mother Earth
Has given a younger ocean birth."

Edmund C. Stedman.



IN a general way, the entire coast-line to the south and west of Hispaniola was called Tierra Firme, firm land, or mainland, and believed to be a part of the continent of Asia. No passage through it had been found, but all believed that a strait existed, leading to the ocean south of India. After a few years the term Tierra Firme came to be applied more particularly to the Isthmus and the region east of the Gulf of Urabá (Darien). When the politic Ferdinand began to realize the magnitude and wealth of the new lands added to Castile, he did not renew the powerful office of Viceroy of the Indies, which might rival and endanger his own authority, and of which he had defrauded Columbus. He now treated the West Indies (which at that time meant also the mainland) as appendages to the Crown, and exploited them as personal possessions of the Sovereign. He gave licenses to trade at certain parts, and commissions to look for new lands; and the older regions were divided into provinces, over which gov-

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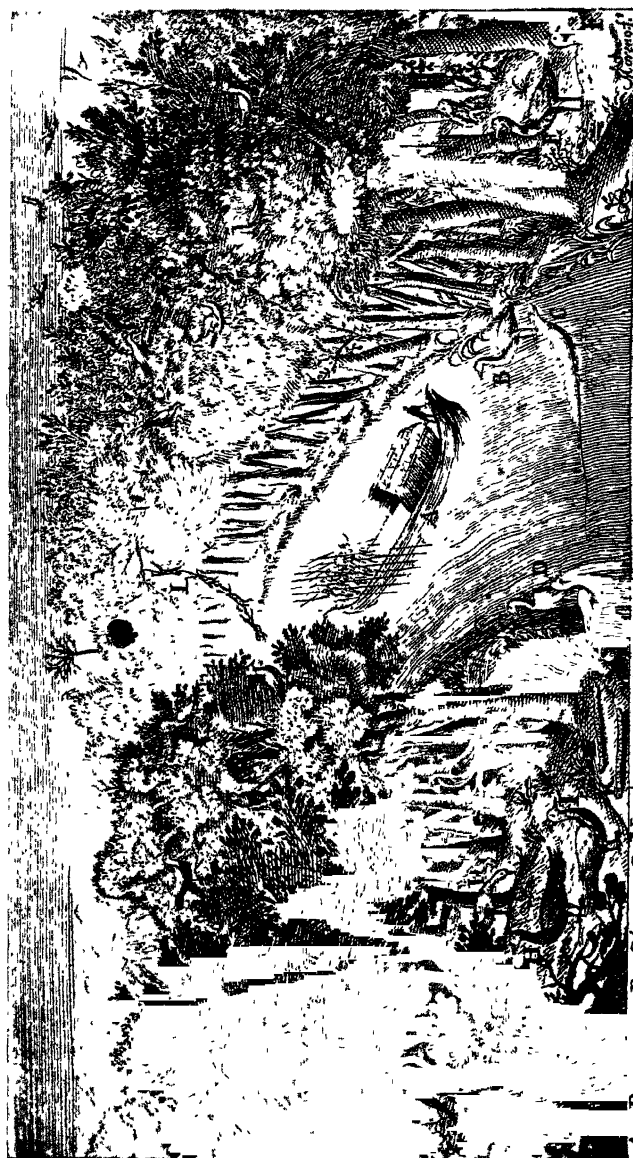
ernors and other officers were appointed for limited periods. Colonies were planted by private enterprise; and when pensions and rewards were granted the money was to come, as in the case of Bastidas, from the future earnings of the colony.

The riches of the Pearl Coast and of Veragua, reported by Columbus, being confirmed by subsequent voyages, Ferdinand resolved to settle and develop Tierra Firme; and looked around for a capable governor. The Admiral having died in 1506, the choice, by right, should have fallen upon his brother Bartolomé—still Adelantado of the Indies—who had proved himself so efficient both as navigator and administrator.

In 1508, Don Diego Colon, eldest son and heir of Columbus, brought suit before the Council of the Indies for restoration of the offices and privileges given in the capitulations between their Highnesses and the Admiral. The case was yet pending, and the wily monarch was loath to grant any more rights to a family that might, in time, become too powerful.

The friends of Alonso de Ojeda urged his appointment to the new governorship. He was without funds, but his friend, the veteran pilot, Juan de la Cosa, offered to fit out the expedition, and even went from Hispaniola to Spain to promote the claim of Ojeda. Alonso de Ojeda, as we have seen, was the first to follow Columbus to South America, in 1499. He took with him Juan de la Cosa, and also Amerigo Vespucci, the Florentine, whose name, by a singular caprice of fortune, has been given to the whole of the New World. The statement that Ojeda was the first to reach the Isthmus of Panama, in 1499, probably arose from the fact that Columbus called Paria and the Pearl Coast, Tierra Firme, and the name extended along the whole northern coast of South America, including the Isthmus, and even up the shores of Central America. There is no reliable evidence that Ojeda's voyage of 1499 extended farther west than Cape Vela.

In January, 1502, Ojeda made a second voyage to Tierra Firme, with authority to colonize Coquibacoa, which he had discovered on his first voyage and named the Gulf of Venezuela (Little Venice), because on its eastern shore was an Indian village, of twenty large bell-shaped houses, built on piles driven into the bottom of the gulf. On his first voyage, Ojeda had met with English adventurers in this region, and King Ferdinand wanted a bold and quarrelsome commander who would hold the country for Spain. Ojeda, with his associates, Juan de Vergara and Garcia de Campos, sailed by Paria and came to Cumaná, where they robbed the natives and carried off such of the women as pleased their fancy. Arriving at the Gulf of



A. Bonque : B. Cime : C. Yéuana : D. Garzas : E. Garza Yeal : F. Guacamayo : G. Loxo : H. Pa-
vanontera : I. Pauji : K. Culebras de las Cabezas : L. Monos como pasan el Rio :

From Ulloa, *Relacion Historica*, tom 1

ASCENDING THE CHAGRES RIVER.

Venezuela, they found the land so sterile that they continued westward to a bay which Ojeda called Santa Cruz, supposed to be the Bahía Honda of today. Here they found a Spaniard who had been left in the province of Citarma by Bastidas, about thirteen months before.

The Indians at Santa Cruz fought the Spaniards, but the latter succeeded in building a fortress from which they made forays into the adjacent territory. Provisions failed, and Ojeda's people became discontented, and insinuated that he had not settled on his own lands, but in the country discovered by Rodrigo de Bastidas. Alonso de Ojeda was not the man to share authority with his partners, so Vergara and Campos (often called Ocampo) placed him in irons, and all hands abandoned Santa Cruz and sailed for St. Domingo. To be accurate, this was the first attempt by the Spaniards to populate the mainland of America, as it preceded, by nearly a year, the effort of Columbus to settle at Belén. Details of the expedition are wanting, but I am inclined to think that Ojeda deserves more credit for this undertaking than is usually accorded him.

Herrera relates an incident which well illustrates the daring and foolhardiness of Ojeda. While at anchor off the western end of Hispaniola, Ojeda, with feet shackled, quietly dropped into the sea and attempted to swim to land. His weighty irons threatened to sink him, so the venturesome Governor cried for help, and was ignominiously dragged aboard. Ojeda was tried before the chief judge at St. Domingo, about the end of September, 1502, found guilty, and despoiled of his property. He appealed to the King, and the following year was honorably acquitted of all the charges; but, as Irving well says, "like too many other litigants, he finally emerged from the labyrinths of the law a triumphant client, but a ruined man."

Despite his loss of property, Ojeda did not lack friends, in 1509, to help him secure the governorship of Tierra Firme. With the powerful influence of Fonseca and the financial backing of La Cosa, no doubt he would have succeeded, had not another worthy candidate appeared. This was Diego de Nicuesa, an accomplished courtier, who had been reared in the household of Don Enrique Enriquez, uncle of the King. He went to Hispaniola in the train of Governor Ovando, acquired wealth, and was now in Spain on a mission concerning the *encomiendas*.

Both Ojeda and his rival, Nicuesa, were small, but very muscular men, full of daring and energy, and in the prime of manhood. Both were skilled in the use of arms and in knightly

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exercises. Las Casas tells of a favorite mare belonging to Nicuesa which he could make prance and caper in unison with the music of a viol. With characteristic kingcraft, Ferdinand decided to appoint both men, and arranged conditions so as to foster jealousy between them instead of helpful coöperation. Tierra Firme was divided into two parts, separated by the Gulf of Urabá (Darien). The region extending eastward to Cabo de la Vela was called *Nueva Andalucia* (New Andalusia), and given to Ojeda. The land west and north of the Gulf of Urabá as far as Cape Gracias á Dios was named by the King *Castilla del Oro* (Golden Castile), and assigned to Nicuesa. The governors were appointed for four years, and their supplies were to be free of duties. Each had the exclusive right to work all mines in his district for ten years, paying an increasing tithe of the profits to the Crown, beginning with one-tenth part the first year. In addition, each Governor was required to erect two fortresses in his district.

Juan de la Cosa was appointed lieutenant to Ojeda, and made Alguacil Mayor of the eastern province. He engaged vessels and supplies in Spain, and sailed to meet his chief in San Domingo.

Nicuesa, being the richer, prepared a larger expedition, and also sailed for Hispaniola. On the way over he stopped at Santa Cruz (one of the Caribbee islands), and stole a hundred so-called cannibals, to be sold as slaves in Hispaniola. Both outfits arrived at the town of St. Domingo about the same time, and the rival governors had many disputes over their adjoining grants, in which the more polished Nicuesa had the advantage of the hot-headed Ojeda. The latter was for settling their differences with the sword, but Juan de la Cosa managed to pacify them. The governors quarreled again over their dividing line, and La Cosa decided it should be the middle of the Gulf of Urabá and the Atrato (Darien) river. Since the death of Columbus, La Cosa was Spain's ablest pilot and cartographer in the Indies, and his decision could not be questioned.

As the result of his lawsuit, and more especially of his marriage to the influential Doña Maria de Toledo, niece of the Duke of Alva, Don Diego Colon was awarded the governorship of Hispaniola; and Ovando was recalled. About the middle of the year 1509, Governor Diego Colon arrived at Santo Domingo with his wife, his brother Don Fernando, and his two uncles, Don Bartolomé and Don Diego. The new Governor of Hispaniola was accompanied by a large retinue of cavaliers and ladies of rank, and he established the first

vice-regal court in the New World, where but a few years before the naked red man roamed in barbarian freedom. Governor Colon was much aggrieved that he was not given the vice-royalty in succession to his father, with dominion over *Tierra Firme*. He opposed the recruiting of Spaniards and Indians in Hispaniola by Ojeda and Nicuesa; and resented the allotment to them of the island of Jamaica as a place to obtain provisions. Instead of simply protesting to the King, Colon despatched Juan de Esquivel, with seventy men, to take possession of that island, and to hold it subject to his command. Before sailing, Ojeda heard of this movement, and swore that if he ever found Esquivel on Jamaica he would strike off his head.

Among the lawyers at St. Domingo, was the Bachiller Martin Fernandez de Encisco, who had already accumulated two thousand castellanos from his practice; "for it would appear that the spirit of litigation was one of the first fruits of civilized life transplanted to the New World, and flourished surprisingly among the Spanish colonists." Ojeda promised to make him *Alcalde Mayor*, or chief judge of his province; and the speculative bachelor of law put all his savings in the expedition. They agreed that Ojeda should go ahead to *Nueva Andalucia*, while the Bachiller would remain in St. Domingo to secure recruits and supplies, and follow his chief in a vessel purchased by himself.

Ojeda was the first of the rival governors to get away. He sailed from St. Domingo on the 10th of November, 1509, with two ships, two brigantines, 300 men, and 12 brood-mares. Among the adventurers who embarked with Ojeda was an illiterate soldier, by name Francisco Pizarro, who became famous as the conqueror of Peru. Another native of *Estremadura*, Hernando Cortés, was also in St. Domingo at this time, and intended to accompany Nicuesa; but was forced to remain in Hispaniola by reason of an abscess in the thigh of the right leg. In 1511, Cortés went with Diego Velasquez to Cuba; from whence, in 1519, he departed for the conquest of Mexico.

Nicuesa, having a larger expedition, and the rich *Veragua* in his province, attracted more followers than Ojeda. He selected Lope de Olano, an associate of Roldan in his rebellion against Columbus, to be his captain general. Nicuesa was lavish in his expenditures, and before his departure was besieged by creditors. When stepping in the boat to go aboard his ship, he was arrested for a debt of five hundred ducats and carried before the *alcalde*. Nicuesa did not have the money and was in a condition of despair; when a public notary, touched by his distress,

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stepped forward and paid the bill. With tears of gratitude, the governor embraced his deliverer, and hurriedly put to sea. Nicuesa sailed about ten days after Ojeda, with seven vessels, carrying eight hundred men and six horses.

Meanwhile, Ojeda, well pleased that he had gotten the start of his rival, arrived safely at Terra Firma; and, about the fifth day after leaving St. Domingo, entered the bay, where, in 1531, was founded the present city of Cartagena. Juan de la Cosa, who, with Bastidas, in 1501, was the first to visit this place, warned his commander not to make an entrance here, but to continue on to the Gulf of Urabá, where the natives were not so warlike, and did not use poisoned arrows. The rash Ojeda would not heed the advice of his Mentor, La Cosa, but landed a large force and advanced against an Indian village called *Calamar* (or *Caramari*). He ordered the friars with him to read aloud a ridiculous document, drawn up by profound jurists and pious divines in Spain, filled with subtle sophistry to excuse the crimes they were about to commit upon the natives. In it the Catholic Kings of Castile claimed *Tierra-firme* by gift from the Pope, and required speedy submission of the inhabitants, with dire threats and punishments for refusal. (*Vide Appendix.*)

The Indians, of course, did not understand a single word of this extraordinary manifesto; and, as the Spaniards continued to advance, brandished their weapons and let fly a shower of arrows. La Cosa entreated the governor to abandon these hostile shores, but Ojeda, invoking the protection of the Virgin, charged the people and captured the town. Some of the Indians were killed, and seventy captives sent on the ships. On their persons were found plates of the inferior gold, called *guanin*. In spite of the remonstrance of his lieutenant, Ojeda pursued the fugitives for four leagues into the interior. In the evening he came to a large town called *Turbaco*, which the inhabitants had deserted. While the Spaniards were divided, looting the houses which were scattered among the trees, they were assailed by troops of Indians and nearly all killed. The women of this region joined with the men in defending their homes, and were particularly expert in throwing a lance called the *azagay*. La Cosa, with a few others, went to the assistance of their commander, and for a time they held the enemy at bay from behind a palisade. Suddenly, the impetuous Ojeda sprang forth like a tiger, dealing blows on every side. The faithful Biscayan would have followed, but was already crippled by his wounds. He and the few remaining men took

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refuge in a shack, the roof of which they threw off, lest the enemy should set it on fire. Here they defended themselves until only La Cosa and one other were left alive. Feeling himself dying from the subtle poison in his wounds, the brave La Cosa said to his companion: "Brother, since God hath protected thee from harm, sally forth and fly; and if ever thou shouldst see Alonso de Ojeda, tell him of my fate."

Thus perished Juan de la Cosa, from the effects of those envenomed weapons against which he had ineffectually warned his commander. Aside from his eminence as a navigator, he will be remembered for his honesty, faithfulness, and generous traits of character. La Cosa is one of the few among the Conquistadores who win our affection as well as our admiration. The Spaniard who told the story of his death was the sole survivor of seventy or more men who went with their governor.

As for Ojeda, being small and active, as well as powerful, he was able to protect himself with his buckler from the deadly arrows, and succeeded in cutting his way through the Indians, and escaped in the darkness. When day broke, he concealed himself in the jungle, and that night wandered back towards his ships. After some days, a searching party from the fleet found Ojeda, exhausted and speechless, lying upon some matted mangrove roots by the margin of the sea. His sword was in his hand, and his buckler, still attached to his shoulders, bore the marks of three hundred arrows. They warmed his body by a fire, and gave him wine and food, so that he was soon able to tell his story. As usual, he had received no wound, and he considered his miraculous escape as another proof of the special protection of the Virgin.

While the Spaniards were yet on shore nursing their commander back to life and strength, the ships of Nicuesa entered the harbor. Ojeda was ashamed to be seen in his sad plight, and feared that his rival would call upon him to defend his challenge; so begged his men to leave him alone on the shore, and to tell Nicuesa that he was on an expedition into the country. Nicuesa, however, heard the true account of what had happened, and was indignant that they should even imagine that he could take advantage of his present superiority to revenge himself for past disputes. When they met, Nicuesa received Ojeda with open arms. "It is not," said he, "for Hidalgos, like men of vulgar souls, to remember past differences when they behold one another in distress. Henceforth, let all that has occurred between us be forgotten. Command

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me as a brother. Myself and my men are at your orders, to follow you wherever you please, until the death of Juan de la Cosa and his comrades are revenged."

The two governors united their forces, and landed four hundred men and several horses; proclaiming that no quarter should be given the Indians. They came upon Turbaco at night, and, though the parrots in the woods made a prodigious clamor, took the people by surprise. The houses were set on fire, and the men, women and children slain as they ran out. When the flying women, with children in their arms, beheld the horses and armor-clad Spaniards, they shrieked with terror, and rushed back into the flames. The body of the unfortunate Juan de la Cosa was found tied to a tree. It was so horribly swollen and discolored that his countrymen would not remain at that place over night. The ruins of the village were searched and the dead Indians robbed of their ornaments, with the result that considerable booty was obtained; the share of Nicuesa and his men amounting to seven thousand *castellanos*. Well satisfied with their work, the reconciled governors parted in great amity; and Nicuesa sailed away for the rich Veragua and his Golden Castile.

All too late, Ojeda took the advice of his dead lieutenant, and gave up all thoughts of colonizing at Calamar. Steering westward along the shore, and capturing Indians for slaves, he entered the gulf of Urabá. He sought the river of Darien (Atrato), discovered early in 1501 by Bastidas and La Cosa, because it was the western limit of his domain, and was famed among the Indians as abounding in gold. The river was not found, probably because it empties itself not at the head of the gulf, but by a number of mouths on the west shore.

Failing to find the Darien river, Ojeda disembarked his expedition on the east side of the gulf, and erected, on an elevation, a wooden fortress and houses, surrounding the whole with a stockade. He named his embryo capital *San Sebastian*, in honor of the arrow-martyred saint whose protection he craved from the venomous darts of the natives. This was the third attempt at settlement on the *Tierra-firme*; the first being Santa Cruz on Bahia Honda, and the second that of Belen in Veragua. Ojeda sent a ship to Santo Domingo, with his slaves and stolen gold; and by it, a letter to his *alcalde mayor*, the Bachiller Encisco, urging him to hasten on with recruits and provisions.

When the governor had completed his new town, he started out with an armed force to visit a neighboring cacique; a courtesy that was instigated largely by the reputed wealth of the

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chieftain. The latter had heard of these friendly visits by the white men, and resolved that they should not reach his village. He placed his warriors along the trail, and assailed the Spaniards with such flights of arrows that they retreated in confusion, leaving many of their number to die in the jungle. So great was their dread of the poisoned arrows that Ojeda found great difficulty in getting his men to leave the protection of the stockade. At night they heard the screams of tigers and other beasts about San Sebastian; and when they ventured out into the thickets they encountered the deadly darts of the natives, or large and venomous serpents. Herrera relates that an enormous alligator seized one of their horses by the leg and dragged the animal beneath the water.

It took the Spaniards some time to realize that the natives of Tierra Firme differed materially from the timid Arawaks of Hispaniola. These Indians were altogether or partly of Carib stock, and, whether on sea or land, were the fiercest fighters in the Americas. They ambuscaded all foraging parties and actually besieged the garrison. The sentinel of San Sebastian was often found dead at his post in the morning. Provisions were nearly all consumed, and the colonists were dying of wounds and disease. When the dusky warriors surrounded the settlement and brandished their weapons in defiance, the governor was always the first to sally forth; and it is said that he slew more Indians with his single arm than all his followers together. The quick-witted natives saw that Ojeda was the head and front of the invaders, and planned an ambush to discover if he really bore a charmed life, as they had heard. A number of warriors advanced on San Sebastian, sounding their conchs and drums, and uttering yells of defiance. When Ojeda rushed out, they retreated to the place where four of their best bowmen were concealed. Three arrows struck his shield and glanced harmlessly off, but the fourth pierced his thigh.

This was the first wound that Alonso de Ojeda had ever received in battle, and he was not only alarmed at the poisonous nature of it, but felt despondent that the Holy Virgin had withdrawn her protection from him. Nevertheless, he did not lose his courage, but proceeded to apply heroic treatment. A prominent symptom of these poisoned wounds was a feeling of cold in the part affected, so Ojeda caused two iron plates to be made red hot, and ordered his surgeon to apply one to each orifice of the wound. The surgeon shuddered and refused, saying he did not wish to murder his general. Ojeda swore that his general would hang him unless he obeyed; and the

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doctor, to avoid the gallows, applied the glowing plates. According to the good Bishop Las Casas, the cold poison was consumed by the vivid fire, and the governor recovered from his wound; but the cauterization induced such a fever that they had to wrap him in sheets steeped in vinegar, using an entire barrel of it for this purpose.

When the early Spaniards could not force food and labor from the Indians, they generally starved. Afraid to rob the natives, eating herbs and roots for sustenance, and much depressed at the disability of their commander, the miserable colony at San Sebastian waited the coming of Encisco. One day a ship came to anchor in the gulf, but it was not that of the Bachiller Encisco. The vessel was commanded by Bernardino de Talavera, a renegade debtor from Hispaniola. He was at St. Domingo when Ojeda's ship returned with the slaves and gold, tangible evidence of the richness of the colony. Understanding Ojeda to be in need of recruits, Talavera gathered together a band of worthless adventurers, like himself, and watched for an opportunity to go to San Sebastian. Fortune often favors knaves for a time, as if to lure them on to destruction. At Cape Tiburon, Hispaniola, was a vessel, belonging to some Genoese, loading with bacon and *cassava* bread. Talavera's gang, about seventy in number, made their way secretly to Cape Tiburon, overpowered the crew of the ship, and more by luck than seamanship, arrived at San Sebastian. Father Charlevoix thinks it was a special providence which guided this shipload of food to the colonists just when they were on the brink of starvation.

Talavera demanded gold for his provisions, to which Ojeda acceded, glad to get them at any price. The governor dealt out the new supplies so sparingly that his companions murmured, and even accused their leader of reserving an undue share for himself. The ancient chroniclers think there may have been some truth in this charge, as Ojeda was haunted by a presentiment that he should eventually die of hunger.

When these supplies were exhausted, and no Encisco had appeared, the discontented colonists plotted to seize one of the vessels in the harbor and sail for Hispaniola. The governor heard of this plan and resolved to go himself; and such was their belief in his ability, that they felt sure relief would be forthcoming. Ojeda made an agreement with his people that, if within fifty days they did not hear from him, they were at liberty to abandon the place, and embark in the remaining vessels for Hispaniola or elsewhere. The governor appointed as

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his lieutenant, to command until the arrival of Encisco, Francisco Pizarro, a name now first appearing in history. With a few attendants, Ojeda departed on the ship of Talavera and his crew, who preferred the risk of returning to Hispaniola to the famine and poisoned arrows of Tierra Firme.

The domineering governor assumed the command as a matter of course, while Talavera, who had stolen the ship, maintained his claim with equal stubbornness; with the result that Ojeda found himself again returning to Hispaniola in chains. When a storm arose, the ruffianly land-lubbers took off his irons on condition that he would pilot the vessel. In spite of his skill as a mariner, the equatorial currents bore them west of Hispaniola, and the vessel ran aground on the south coast of Cuba, near the port of Xagua. All hands landed in safety, and started for the eastern end of the island, from which they hoped to cross over to Haiti (Hispaniola).

Cuba (now called Juana) was not yet colonized by the whites. Many fugitive Indians sought refuge here from their cruel taskmasters on Hispaniola, and these excited the Cubans to hostilities against the Spaniards. The cut-throat gang now looked to Ojeda as their commander, and he led them away from the villages, through which they had to fight their way, and sought a passage through the lowlands. They wandered into an immense swamp, said to be thirty leagues in extent, through which the party waded and floundered for thirty days. The water about them was briny, their scant supply of food spoiled, and at night they slept on the twisted roots of the mangroves, which grew in clusters throughout the morass. Ojeda still carried his little image of the Virgin Mary, which he would often hang upon the bushes, and kneel before in prayer. When their condition seemed hopeless, he made a vow to erect a shrine and leave the image at the first Indian village they came to, if the Virgin would conduct them out of their peril.

After losing about thirty-five of his seventy men, from exhaustion and drowning, Ojeda arrived at the village of Cueyba, or Cuebás, where the Indians washed them, supplied meat and drink, and exhibited the kindest humanity. True to his vow, Ojeda built a little hermitage in the hamlet, and placed his precious image over the altar, explaining to the cacique, as best he could, the story of the Mother of Christ, while the Spaniards recuperated at Cueyba. Las Casas tells us that the natives almost worshipped them, "as if they had been angels;" very good evidence that none of their countrymen had preceded them to this place.

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A few years later, when the Clerigo (as Las Casas calls himself) and Pamphilo de Narvaez came to Cueyba, they found the image left by Ojeda held in great reverence by the natives, who had constructed an ornamented chapel about it. The Indians composed native couplets, called *areitos*, in honor of the Virgin, which they sang to sweet melodies, accompanied by dancing. As the painting was also held in repute by the Spaniards, the Clerigo offered another picture of the Virgin in exchange for it; which so alarmed the cacique that he fled by night with the sacred image, and did not return until after the departure of the white men.

The kind cacique and his people helped the Spaniards to reach Cape de la Cruz, in the province of Macaca, a region visited by Columbus. From here, Ojeda sent Diego Ordaz in a canoe to Jamaica, to beg assistance of Juan de Esquivel, whose head he had threatened, with so much bluster, to strike off. Esquivel immediately despatched a vessel over to Cuba, commanded by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who thus courteously addressed the fallen governor: "Senor Ojeda, will your worship please to come hither; we have to take you on board." The unfortunate man replied with a proverb expressive of his changed condition, "*Mi remo no rema*"—my oar rows not. When Ojeda reached Jamaica he was tenderly cared for by Esquivel, and furnished transportation to St. Domingo. Governor Diego Colon despatched a party of soldiers to Jamaica to arrest Talavera and his gang, and bring them in chains to St. Domingo. They were tried for piracy, and, in 1511, Talavera and his principal accomplices were hanged.

Ojeda arrived at St. Domingo long after the fifty days set for his return to San Sebastian. Encisco had already left with supplies for the colony, and nothing had since been heard from him. Ojeda endeavored to enlist another force to go to his province, but the disasters attending his colonists were too well known. His name was no longer one to conjure with, and, very naturally, Diego Colon would not assist another to seize a province which he claimed as his own. One incident occurred which reminds one of the Ojeda of old. One night he was set upon by a lot of ruffians—probably some of the Talavera gang against whom he had testified at their trial—and he not only beat them off, but chased the miscreants through the streets of St. Domingo. In 1513, and again in 1515, Ojeda gave depositions in the case of Diego Colon against the Crown.

Broken in health, spirit, and fortune, Alonso de Ojeda soon died. Gomara, the historian of the Indies, affirms that a few

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hours before his death he became a Franciscan monk, and died in the habit of that order. Being too poor to provide for his interment, Ojeda begged that his body might be buried just beyond the threshold of the church in the monastery of San Francisco, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."

"Never," says Charlevoix, in his history of St. Domingo, "was man more suited for a coup-de-main, or to achieve and suffer great things under the direction of another; none had a heart more lofty, or ambition more aspiring; none ever took less heed of fortune, or showed greater firmness of soul, or found more resources in his own courage; but none was less calculated to be commander-in-chief of a great enterprise. Good management and good fortune forever failed him."

Several daring feats are related of Alonso de Ojeda. One day when Queen Isabella was visiting the Giralda tower, at Seville, Ojeda, who was an officer of the guard, gave proof of his courage and strength in a singular manner. Armed as he was at the time, Ojeda walked out upon a beam which projected about twenty feet, near the top of the tower, and upon reaching the end of it, he stood on one leg, raising the other in the air. Then turning nimbly, the young cavalier walked back to the wall, and with one foot on the beam and the other placed against the tower, he drew an orange from his pocket and threw it over the figure of Giralda, on the summit of the building.

What would that old sea-dog, Juan de la Cosa, as well as Francis Drake, the Buccaneer Chiefs, and commanders of the *guarda-costas* think of the following, penned by a naval officer in 1871. After anchoring his warship near Isla del Muertos, in the Gulf of Urabá, the captain writes: "Ours was the first ship whose keel had ever plowed these waters, and thoughts could but arise whether this magnificent bay was destined ever to remain grand in solitude as well as proportions; or, would it one day be covered with sails from every clime? To the West stretched the great delta of the Atrato, covered with its dense vegetation, bounded by the blue outline of the Cordilleras; to the East were the high hills of the Antioquian range, rising from the very shores of the bay; while just visible above the horizon to the South were the tops of the trees that skirt the bottom of the bay. This bay, so magnificent in its dimensions, so uniform in its soundings, and tranquil as an inland sea, I named Columbia. Numerous small streams empty into it on the East side, and at the foot of the bay is the Leon river, the largest of them all, which rises in a spur of the Antioquia Mountains, and is said to be navigable many miles for steamboats. The small town of Pisisi, or Turbo, is the only habitable spot, containing about four hundred inhabitants."

CHAPTER IX

DIEGO DE NICUESA

First Governor of the Isthmus

"An epic quest it was of elder years,
For fabled gardens or for good red gold,
The trail men strove in iron days of old."

Richard Burton.



HAVING followed Alonso de Ojeda, the first governor of Nueva Andalucia, literally to the bitter end of his life, we yet have three parties to account for, viz: the colony at San Sebastian in Urabá; Encisco and recruits on the way to San Sebastian; and Diego de Nicuesa and his expedition. We will first relate the fortunes of the rival governor, and shall find that Nicuesa fared no better than did Ojeda.

When the two governors separated in the port of Calamar (Cartagena), Nicuesa kept on to the west, passing the gulf of Urabá (the eastern boundary of his province) until he came to the district of Cueva. Here the fleet anchored in a harbor, into which flowed a stream called the Pito. The Spaniards landed and said mass, the first on the Isthmus, and hence named the place *Puerto de Misas*. This was opposite the *Mulatas*, near where Santa Cruz was established a few years later. Leaving his largest ships at Misas under command of his relative, Cueto, Nicuesa continued on to the westward in a caravel, with sixty men, to find the rich Veragua and fix on a place for his capital. He was attended by his lieutenant, Lope de Olano, and thirty men in a brigantine. Somewhere off the coast of Veragua, the two vessels ran into a storm, and to avoid danger at night, put out to sea.

When morning dawned, Nicuesa found himself alone, and feared that the brigantine had perished. He returned to the land and coasted to the west until he came to a large river, which he entered and came to anchor. The stream, which had been swollen by the rains, suddenly subsided, causing the caravel

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to fall on its side and begin to go to pieces. A brave seaman attempted to carry a line ashore, but was swept away by the rushing current and drowned. Another sailor, undismayed by the fate of his comrade, plunged into the water and succeeded in making the line fast to a tree, over which the crew passed safely to land. The boat was saved, and a barrel of flour and cask of oil drifted ashore and were secured. This disaster left them without arms, and with but little food, on a strange and inhospitable shore; and if the brigatine was not lost, the despairing ones claimed that the old rebel, Olano, had deserted them.

The governor determined to continue to the westward, where he believed Veragua to lie, trusting to find his lieutenant already at the site of his intended government. The jungle was too dense to travel inland, so Nicuesa, with most of his men, followed the shore; while Diego de Ribero and three companions went by sea in the boat, keeping within hail of their chief. For days these miserable men, half dead with fatigue and hunger, struggled through swamps and across rivers mistakenly seeking Veragua in the west. When they came to a large stream or inlet of the sea, Ribero would carry them over in his boat. Most of the party were without shoes, and their food consisted of palm-buds, roots and shell-fish. Only those familiar with the mangrove swamps of the Caribbean, the sultry heat and torrential rains of the tropics, and the myriads of insects which bite and sting by day and night, can fully appreciate the suffering and horror of Nicuesa's journey in the lowlands of Panama.

Unbeknown to the party, the Indians, of course, were aware of the presence of the white men, and the wonder is that they did not annihilate the Spaniards. One morning they were about to resume their weary march when the governor's favorite page fell dead at his side, pierced by an Indian arrow. This was the only hostile act, and Nicuesa and his men never saw a native during the trip. The unfortunate page was dressed in a white *sombrero* and gaudy, though tattered garments, and had been singled out as the leader of the Spaniards. Each fearing for his life, they took up their toilsome journey to the west, every day getting farther and farther from their goal. The pilot, Ribero, who had been with Columbus when he discovered this coast, in 1502, assured Nicuesa that he had passed Belen and Veragua; but the obstinate governor, who claimed to have a chart made by Don Bartolomé Colon, insisted that Veragua was yet to the westward.

Nicuesa had a dog which, so far, had followed the fortunes of

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the expedition. One day the canine looked up into his hungry master's eyes, and there saw something which made him give a yelp, drop his tail between his legs, and disappear in the brush. It has always seemed to me that this story was a reflection on a noble race of animals noted for their devotion to mankind in adversity, and I venture to exonerate the dog on the grounds that, by intimate association, he had acquired some of the characteristics of his human companions.

The party finally came to a body of water which appeared to be a bay, and Ribero ferried them over to the opposite shore. Resuming their march, the land proved to be an island, but the sailors being too tired to row them back to the mainland, the Spaniards rested for the night. The next morning neither the boat nor the four mariners could be found. Some of the party became frantic at the hopelessness of their situation; others abandoned themselves to silent despair. The island was found to be almost a desert, with a few pools of brackish water. The men lashed together some drift-wood and attempted to reach the mainland, but the currents carried the raft out to sea, and the enfeebled swimmers returned with difficulty to the island. Nicuesa ordered another raft to be constructed, and another effort was made to get away from the island; but the outcome was the same. Roots, fruits, and shell-fish provided a little nourishment; but many died of famine and exhaustion, envied, we are told, by the miserable survivors. Weeks passed, during which the Spaniards waited for death in sullen despair. The site of this wretchedness was, probably, the island at the eastern entrance to the *Laguna de Chiriqui*.

Lope de Olano has rested under the suspicion of deserting Nicuesa, with the hope of usurping the command of the expedition. According to Oviedo, a contemporary historian, Olano's pilot declared rightly that they had arrived at Veragua, saying: "This is Veragua, and I came here with the Admiral, Don Cristoval Colon, when he discovered this land." But Nicuesa, relying upon some papers given him by the Adelantado Bartolomé Colon, denied this, and abused the pilot from on board the caravel. The pilot maintained his position, and told Olano they "might cut off his head" if they did not find that he was right.

On the night of the storm, assuming that the governor was a lost man, Olano commanded his pilot not to follow the lantern of the caravel. He took shelter under the lee of an island, and in the morning made no effort to find Nicuesa.

In the meantime, Cueto waited two months at the port of

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Misas with the larger ships. Hearing from no one, he became uneasy, and set out in a small vessel to the west, exploring the bays and inlets for some signs of his countrymen. On a little island he found a letter, wrapped in a leaf, fastened to a stick, which informed him that Nicuesa had sailed farther westward. Cueto then returned to Misas and started for Veragua with all his ships, which were so worm-eaten that he put in the River of Alligators (Chagre) for repairs. Here he partly unloaded the vessels, and while stopping up the holes, sent out one of his pilots, Pedro de Umbria, in a brigantine to look for the lost governor of Castilla del Oro. Umbria met Olano, and both agreeing that the governor had drowned, sailed back to join Cueto in the Rio Chagre. With tears which would have done honor to the "crocodiles" in the river, Olano recounted the circumstances of the storm, and the disappearance of Nicuesa. "And now, gentlemen," he said, "let no more mention be made of him if you would not kill me."

Lope de Olano is then recognized as their commander, or lieutenant-governor, and the entire outfit sails for the Rio Belen, which the pilots who had been with Columbus find without difficulty. Olano entered the river and disembarked, losing four of his men by drowning. The ships are so rotten that they are dismantled. On the site of the old settlement of *Nuestra Señora de Belen*, occupied by Bartolomé Colon, in 1503, the colonists of Nicuesa made another attempt to found a white man's town in Veragua. Where stood the storehouse and cabins of the Adelantado, destroyed by the Quibian, Olano and his people built new huts and landed their supplies.

Surely, the fighting Quibian of 1503, must be dead; for the present chief is a veritable Fabian for wisdom. Instead of attacking the whites, the Indians forsake their villages and passively retire before the Europeans. There being no food and gold to steal, or natives to kill, there is neither livelihood nor entertainment for the Spaniards. The provisions brought from Hispaniola were spoiled or consumed, and starvation stared them in the face. Disease and disaffection followed as usual. Herrera relates that one day a foraging party of thirty men came upon a dead Indian, and, being famished, devoured the putrescent corpse; which caused the death of every one of them. A sudden rise in the Rio Belen nearly washed away their shacks; and on another occasion, when Olano was out with his men looking for gold, the flood-waters came down from the mountains and drowned several of the party; their leader escaping only by expert swimming.

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This was the state of affairs at Belen when Ribero arrived with his three companions. Seeing the futility of trying to convince Nicuesa that he had passed Veragua, the pilot induced his fellow seamen to steal away from the governor and seek assistance from the other colonists, whom he hoped to find in the river Belen. Ribero found the rest of the Spaniards at Belen, just as he expected he would; but their condition was not much better than that of the party with Nicuesa. The survival of the governor was unwelcome news to Olano; but he sent a caravel, which he had recently constructed, with palm-nuts and fresh water, to the island on which Nicuesa was marooned. The rescued and their deliverers embraced, with tears of joy, and the governor's party transposed the theater of their miseries from the island to Belen.

When the survivors of the expedition were reunited, the first thing Nicuesa did was to accuse Olano of treachery and put him in chains. When the other captains interceded in his behalf, the governor turned on them and exclaimed: "You do well to supplicate mercy for him; you who yourselves have need of pardon! You have participated in his crime, why else have you suffered so long a time to elapse without compelling him to send one of the vessels in search of me." It was the governor's desire to punish the captains; but this was neither the time nor place for severities. Half of the expedition, about four hundred men, had already perished. Nicuesa sent out detachments to rob the plantations and deserted villages, but they came back worn out and empty handed. The remainder of the disheartened colonists clamored to be taken away, so Nicuesa determined to seek elsewhere for a more desirable place for settlement.

The Spaniards, with more fore-sight than usual, had planted maize and vegetables, and they requested the governor to remain a few days longer until the crops would ripen. Instead of waiting, Nicuesa left a party behind to gather the harvest, under the command of Alonso Nuñez, to whom he gave the high-sounding title of *Alcalde Mayor*. The governor had his fill of the country west of Belen, so followed the coast to the eastward. A sailor named Gregorio, of Genoa, who had been with Columbus, told Nicuesa that they must be in the neighborhood of a fine harbor, named *Puerto Bello*, where the old Admiral had left an anchor sticking in the sand, near which was a spring of cool water at the foot of a large tree. After some search, *Puerto Bello* was entered, and the anchor, spring, and tree found just as Gregorio stated. The Spaniards forage for some-

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thing to eat, when the Indians kill twenty of their number and drive the rest back in confusion.

Discouraged at the prospect of making a settlement at Puerto Bello, the governor resumed his search to the eastward. After sailing about seven leagues, they came to a harbor, usually identified with the Puerto de Bastimentos of Columbus. The country looked fruitful and the shore seemed to present a favorable location for a fortress. "*Paremos aqui, en nombre de Dios!*" (Let us stop here, in the name of God) exclaimed Nicuesa. His followers, seeing a lucky augury in his words, decided to call the place *Nombre de Dios*, even before a landing was effected. The party then disembarked, and the governor took formal possession of the country for Spain. A blockhouse and huts were constructed, and another attempt made to locate the government of Castilla del Oro. The caravel was sent to Belen to bring up Nuñez and his men. Many had already died, and the rest were living on reptiles; a piece of alligator being considered a banquet.

The entire force of Nicuesa was now at Nombre de Dios, and mustered only one hundred sick and famished souls. The caravel was sent to Hispaniola for bacon, which the governor, before sailing, had ordered to be prepared; but the vessel was never heard of again. Gonsalo de Badajos made a foray among the Indians, who retreated with their valuables and provisions, and harassed the Spaniards from the shelter of the jungle. The white man's thirst for gold was lost in his struggle for mere existence. The miserable colonists blamed their leader for their suffering, murmured when ordered out to seek food, and perished so fast that the survivors wearied of burying the dead. "It was noticed in these calamities," states Las Casas, "that no one died but when the tide was ebbing;" a phenomenon which has been observed in many other instances, and which seems to have a physiological reason to account for it. Soon the settlers ceased to even mount a guard, and hopelessly awaited death.

We will now go back to *San Sebastian* and take up the narrative of the remnant of Ojeda's colony left in charge of Francisco Pizarro. When Alonso de Ojeda sailed away for Hispaniola he agreed with Pizarro that should he not return within fifty days, nor the bachiller Encisco arrive within the same period, the colonists were at liberty to abandon the place if they chose, and go wheresoever they pleased. When fifty

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hungry days had passed, and no news of their governor or chief justice had been received, the people decided to give up their hopeless effort to continue the settlement, and return to San Domingo.

Though so many had perished from the poisoned arrows, and from disease and starvation, there yet remained seventy Spaniards at San Sebastian. As the two little brigantines could not hold that many men, the colonists deliberately tarried until death had reduced their number to the capacity of the boats. They did not have long to wait.

When enough had died off, the remainder of the Spaniards loaded their few possessions and the salted meat of four mares, and embarked for Hispaniola (Española). When sailing to the east along the coast looking for food, the brigantine commanded by Valenzuela suddenly foundered, as if it had been rammed by a whale or overturned by a squall. All on board were lost. Pizarro, the Lucky, was in the other boat, and continued on to the port of Calamar (Cartagena), where he found the tardy Encisco looking for the capital of Nueva Andalucia, whose laws he was to administer.

When the bachiller Encisco was drumming up recruits for Ojeda's colony, many of the worthless adventurers and hangers-on in Santo Domingo endeavored to go with him in order to escape from their creditors. Under the law, no debtor could leave the island; so the merchants and others, to whom bills were owing, applied to the Admiral, Don Diego Colon, who watched the outfit, and ordered an armed vessel to accompany Encisco's ship until clear of the land. Notwithstanding this vigilance, one debtor managed to elude his creditors and stow himself away on the expedition. His name was *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, destined, in the few remaining years of his life, to win everlasting renown. Encisco raved at the enormity of the offense, as became a good bachelor-at-law, and threatened to maroon Vasco Nuñez on the first desert island they came to; but recognized a good recruit in the impoverished gentleman, and soon calmed down.

The bachiller Encisco arrived at Tierra Firme near the present city of Cartagena, and entered the bay of Calamar, near which Ojeda had his fights with the Indians, and where Juan de la Cosa lost his life. Ignorant of the hostilities stirred up by his chief, Encisco sent some men ashore for water and to repair the boat; when the natives sounded their war-calls and gathered in the vicinity. As two of the Spaniards were filling a water cask they were suddenly surrounded by eleven Indians,

who, with bows drawn, stood ready to drive their fatal arrows into the bodies of the intruders. One of the white men started to run to his companions, but the other spoke a few words in the Indian tongue, and the natives soon became friendly. Encisco hastened up with an armed force, but the diplomatic interpreter maintained amicable relations. Quite different this from the blood-thirsty Ojeda. Encisco was not seeking a fight, and the Indians exhibited their friendship by supplying the whites with maize, salted fish, and fermented drinks.

At this time, the little brigantine containing Francisco Pizarro and his enfeebled men sailed into the harbor. The suspicious lawyer was not inclined to believe their story, but their sickly and emaciated bodies presented evidence which he could not deny. Encisco was now their commander, and he insisted that Pizarro and his party must go back to San Sebastian with him. Against both law and authority, the miserable survivors of Ojeda's settlement had no appeal. Like the other commanders who had sailed along Tierra Firme, Encisco planned to do a little stealing on the way. While at Calamar, he learned that at a place called Cenú (Zenú), about twenty-five leagues further west, the mountains were so full of gold that the rains washed it down into the rivers, where it was caught in nets by the natives. He was also informed that Cenú was a general place of sepulture for the Indians of that region, who interred with the dead their most valuable ornaments. This was greater temptation than European flesh and blood, especially Spanish, could resist.

Ever since the institution of burial customs, mankind has adorned the dead with, and placed in the grave, the valuables of the deceased; and succeeding generations have spent much time and acquired considerable wealth by tearing open and robbing the tombs of the departed. Martin Fernandez de Encisco, Bachelor of Law, will desecrate the sanctity of the Indian sepulchres only according to due legal form. To the two caciques he finds at Cenú he reads, and partly interprets that curious and presumptuous document called *El Requerimiento* (The Requisition) prepared by the ablest lawyers and divines of Spain; it being the same proclamation used by Ojeda, and later robbers, as a sop for their subsequent massacre and pillage of the natives. The chiefs who listened with grave and courteous decorum to the reading of the paper, replied that the doctrine of one Supreme Being was good; but that the king of Spain must be some madman to ask for what belonged to others, and that the Pope must have been drunk to give away

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what did not belong to him. The two caciques significantly added that they were the lords of that region, and if the Spanish king annoyed them, they would cut off his head and put it on a pole, as was their custom with their enemies; in evidence of which they showed the Bachelor of Law a row of impaled grizzly heads.

Encisco threatened to enslave the lords of Cenú if they did not acknowledge his rulership, and the two chieftains assured the Bachiller that, should he try that game, they would add his head to their collection. A fight then ensued in which the Indians were worsted, one of the caciques being taken prisoner. Two Spaniards were wounded with the poisoned arrows and died in great torment. No doubt Pizarro and the older colonists warned the new arrivals of the warlike character of these Indians; and Encisco did not think it wise to make an entry into the country, nor did he fish with nets for gold in the rivers. The rich sepulchres of Cenú remained undisturbed, but the fabled story of their wealth, like that of El Hombre Dorado, Lake Parima, and the Golden City of Manoa, became an *ignis fatuus* to lure many heroic robbers to their destruction in the wilds of South America.

Encisco left Cenú and sailed westward for San Sebastian. As he rounded Punta Caribana and Punta Arenas, at the mouth of the gulf of Urabá, the Bachiller's ship struck upon the rocks and went to pieces, losing all the stores, horses, and swine. The colonists escaped to the shore with their lives, and not much else. They then tramped along the eastern side of the gulf until they came to the site of San Sebastian. Here another disaster awaited them, as the fort and thirty houses erected by Ojeda had been reduced to ashes by the natives. Amid such desolation, even the Bachiller lost some of his arrogance and self-importance.

The people killed some peccaries for food, and Encisco started out with one hundred men to forage the country. When going along a trail, three Indians suddenly appeared and discharged all the arrows in their quivers at the Spaniards, with such incredible rapidity that, before the latter could realize what had happened, the dusky warriors had swiftly disappeared. Several men were wounded by the envenomed shafts, and this was enough for the terrified party. They turned back to the desolate ruins of the settlement, and insisted on leaving a place so fatal to the white man. But whither should they go?

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the stowaway, now begins to take a part in the affairs of Tierra Firme. Stepping forward, he said:

"Once when I coasted this gulf with Rodrigo de Bastidas, along the western shore we found the country fertile and rich in gold. Provisions were abundant; and the natives, though warlike, used no poisoned arrows. Through this land of which I speak flows a river called by the natives Darien." This was cheerful news to the disheartened colonists, as it was only a short distance, say about ten miles, to the other side of the gulf. Probably in Pizarro's brigantine and the ship's boat, they then crossed to the western shore of the gulf of Urabá, which they found to be as Vasco Nuñez had described it.

This territory was called *Darien*, as was the great river emptying into the gulf. The chief village was also called Darien, where dwelt the cacique, whose name was *Cemaco*. The Bachiller and his followers looked upon Cemaco's prosperous capital with hungry, gold-thirsty eyes. Being a good lawyer, Encisco first swears his witnesses. He made every man promise under oath that he would not show his back to the foe. He then turned priest, and made a vow to "Our Lady of Antigua," in Seville, that, should she favor him with victory, he would give to the village her name; as well as make a pilgrimage to her shrine, and adorn it with jewels.

Meanwhile, Cemaco sent his women and children to a place of safety, and prepared to defend his home and country. He, too, exhorted his warriors, and solicited the aid of supernatural powers; and who shall say that his honest invocations received less heed than those of the Bachiller Encisco. With five hundred men, Cemaco awaited on a height the onslaught of the invaders. Both sides fought desperately, but the red men could not stand against the bearded white devils with hard shiny clothes, which turned aside the Indian darts; or their long, keen cutting knives; and their thundersticks, belching forth smoke and death with every report. These natives were not so fierce as those on the opposite shore, and as soon as the Spaniards discovered that they did not use poisoned arrows, the whites pressed the charge with their accustomed assurance and valor, and the Indians broke and fled.

Hidden in various recesses, and among the canes by the river's bank, the Spaniards found a quantity of golden coronets, plates, anklets, and other ornaments, to the value of ten thousand castellanos. Encisco put aside the king's tax, a part for the Virgin, and the rest of the spoils he divided among his men. They now possessed a habitation much better adapted to the climate than any the Spaniards themselves could erect. In accordance with his vow, the Bachiller renamed the village,

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Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien; a handicap under which it struggled for a few more years. Nevertheless, it was the first real capital of Spanish government in Tierra Firme. For short, the place often was called simply Antigua. Its site has been identified with the Puerto Hermoso of Columbus, but I am inclined to believe that it was farther south in the gulf of Urabá, on the westernmost outlet of the Darien (Atrato) river.

The lawyer ruler was now well established, and proceeded to make laws and issue edicts to his heart's content, and to the misery of the Spaniards. The people resented most his order, given in conformity to royal commands, forbidding private traffic for gold. Encisco's arbitrary regulations, entirely unsuited to their life in a wild and hostile country, stirred up so much opposition that his adventurous crew planned to get rid of him. Vasco Nuñez, the absconding debtor of Hispaniola, again rescues the colonists. Said he: "The gulf of Urabá separates Nueva Andalucia from Castilla del Oro. While on the eastern side we belonged to the government of Alonso de Ojeda; now that we are on the western, we are subject only to Diego de Nicuesa." The facts were irrefutable, and the logic irresistible. The Bachiller Encisco was out of his province, and had no jurisdiction over them; so the populace deposed him.

The people then formed themselves, in conformity with Spanish law, into a municipality, and elected Vasco Nuñez and Martin Zamudio to be *alcaldes*; and the cavalier Valdivia was chosen *regidor*. This was the first Town Meeting, by white men, in the New World. Later, additional town officers were elected; but discontent still reigned at Antigua. The two-man power was unsatisfactory, as it always is. The logic which deposed the Bachiller Encisco would also hold against any other officer elected from among Ojeda's colony. Being in *Castilla del Oro*, Governor Nicuesa was their lawful commander. So a faction was formed for Nicuesa; while another party were strongly in favor of retaining Vasco Nuñez as their ruler.

In November, 1510, while this dispute was going on, the booming of cannon was heard from across the gulf, in the direction of the deserted San Sebastian de Urabá. Shortly after, Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, a lieutenant of Nicuesa, appeared with two ship-loads of supplies from Hispaniola, seeking the government of Castilla del Oro. East of Calamar, near where Santa Marta was founded, he had lost some of his men by shipwrecks, and was now carefully searching the coast for some signs of the governor.

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Colmenares was loyal to Nicuesa, and tactful in his dealings with the restless people at Antigua. He distributed provisions and articles needed by the settlers, and prevailed upon them to acknowledge Nicuesa their chief. The people retained a good opinion of the governor for his generous conduct toward Ojeda at Calamar, and they appointed two of their number, Diego de Albites and Diego del Corral (another bachiller of law), to confer with Nicuesa and invite him to Antigua. With the two ambassadors, Colmenares sailed to the west, searching the bays and inlets of the north coast of the Isthmus. At a small island, opposite Nombre de Dios, he came upon a brigantine, in which were several white men sent out by Nicuesa to hunt for food. They piloted Colmenares to Nombre de Dios, which was so inclosed by jungle that it is doubtful if it otherwise would have been found. The relief brought by Colmenares was timely, as the wretched colony was now reduced to 60 souls, with yellow emaciated bodies, covered with dirty, ragged garments.

When Nicuesa heard of the failure of Ojeda's colony, of the settlement at Darien, and the wish of the people for him to rule over them, all his old spirit returned. He gave a sort of banquet to Colmenares and the ambassadors, at which he carved a chicken while holding it in the air, a feat of his cavalier days. The sudden change from starvation and despondency to plenty of food and the prospect of ruling a rich town, was too much for the governor. He became garrulous and arrogant, and told how he was going to depose the officers elected at Antigua, and punish the settlers and make them disgorge the gold they had unlawfully taken from his subjects. Colmenares warned his chief, but it was too late. Albites and Corral then interviewed some of Nicuesa's people, and ran across Lope de Olano, the second in command, chained to a rock and grinding corn in the Indian fashion, "Take warning by my treatment," he told them. "I sent relief to Nicuesa and rescued him from death when starving on a desert island. Behold my recompense. He repays me with imprisonment and chains. Such is the gratitude the people of Darien may look for at his hands!"

The two agents took heed, and hurried back to Antigua ahead of Nicuesa. Before a meeting of the town, they said: "A blessed change we have made in summoning Diego de Nicuesa to the command! We have called in the stork to take the rule, who will not rest satisfied until he has devoured us." Nicuesa, meanwhile, was reveling in his fool's paradise. He leisurely coasted towards his ready-made capital, stopping at the Mula-

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tas to steal slaves by the way. To announce his approach, he sent on Juan de Caicedo, who proved a disloyal, if truthful, messenger. "What folly it is in you, being your own master and in such free condition, to send for a tyrant to rule over you!" The testimony against Nicuesa was overwhelming, and the people were again uncertain what to do.

For the third time within a short period the resourceful Vasco Nuñez came to the relief of the bewildered colonists. "You are cast down in heart, and so you might well be were the evil beyond all cure. But do not despair; there is an effectual relief, and you hold it in your hands. If calling Nicuesa was an error, is not receiving him a greater one?"

The governor serenely arrived off Antigua, and found the people assembled, as he thought, to give him a royal welcome. When about to land, the public procurator called to him in a loud voice, warning him not to disembark, but to go back to Nombre de Dios where he belonged. Nicuesa was thunder-struck; but recovered himself and said: "Gentlemen, you yourselves sent for me. Let me land and we will talk the matter over; you have to hear me, and I have to hear you, and we have to understand one another. Afterwards do with me what you will." With insolent replies, the people refused to let him come ashore; and night approaching, the governor stood out to sea. In the morning, he returned, hoping to find a change in the sentiment towards him. Such was the case, for the people now invited him to land; but it was only a trap to ensnare him. As they rushed at him, Nicuesa took to his heels, and being noted as a runner (and not over-burdened with fat), distanced the rabble, and disappeared in the woods.

Vasco Nuñez now made his power felt. Himself a gentleman, he would not see another cavalier abused by the mob. He repressed his fellow alcalde, Zamudio; and sentenced Francisco Benitez, a loud-mouthed adherent of Zamudio, to one hundred lashes for inciting the populace. Nicuesa, he entertained, and conducted to his brigantine, with strict warning not to venture ashore unless advised by him. When all was quiet, the mob got together again and sent a mock deputation to Nicuesa, inviting him to come ashore to be installed as their governor. Nicuesa, whose mind must have been affected by his hardships and disease, foolishly disobeyed the injunction of Vasco Nuñez, and acceded to the invitation. As soon as the governor landed, he was seized by Zamudio and his gang, who, with threats of instant death, made him swear to depart immediately, and not stop until he appeared before the king and his

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council in Castile. Nicuesa implored to be received as companion, if not as ruler, and begged to be put in chains rather than be sent away; but they would not listen to him.

Diego de Nicuesa, the lawful governor of the province, was placed by these interlopers on a vessel, the worst in the harbor, and forced to sail away. Seventeen followers, mostly of his own household, embarked with him. The crazy craft departed from Antigua on the first day of March, 1511; and that was the last ever heard of Diego de Nicuesa, governor of Castilla del Oro. He was the first white ruler of the region which included the Isthmus of Panama. Today, the only reminder of Nicuesa is the name he gave to the first capital of Castilla del Oro—Nombre de Dios—abandoned as a port and settlement, in 1597, by order of Felipe II. of Spain. "Show Thy face, O Lord, and we shall be saved," were the governor's last words, as he left the shore. It is likely that the wormeaten vessel could not sail eastward against the equatorial current, but was driven to the west, and foundered in the Caribbean Sea, off the Isthmus. There was a rumor that Nicuesa was wrecked on the coast of Veragua, where these words were cut in the bark of a tree: "*Aquí anduvó perdido el desdichado Diego de Nicuesa*"—Here wandered lost the unfortunate Diego de Nicuesa. Another version has it that, landing on the coast of the Isthmus for water, Nicuesa and his men were captured by the natives, barbecued, and eaten. Still another tale prevailed a few years later. On the coast of Cuba was found, it was said, carved in a tree, the following inscription: "*Aquí feneció el desdichado Nicuesa*"—Here perished the wretched Nicuesa. If either story is true, the latter is the more probable; as the westerly currents bore both Columbus and Ojeda, it will be remembered, to the south shore of Cuba. However, Las Casas, who was among the first to go to Cuba, discredits the report. The Bishop relates that an astrologer warned Nicuesa not to sail on the day he departed from Spain; to which the governor replied that he had less faith in the stars than in the God who made them.

At the time Nicuesa left Santo Domingo, Las Casas saw a sword-shaped comet over Hispaniola, and remembered that a monk warned those about him not to accompany the governor of Castilla del Oro, for the heavens foretold his destruction. "The same, however," concludes the Bishop of Chiapa, might he said of Alonso de Ojeda, "who sailed at the same time, yet returned to San Domingo and died in his bed." The expedition of Nicuesa was the most disastrous, so far, in the Indies.

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Of the 800 men who sailed with him from Santo Domingo, only 43 remained alive in Castilla del Oro.

"Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards; we seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done in their Indian discoveries; yet persisting in their enterprizes with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years had passed over their heads, in the search of not so many leagues, yea, more than one or two have spent their labors, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom, without getting further notice of it than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers have not been disheartened. Surely they are worthily rewarded with those treasures and paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which perhaps will not be found."

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, *History of the World.*, Bk. V., Chap. 50.

CHAPTER X

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA

Discoverer of the Pacific Ocean

"Before him spread no paltry lands
To wrest with spoils from savage hands;
But, fresh and fair, an unknown world
Of mighty sea and shore unfurled."

Nora Perry.



VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA was a native of Jerez (Xeres) de los Caballeros in Spain. The moderns call him simply Balboa, but the older writers refer to him as Vasco Nuñez. He was of a noble but impoverished family, and was reared in the service of Don Pedro Puertocarrero, the deaf lord of Moguer. Vasco Nuñez came out to the New World with Bastidas and Cosa, in 1500, and thus was among the first to arrive, in 1501, at the eastern half of the Isthmus. On his return voyage, Bastidas, as we have seen, was compelled to beach his vessels on Hispaniola (Española); where he was arrested by Bobadilla, and sent a prisoner to Spain.

Vasco Nuñez remained in Hispaniola, obtained a *repartimiento* of Indians, and located as a planter at the town of Salvatierra on the sea coast. Doubtless, he led the usual loose and careless life of the Spanish adventurer in the island. The only thing he accumulated was debt; so when Alonso de Ojeda, in 1509, got up his expedition for Terra Firma, the young cavalier determined to accompany him. Debtors were prohibited from leaving Hispaniola, and the vigilance of the authorities prevented Vasco Nuñez from openly joining Ojeda. Nevertheless, he succeeded, as before stated, in getting away with Encisco, and the manner of his escape was this: Vasco Nuñez ensconced himself in a large cask, such as was used in shipping stores, and caused it to be headed up and carted to the shore, where it was placed with the other supplies, from whence, in due time, it was carried aboard Encisco's ship¹.

¹ Oviedo's account differs from this. He says that Vasco Nuñez, with the assistance of one Hurtado, hid himself in a ship's sail.

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When well on the voyage, "like Aphrodite from her circling shell," the bankrupt farmer emerged from his contracted quarters, and made his presence known to the Bachiller Encisco. The lawyer threatened to punish Balboa by landing him on a desert island; but relented and retained him as a recruit; "for God," says the good Bishop of Chiapa, "reserved him for greater things." When the colonists got in trouble and did not know which way to turn, it was the *hombre del casco* who pointed out the way. In the preceding chapter we showed how Vasco Nuñez came to Tierra Firme, and, by good sense and natural ability, superseded Encisco, and came to be preferred to Nicuesa.

When Diego de Nicuesa was sent away to his death, discord did not cease at Antigua. Alcalde Balboa was the ablest and most popular man; Alcalde Zamudio had the backing of the mob; and the deposed Bachiller Encisco claimed that he was the only legally constituted authority in Tierra Firme. At the instigation of Vasco Nuñez, the two Alcaldes charge Encisco with assuming authority and jurisdiction without the king's license. His goods are sequestered, and the Bachiller is placed in confinement; but subsequently released on his promise to immediately leave the country for Hispaniola or Spain. That other lawyer, Bachiller Corral, with Captain Badajoz and others, took notes of the proceedings of the Alcaldes, to send to the king by Encisco. The Alcaldes seized the ringleaders and put them in a pen, from which they escaped and sought sanctuary in the house of the Franciscans; and were finally discharged.

To get rid of Zamudio, Vasco Nuñez induced him to accompany Encisco to Spain, in order to refute any of the lawyer's misrepresentations of affairs at Antigua. Balboa has been accused of weakness in allowing Encisco to plead his cause before the king, but to me it looks more like strength and nobility of character. A weak, wicked, or cunning man, in place of Vasco Nuñez, would have retained Encisco a prisoner or brought about his death. In the same vessel which bore away Encisco and Zamudio, Vasco Nuñez sent his friend Valdivia, the regidor, to obtain supplies in Hispaniola for the colony. Balboa and Valdivia were friends at Salvatierra, and the latter is intrusted with a large share of the golden loot of Darien with which to purchase the favor of Diego Colon, and

of Pasamonte, the king's treasurer at Santo Domingo.² With the Admiral, Valdivia is successful, and carries back to Vasco Nuñez a commission authorizing him to act as lieutenant of Diego Colon in Tierra Firme. The governor was pleased at the failure of Ojeda and Nicuesa, and saw a chance to support his claim to jurisdiction in those parts.

When Diego de Nicuesa took leave of his miserable capital—Nombre de Dios—he left his sickly little garrison in charge of Gonzalo de Badajoz, with Alonso de Madrid as alcalde. Vasco Nuñez furnished them with food, and invited the survivors to join their countrymen at Antigua. Nicuesa's men, hearing nothing from their governor, gladly accepted the invitation, and Colmenares went to Nombre de Dios, with two brigantines, and carried all hands to Antigua. Lope de Olano was freed of his chains, and subsequently favored by Vasco Nuñez.

Thus ended the first decade of discovery and attempted conquest of Tierra Firme. Hundreds of lives, with much property and numerous vessels, had been lost; Juan de la Cosa and Diego de Nicuesa were no more; and Alonso de Ojeda wandered broken hearted about the streets of San Domingo. It is doubtful whether all the pearls and gold so far filched from the Indians exceeded in value the losses sustained by the various expeditions to the mainland of the New World. Attempts to settle at Belen in Veragua, Santa Cruz in Bahia Honda, San Sebastian in Urabá, and Nombre de Dios in Castilla del Oro, had all ended in complete failure. All the Spaniards on the continent of America were now gathered at Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien. The population of Antigua amounted to at least two hundred and fifty men, of whom about thirty or forty belonged to Ojeda's original party, and only forty-three remained of Nicuesa's expedition, the majority having arrived in the reinforcements brought by Encisco and Colmenares.

It was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa who determined the settlement at Antigua; and it was he who first established the Spaniards in the Isthmus, as well as on the mainland of America. By his ability, tact, and firmness he controlled and amalgamated

² One of the delightful things in the history of the Spanish conquest of America is the naive way in which every one assumes, as a matter of course, that every official from the King down will not only receive, but expects to be offered a bribe, before giving an inferior his just deserts. This was a sort of grand tipping; a practice not unknown today.

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the disorderly elements of his colony; and first subdued and then conciliated, the hostile natives about him. He looked after the welfare of his soldiers, was just to everybody, and impartial in the division of spoils. Even Oviedo, who was not friendly to Balboa, says: "No chieftain who ever went to the Indies equalled him in these respects." Vasco Nuñez at this time was about thirty-five years of age, and was tall, muscular, and comely in every part. He had a winning manner, and bore himself in a manly way, as became an honest man and a master of the sword³.

Balboa was now the sole commander and *de facto* governor of Castilla del Oro. One day some Indians, probably spies, brought in provisions, and told the Spaniards there was much gold in Cueva⁴ (Coiba), a province twenty leagues westerly from Antigua, ruled by cacique Careta. Vasco Nuñez ordered Francisco Pizarro, whom he had made captain, to take six men and make a reconnoissance toward Cueva. On the way, they were attacked by *Cémaco* with four hundred warriors; but, as the natives of Darien did not use poisoned arrows and fought hand-to-hand, the Spaniards killed a great number and put the rest to flight. According to the historian Herrera, one hundred and fifty Indians were eviscerated; which seems rather a hard day's work in the tropics for half-a-dozen white men, even Spanish butchers. It is allowable to question these figures, inasmuch as Pizarro hastened back to Antigua, leaving one of his little band wounded on the field. Balboa was angry at this desertion, and sharply commanded Pizarro to "Go instantly and bring me Francisco Hernan, and as you value your life, never again leave one of my soldiers alive upon a field of battle!" Pizarro then went back and brought in the wounded man. Vasco Nuñez immediately started out with a hundred men to punish Cemaco; but, after ascending the river for some distance and finding no enemy, he abandoned pursuit.

When Colmenares, with the two brigantines, was returning from Nombre de Dios with the remainder of Nicuesa's men, they stopped at a port in Cueva, where the Spaniards were greeted by two of their countrymen, with painted naked bodies, like Indians. These two men had deserted about a year and a half before from Nicuesa, to escape punishment, and had been kindly received by *Careta*, who made one of them, Juan Alonso,

³ *Egregius digladiator*, Peter Martyr calls him.

⁴ Do not confound with similar names on the south coast of the Isthmus.

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commander of his forces. This wretch told of the wealth of Careta, and proposed to betray the chieftain to the Spaniards. Colmenares was too weak to make the attempt, so carried one of the deserters to Antigua to lay the plan before Balboa. The latter directed the two vessels to meet him at Cueva while he himself marched overland at the head of one hundred and thirty men.

Careta received the white men and entertained them in his village. Vasco Nuñez demanded enough maize to fill his ships, and the chief replied that when Christians had passed by his lands he had furnished them liberally, and would do so now, but that he was short of provisions, because his people had not been able to plant, on account of being at war with Ponca, a neighboring chief. Juan Alonso told Balboa there was an abundance of food, and suggested that he take leave of Careta, but return at night and storm the town. With their old battle-cry of "Santiago," the Spaniards attacked the town that night, in three divisions, and slaughtered many of the inhabitants. The brigantines were loaded with booty, and Careta and his family carried prisoners to Antigua. It is stated that Juan Alonso secured the person of the cacique, and Las Casas, the Apostle to the Indians, likens his act to that of Judas Iscariot.

Careta promised submission, and begged to be set free, giving Vasco Nuñez his daughter as a pledge. The white commander became very fond of the Indian maiden, who is described as being very beautiful, and it was her influence which brought about a friendly alliance between Vasco Nuñez and Careta. Balboa, with eighty men, joined Careta in an attack on Ponca, but the latter fled, leaving his territory to be devastated by the allies. For his part, Careta made his subjects plant corn to supply the Christians with food.

On the sea-coast to the west of Careta, about forty leagues from Antigua, was the domain of *Comagre*, in the neighborhood of the present *Punta Mosquitos*. The tribe numbered ten thousand souls, and could muster three thousand warriors. A deserter from Careta's household, called a *jura*, who was living with Comagre, brought about a friendly interview between that chief and Balboa. This wise native recognized the prowess of the white men, and sought to avoid bloodshed by diplomacy.

Vasco Nuñez visited Comagre, was received with ceremony, and conducted to the "palace."⁶ This was the largest and finest

⁶ "Built on very heavy posts, surrounded by a stone wall, and the ceilings so beautifully worked in wood that the Spaniards wondered at the sight, and could not express their admiration of the cleverness and beauty of the work." Las. Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, LXV, p. 77.

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building yet discovered in the Indies. Its dimensions, as given by Las Casas, were a hundred and fifty feet in length, eighty in breadth, and eighty in height. It contained many apartments, one of which was a mausoleum wherein were kept the desiccated ancestors of Comagre. The cacique presented Vasco Nuñez with four thousand ounces of gold, and seventy slaves. Among the numerous progeny of Comagre, for he was much married, were seven sons, noted for their large stature and noble bearing. The eldest, named *Panciaco*, was a young man of unusual sagacity, and proud and haughty demeanor.

After the Spaniards had weighed out the king's fifth of the gold, under the supervision of the *veedor*, there arose a dispute and wrangle about the division of the remainder among themselves. Panciaco observed the contention with much scorn; and, like Brennus, dashing aside the scales and golden jewelry, delivered the following harangue: "Christians! why quarrel and make so much turmoil about a little gold, which nevertheless you melt down from beautifully wrought work into rude bars. Is it for such a trifle that you banish yourselves from your country, cross the seas, endure hardships, and disturb the peaceful nations of these lands? Cease your unseemly brawl, and I will show you a country where you may obtain your fill of gold. Six days' march across yon mountain will bring you to an ocean sea, like this near which we dwell, where there are ships, a little less in size than yours, with sails and oars, and where the people eat out of vessels of gold, and have large cities and wealth unbounded. To go there it is necessary that you should be more in number than you are now; for you would have to fight your way with great kings, and amongst them, in the first place, with King Tubanamá, our ancient enemy, who has much gold, and lives on the other sea. Could we for once bring low this hated Tubanamá, no sacrifice would be too dear. Prepare your army. I myself will accompany you with all the warriors of our nation. Guard me well; and if my words prove false, hang me on the next tree." This is the substance of Panciaco's speech as interpreted by some of the Spaniards, like Juan Alonso, who had learned something of the Indian tongue.

"These celebrated words," says Quintana, "preserved in all the memoirs of the time, and repeated by all the historians, were the first announcement that the Spaniards had of Peru." "Our captains," writes Peter Martyr, "marvelling at the oration of the naked young man, pondered in their minds and earnestly considered his sayings." Vasco Nuñez heard the words, and it is likely that Captain Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Alma-



By Theodoro de Bry, vol 4, plate xxi, 1594

PANCIACO TELLS BALBOA OF THE SOUTH SEA.

gro were also present. Balboa questioned the Indians further about the sea on the other side of the Sierras, and Panciaco estimated that a thousand Spaniards would be required to subdue Tubanamá. While on this visit, the Christian priests got busy and baptised Comagre and many of his people, giving the cacique the name of Don Fernando.

When the white men went back to Antigua, they found Valdivia returned from Santo Domingo, after an absence of six months. He brought some provisions, and, what was of more importance to Vasco Nuñez, his commission as governor of Darien, from Diego Colon. The maize planted by the Indian slaves was destroyed by a great rain storm, and the colonists were again in straits for food. They made predatory forays among the natives, sometimes torturing the Indians to make them disclose their gold. Towards the close of the year 1511, Valdivia was again despatched to Hispaniola for food, and carried with him the king's share of the gold, amounting to fifteen thousand *pesos de oro*, as well as large sums sent by private persons to their friends and creditors. Vasco Nuñez wrote to Diego Colon, extolling the Isthmus, informed him of the news of a great sea to the southward, and begged for more men to attempt its discovery. Balboa is described as being humane and generous to the natives, yet he wrote to the Admiral that he had hanged thirty caciques and must hang more, for the whites were so few in number that his position could be maintained only by such severities.

This brings us to another tale of horror in the conquest of the New World. Valdivia's vessel was caught in a storm when near Jamaica, and wrecked on the Viboras, or Pedro Shoals, off that island. Twenty men, including the commander, escaped in the boat, but without food, sails, or oars. For thirteen days the currents of the Caribbean tossed them about, during which six or seven died of thirst. The remainder are thrown on shore in the province of Maya, in Yucatan; where they are seized by the natives, placed in a pen, and fattened. When in prime condition, Valdivia and four of his companions are sacrificed in the temple, their hearts cut out with obsidian knives, and offered to the gods, while their bodies are roasted and eaten. Foreseeing the dreadful fate awaiting them, the rest of the crew make their escape, and after great suffering, give themselves up to Ahkin Xooc, lord of Jamacana. This ruler, fortunately, is at enmity with the Maya Chief, and retains the white men, but in the harshest servitude; so that in a few years but two of the number are left alive. In the year 1517, Fran-

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cisco Hernandez de Cordova and Bernal Diaz del Castillo heard the natives of Cape Catoche use the term "Castillan"; and in 1519, Hernando Cortés, when on his way to conquer Mexico, stopped at the island of Cozumel, where he saw a stone cross, and found Geronimo de Aguilar, one of the two survivors of Valdivia's party. He was a friar in minor orders, and ascribed his escape to his chastity and other virtues. Aguilar accompanied Cortés to Mexico, and became very useful as an interpreter. Together with the slave girl *Marina*, acquired a few days later in Tabasco, who could speak Mexican, Cortés was enabled at the outset to talk freely with the natives. These two acquisitions were so opportune as to be looked upon as almost miraculous interventions in favor of the white invaders. The other survivor, a sailor named Gonzalo Guerrero, also received a message from Cortés, but declined to return to the Spaniards. The latter claimed he was ashamed to appear before them with his nose and ears bored after the manner of the natives. As Guerrero had become a great general, and married a princess, it is more likely that he preferred to retain his position of barbarian splendor and stay with his wife and children.

Despite popular belief to the contrary, the American Indians have considerable sense of humor, and with grave and wooden demeanor they have given many a "jolly" to the White Man. The Spaniards were always inquiring about gold, and the Indians generally knew of a place, usually in the domain of an enemy, where abundance of it could be found. At other times native myths and fairy tales were taken seriously, and misled the whites. One of these numerous *Eldorados*, which the Spaniards were always seeking, was the Golden Temple of *Dabaiba*,^{*} about thirty leagues south of Antigua, up the great river of Darien (Atrato). Within this wonderful temple, which was lined with gold, human beings were sacrificed to the gods. The Spaniards did not mind Dabaiba offering up his slaves and captives, but it was not right to let him keep all that gold.

Early in 1512, Vasco Nuñez led an expedition of one hundred and sixty men against Dabaiba. He sent one-third of his command under Colmenares in a brigantine up the San Juan channel; while with the main body, in another brigantine, Balboa

^{*} In the Darien mythology, Dabaiba was the mother of the powers that controlled the elements, and who had created the sun, the moon, and all good things. "En la religion indigena, *Dabaibe* era la madre del dios que dominaba los elementos y que habia creado el sol, la luna y todas las cosas buenas."—*Valdes*.



By De Bry, *India Occid.*, plate xxiii, 1595.

TREE-DWELLING INDIANS IN THE LOWLANDS OF PANAMA.

ascended the Rio de las Redes. Cemaco, the rightful lord of Darien, watched their movements, and induced the chiefs along the river to lay waste their plantations and retire with their valuables. Nevertheless, the Spaniards secured, a short distance up the river, two canoe-loads of plunder, valued at seven thousand pesos, which on reaching the gulf were overturned in a storm, and the boatmen drowned. Vasco Nuñez then joined Colmenares in the Rio San Juan, and the entire party went up the Rio Negro, still another mouth of the Atrato, and assaulted a village of five hundred houses, ruled by *Abenameche*. This cacique and his warriors fiercely attacked the Spaniards with their two-handed wooden swords (*macanas*) but could not beat off the invaders. After the battle, a Spanish soldier, whom Abenameche had wounded, cruelly struck off the chief's arm with one blow of his sword.

Leaving here half the force with Colmenares, Balboa continued up stream and entered the territory of *Abibeiba*, whose people built their houses in the tops of trees, of such bigness that seven or eight men, hand in hand, were scarcely able to surround one of them. When attacked, they retreated to their arboreal homes, drew up the ladders, and hurled stones, kept for that purpose, at the enemy. These missiles had no effect upon the shields and mailed coats of the Spaniards, and when the latter began to chop the trees, Abibeiba descended to earth. "What brings you hither to molest me?" demanded the chief. "Go your way. I know you not as friends or foes. I have no gold. I desire only to be left in peace." He assured Vasco Nuñez that he valued gold no more than stones, and was allowed to seek some for the Spaniards; but as he did not return on time, they destroyed his habitation.

Meanwhile, Colmenares had sent out a party under command of a lieutenant named Raya, who foraged in the domain of a chieftain called Abraiba. Abenameche, Abibeiba, and Abraiba came together and bemoaned their fortune. "How long shall we bear with the cruelty of these strangers?" said they; "is it not better to die than to endure what they inflict upon us?" With mutual encouragement they made a combined attack, with five hundred men, upon Colmenares. The latter defeated the Indians, and captured a large number of them, whom he sent as slaves to Antigua.

Balboa and Colmenares returned to Antigua, leaving Bartolomé Hurtado, with thirty men to garrison Abenameche. Soon after, Hurtado sent about half his command, who were sick, in a canoe to Antigua, with twenty-four captive Indians.

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When only three leagues down the Rio Negro, they were set upon by Cémaco, with one hundred warriors in four large canoes, and all the Spaniards but two were drowned. These two concealed themselves in the drift-wood floating down the river, and escaped to the shore, and back to Hurtado. He and his few remaining men abandoned their post, and hastened to Antigua, with the intelligence, obtained from prisoners, that a general uprising of the natives was threatened.

Cémaco of Darien formed a confederation of five caciques, namely: Abenameche of the severed arm, Abibeiba of the tree-top village, Dabaiba of the golden temple, Abraiba, and himself; a total of five thousand fighting men pledged to exterminate the white invaders. A rendezvous was appointed at Tirichi, a short distance up the river; and so confident were the chiefs, that they had already agreed upon the division of the Spanish goods. To lull the whites into a sense of security, Cémaco sent Vasco Nuñez a pledge of forty men to work in the fields about Antigua. The night was set when the Indians, in one hundred canoes, were to attack the town. Had the secret been faithfully kept, Antigua would have shared the fate of Belen and San Sebastian; the tide of Spanish conquest turned away from the Isthmus, and the discovery and subjugation of Peru postponed for years.

Cherchez la femme! Love foiled the plan of the heroic Cémaco. The tender regard of an Indian for his sister, and the infatuation of the maiden for Vasco Nuñez, determined the white man's supremacy at this time in Darien. An Indian told his sister, a mistress of Balboa, to depart from the town on a certain night, so that she might not be harmed in the intended assault. This woman, who was called Fulvia, divulged the plot to her white lover, and betrayed her country.*

Vasco Nuñez caused Fulvia to induce her brother to come to Antigua, when he was seized and put to the torture. He disclosed the whole conspiracy, and told Balboa that the Indians sent by Cémaco had orders to kill him; but were afraid to make the attempt, as the white leader always appeared armed and mounted on a horse, an animal which filled them with terror. To be forewarned meant victory for the Spaniards. Vasco

* "Poor heart of woman touched with love," is the comment of Bancroft on this occurrence. Said Fulvia's brother,—“Dearest sister, give ear to my words, and keep most secretly that which I say to you, if you care for your own welfare and mine and that of our country and people.”

Peter Martyr, dec., 2, chap. 5.

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Núñez compelled the traitress Fulvia's brother to guide Colmenares with seventy men in canoes to Tirichi; while he, with an equal force, marched by a circuitous route to attack the Indian camp. Taken by surprise, on both river and land sides, the allied natives were thrown into confusion, and many of them killed or taken prisoners. Numerous caciques were hanged, while the principal war-chief was honored by being shot to death with arrows. Cémaco was pursued by Vasco Núñez, but the patriotic chieftain escaped, I am glad to state. This unexpected and severe blow subdued the Darien Indians; nevertheless, when Balboa returned to Antigua, he built a wooden blockhouse to guard against any future surprises.

Receiving no news from Valdivia, or Hispaniola, Vasco Núñez became anxious about his position, and resolved to go to Spain and plead his cause before the king; but the colonists would not hear of this. His enemies feared he would secure all the advantages to himself; while his friends thought he might lose his command, and they their protector. It was finally arranged that Colmenares and Caicedo, both worthy men, should be the messengers from Antigua. It was thought these men would be sure to come back, because the former had accumulated property and slaves, and the latter possessed a genuine Spanish wife to whom he was much attached. They bore the king's fifth of the gold, and news of the sea to the south; and were directed to solicit aid for the young colony. As the deputies would sail first for San Domingo, Balboa sent a sum of gold to Pasamonte, and a letter asking his favor.

Colmenares and Caicedo sailed from Antigua in October, 1512, but did not arrive in Spain until May, 1513. They started out in one of the old brigantines, which was repaired, and fitted with vines and twisted bark for cordage. Steering for Hispaniola, the equatorial currents, as usual, landed them on the shores of Cuba, from whence they passed over to Hispaniola, and so to Spain.

The neighboring Indians being all killed, enslaved, or pacified, the vicious spirits at Antigua directed their venom at their officers. The appointment of Bartolomé Hurtado, by Vasco Núñez, to a position of authority, gave particular offense to the unruly element. Led by Alonso Perez and the Bachiller Corral, they sought to secure both Hurtado and Balboa; but the latter was the first to act, and imprisoned Perez. The insurgents, under Corral, appeared under arms in the center of the town, demanding the release of Perez; and Vasco Núñez with his

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adherents prepared to give them battle. The better element then interfered to bring about peace, and Perez was released. Very soon, however, he seized on Hurtado, who in turn was set free by the more sensible colonists, who saw that the Indians would probably destroy the remainder if the factions came to bloodshed.

The feud was only patched up, and broke out again when it came time to divide about ten thousand castellanos worth of gold obtained in the late raids up the Darien river. The mob, always opposed to any kind of government, clamored that Vasco Nuñez had usurped the governorship, which was a royal appointment, and that he did not make fair division of the spoils. The sensible Balboa, who cared nothing for wealth, went off on a hunting trip, and left the populace to their own evil devices. Finding themselves free, the mob elevated Perez and Corral to the command and seized the gold for them to divide. When the distribution was finished no one was satisfied; and there was another great tumult. The followers of Vasco Nuñez again asserted themselves, imprisoned Alonso Perez and the Bachiller Corral, and awaited the return of Balboa. In a few days Vasco Nuñez came back from the hunt, and in his letter of January 20, 1513 (which is still preserved), wrote an account of the disturbance to the king.*

Not long after, there arrived at Antigua two vessels, in command of Cristobal Serrano, sent by Diego Colon, laden with provisions, and, what was more needed by Vasco Nuñez, a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men. The governor of Hispaniola had previously authorized Balboa to act as his lieutenant, and was supporting him in order to further his claim as Vice-roy in Tierra Firme. In addition, Serrano

* Balboa writes,—“Most powerful Sire: There is one great favor that I pray your Royal Highness to do me, since it is of great importance to your service. It is for your Royal Highness to issue an order that no bachiller of laws, or of anything unless it be of medicine, shall come to these parts of Tierra Firme, under a heavy penalty that your Highness shall fix; because no bachiller ever comes hither who is not a devil, and they all live like devils, and not only are they themselves bad, but they make others bad, having always contrivances to bring about litigations and villainies. This is very important to your Highness’ service in this a new country.”

Antipathy to lawyers has existed in all ages. The English serfs and villeins under Wat Tyler and John Ball held London for three weeks, destroyed all legal documents they could lay hands on, beheaded the Lord Chancellor, and killed many lawyers; “for the rioters believed that the members of that profession spent their time forging the chains which held the laboring class in subjection.”

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brought to Vasco Nuñez a commission as Captain-General of the colony, signed by Pasamonte, the king's favorite at Santo Domingo. Balboa had sent gold to both the governor and treasurer of Hispaniola, and both were now aiding him.

By these ships came also a private letter from Zamudio, who was in Spain, which gave Vasco Nuñez considerable anxiety. The Bachiller Encisco had denounced Balboa and Zamudio before the Council of the Indies, and succeeded in arousing the wrath of Ferdinand against the two alcaldes. As the former was the gainer, and not present to defend himself, he received most of the blame. Vasco Nuñez was proceeded against criminally for the loss of Nicuesa, and in the civil courts was cast in the expenses incurred by Encisco. Besides this, Balboa was to be recalled to answer to the king; and it was rumored that Ferdinand intended to appoint another governor of Darien.

Colmenares and Caicedo had not yet reached Spain, and it was evident that the acting-governor of Darien was in much disfavor at court. The next ship would bring a summons to appear before the king, and perhaps a successor. Not only Balboa's position, but his life was in peril, and it was essential that he quickly perform some signal service in order to appease the anger of his sovereign. Would a shipload of Indian slaves, a basketful of pearls, or a boatload of gold, purchase the favor of the rapacious old king? No! These things were already common, and the price must be still greater.

Ever since Panciaco, Comagre's son, had told Vasco Nuñez of a sea to the south, he had been dreaming of reaching it. Now, if ever, was the time to make the attempt, but the commander was still short of men. According to Panciaco, a thousand Spaniards would be none too many to overcome Tubanamá and the other caciques. To wait for more arrivals meant a warrant for Balboa's arrest, and the glory left for some other man, probably the new governor, who would make a leisurely march across the mountains, and reap the reward handed over by Vasco Nuñez. If there really was a sea to the south, Balboa resolved to find it with his little band or die in the attempt.

For his expedition to discover the South Sea, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa selected one hundred and ninety tried and experienced men, about all the garrison who were in good condition.

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A pack of European dogs,⁹ each equivalent to a soldier, accompanied the party. In addition, Balboa took along about a thousand natives to serve as warriors and packers. The Spaniards were armed with crossbows, arquebuses, swords, and targets; and some wore helmets and breast-plates. Before leaving Antigua, Balboa informed his men of the hazardous nature of the enterprise; that death awaited failure; and that wealth and glory would reward success. Each was given an opportunity to withdraw without prejudice from the undertaking, but none availed themselves of it.

On the first day of September, 1513, Vasco Nuñez set out from Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien on his famous quest for the Pacific Ocean. The expedition was placed on board a brigantine and ten large canoes, and went by sea to the territory of cacique Careta, the father-in-law, in Indian fashion, of Balboa. They disembarked, on the fourth day, in a port near Careta's village, and were well received by that chieftain. This chief supplied provisions, guides, and some of the warriors; he probably outlined the route to be followed by Vasco Nuñez; and is entitled to a share of the credit for the success of the venture.

A guard was left behind with the boats, the *padre* invoked divine favor on the enterprise, and on the 6th of September, Balboa started from the north coast on his memorable march across the Isthmus. The second day brought the party to the lands of Ponca, who fled with his people, as he had done on the former visit by Vasco Nuñez. Fighting and robbing were of secondary consideration on this trip. It was now good policy for the Spanish commander to make friends of the natives, in order to obtain assistance and not leave enemies in the rear. Accordingly, he made peaceful overtures to Ponca and the chieftain returned to his village bringing the white men ten pounds of gold and a number of finely wrought ornaments from beyond the mountains. Balboa knew how to win Indian friendship, and charmed Ponca with his manner, and dazzled him

⁹ Horses and dogs played such important parts in the overthrow of the Amerinds, that they should always be included in the enumeration of the Spanish forces. Among the dogs on this expedition was one belonging to Vasco Nuñez, called Leoncico, or Little Lion. His sire was another famous dog, named Becerrico, of the island of San Juan (Porto Rico), the property of Juan Ponce de Leon. Leoncico was of a red color, with black muzzle, of medium size, but extraordinary strength. He could distinguish between an *indio de guerra* and an *indio de paz*, and when with a raiding party, drew a captain's pay and share of the spoils.

with glass mirrors, hawk-bells and gewgaws. The chief gave information of the next ruler to be encountered, furnished guides for the secret passes, and described a mountain from the top of which the southern sea might plainly be seen.

Vasco Nuñez left here his sick and weaklings, and, on the 20th of September, continued his march and followed Ponca's guides through the foot-hills. The next few days the Spaniards ascended the mountainous region and entered the province of Quarequá, governed by cacique *Porque*. On the 24th, this chief, at the head of one thousand warriors, barred the way, inquired the object of the visit, and threatened to kill all who should advance farther. Vasco Nuñez formed his men and kept on; when the brave Indians shouted their war-cries and charged upon the Spaniards. The latter replied with their old cry: "Santiago y á ellos," and discharged the arquebuses. This was the first experience of these Indians with fire-arms. The dreadful looking white men seemed to have thunder and lightning in their hands, and struck terror in the poor natives, who turned in flight. The Spaniards then attacked the Indians with their swords and inflicted great slaughter upon them. "Even as animals are cut up in the shambles," writes Peter Martyr, "so our men, following them, hewed them in pieces, from one an arm, from another a leg, here a buttock, there a shoulder." The native allies of the whites joined in the butchery, and settled many an old score with the people of Quarequá. The dogs were turned loose, overtook the fleeing Indians, and bit and tore their naked bodies. Surely, it was a great fight for the advance of civilization, and the propagation of the Christian faith!

The valiant *Porque* and six hundred of his warriors were killed, and many prisoners taken. Living and dead were relieved, none too gently, of their golden jewelry; and that night the Spaniards rested in the village of Quarequá, and feasted upon *Porque*'s provisions. Ponca's guides were dismissed with presents, and returned home with the welcome news of the downfall of *Porque*.

The next morning, Tuesday, September 25, 1513—St. Martin's Day—Balboa mustered his sixty-seven well men and continued the march. He was informed by the Quarequá guides that from an open space on the summit of the next mountain a view could be obtained of the southern sea. It was not from selfish motives that Vasco Nuñez ordered his followers to halt, while he ascended the peak alone. What the Indians called a sea might be simply a lake, or a great interior swamp. This

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was to be the most momentous day in his life; and if he had misinterpreted the natives, or if they had deceived him, Balboa wanted no one to witness his disappointment.

Alone he mounted the summit, at ten o'clock in the morning, and with throbbing heart and eager eyes looked out to the south—and there was the South Sea, just as the Indians had told him. Vasco Nuñez dropped on his knees and gave thanks to the Creator for permitting him to be the first European to behold the new sea.¹⁰ When he arose, he beckoned to his companions to join him. The soldiers rushed up the summit, gazed in wonder on the sea, and with their commander, knelt down and gave praise and thanks to God. The Conquistadores, however cruel and rapacious, had one redeeming quality—they were ever ready to pray or fight. Balboa then addressed his men in these words: "You see here, gentlemen and children mine, how our desires are being accomplished, and the end of our labors. Of that we ought to be certain, for, as it has turned out true what King Comagre's son told of this sea to us, who never thought to see it, so I hold for certain that what he told us of there being incomparable treasures in it will be fulfilled. God and His blessed Mother, who have assisted us, so that we should arrive here and behold this sea, will favor us that we may enjoy all that there is in it." The soldiers replied with cheers, and renewed their pledges of fidelity to Vasco Nuñez.

"As Hannibal showed his soldiers Italy and the promontories of the Alps," observes Peter Martyr, "so he promised his associates a great reward for their labors past." A devoted *clerigo*, called Andrés de Vera, led the party in chanting the

¹⁰ John Keats, with a truly poetical disregard of the facts of history, gives this honor to Hernando Cortés, whose march to Nicaragua was his nearest approach to Panama. "On first looking into Chapman's Homer," in 1815, Keats penned the following lines, and sent them to his friend Clarke:

"Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;
Round many western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.
Oft of one wide expanse had I been told
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne:
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies.
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He star'd at the Pacific—and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

"Te Deum laudamus" and "Te Dominum confitemur," after which Balboa, in a loud voice, took formal possession, for the crown of Castile, of this Southern Sea, its islands and firm lands, and all shores washed by its waters. The names of the Spanish sovereigns were cut in the trees, crosses erected, and stones heaped; the Indians assisting in the work, entirely unconscious of its significance. The notary, Andrés de Valderrábano, who afterwards shared his commander's fate, drew up a certificate of the discovery, with a list of the names of the sixty-seven white men present.²¹

As a matter of fact, Balboa did not view from this point a vast extent of sea, with a limitless surf-beaten coastline extending east and west, as imaginative writers describe the scene. He was only about half-way across the Isthmus, and what he saw, over and between the verdure-clad hills beyond, was mainly the Gulf of San Miguel projecting northwards into the Isthmus, and a hazy and indefinite stretch of the Gulf of Panama in the distance.

Descending the Sierra towards the body of water he had seen, Vasco Nuñez encountered cacique *Chiapes* and his people, who disputed the passage through his land. Gun-powder, cold steel, and bloodhounds showed him the error of his way, and he took to the brush. After defeating the Indians, it was always Balboa's policy to win their friendship, with an incidental consideration. He sent messengers after Chiapes, and graciously permitted that chieftain to purchase his favor with five hundred pounds of gold. The Spanish leader camped in the town of Chiapes, and sent back the men of Quarequá, with some showy presents, and instructions for the Spaniards left at their town to join him. His treatment of the other Indians was not lost on Chiapes, who became a firm friend of the white commander.

From this place, Vasco Nuñez sent out three parties of twelve men each, under Francisco Pizarro, Alonso Martin, and Juan de Escaray, to search in different directions the shortest way to the sea. Alonso Martin was the first to reach the water, and it took him two days to find it. He saw two canoes lying high and dry, and was astonished to see no water; but soon the tide came in, and floated the canoes; when Alonso Martin got into one of them and exclaimed to his company on the shore: "I call on you all to witness that I am the first Spaniard to sail upon these waters." One of his men then jumped into the other canoe, and claimed second honor. Returning to Chiapes,

²¹ Given at the end of this chapter.

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the detachment reported to their commander that they had found the sea.

On the 29th of September, Vasco Nuñez, with twenty-six men, marched to the shore, accompanied by Chiapes and a retinue of Indians. They found the tide out, so rested in the shade until the water returned. When the sand was covered, Vasco Nuñez, with sword and armor on, waded into the sea up to his thighs. Waving aloft a banner, on one side of which were pictured the Virgin and child and on the other the arms of Castile and Leon, he cried in a loud voice: "Long live the high and powerful monarchs Don Fernando and Doña Juana, sovereigns of Castile and of Leon and of Aragon, in whose name and for the royal crown of Castile, I take and seize real and corporeal actual possession of these seas and lands, and coasts and ports and islands of the south, with all thereto annexed; and kingdoms and provinces which belong to them, or which may hereafter belong to them, in whatever manner and by whatever right and title acquired, now existing or which may exist, ancient and modern, in times past and present and to come, without any contradiction. And if any other prince or captain, Christian or infidel, of whatever law or sect or condition he may be, pretends any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared to contradict him, and to defend them in the names of the present and future sovereigns of Castile, who are the lords paramount in these Indies, islands and firm land, northern and southern, with their seas, as well in the arctic pole as in the antarctic, on either side of the equinoctial line, within or without the tropics of cancer and capricorn, according to what more completely to their majesties and their successors belongs and is due for the whole and any part thereof; as I protest in writing shall or may be more fully specified and alleged on behalf of their royal patrimony; now and in all time while the earth revolves, and until the universal judgment of all mankind."²²

It being the feast day of St. Michael the archangel, Balboa called the water *El Golfo de San Miguel*; a name it still retains. The *escribano*, Andrés de Valderrábano, made official record of the *acto de posesion*, to which were added the names of the twenty-seven Spaniards present; nearly all of whom had been

²² "To which grandiloquent harangue there came no reply; no armed Poseidon appeared to dispute possession; only the mighty ocean dashed from its face the blinding glare of this new doctrine, heaved its bosom in long glassy swells, and gently growled its perplexity to the sympathizing beach."—*Bancroft*.

with their leader when he discovered the sea from the mountain-top. These were the first Christians to set foot in the South Sea, and with their hands dipped up the water and placed it in their mouths to prove that it was salt like the Mar del Norte (Caribbean).

There being nothing left in or out of sight to claim, the Spaniards reverted to their usual occupation. Under the friendly guidance of Chiapes, they fell upon his enemy, *Cocura*, who lived on the other side of a large river, and skilfully relieved him of six hundred and fifty pesos worth of gold. On the 17th of October, Vasco Nuñez, with eighty Spaniards, went in canoes to explore an arm of the gulf. Chiapes endeavored to dissuade the white chief from going on this trip, because of the danger of navigating at that season; but Balboa replied, "Our God will protect us," for that much increase of the church would result from the great treasure which must be acquired to enable the kings of Castile to wage war against infidels. Nevertheless, the great tide of the Panama gulf rushed in and nearly overwhelmed the party, and they were glad to escape to an island, where they passed the night in water up to their waists. Chiapes and his train accompanied the expedition, and helped to save the Spaniards, which no doubt, he regretted in after years. With the aid of the Indians, the whites patched up their broken canoes and started out again.

After two days of hazardous navigation, Vasco Nuñez went up a small stream which flowed through a region called Chitaraga, but which he named the province of San Lucas. Chief *Tumaco* believed he owned that part of the earth, and resisted the white invaders; but being wounded, he and his village took to flight. Chiapes sent runners after the fleeing chieftain, telling him what nice people the strangers were, and what wonderful things they gave for a few common ornaments. Tumaco's son interviewed Vasco Nuñez, and being well received, informed his father, who came in, bringing six hundred and fourteen pesos of gold, besides a basinful of pearls, two hundred and forty of which were of extraordinary size. The pearls filled the white men with a joy which Tumaco could not understand, as he valued the oyster, which he could eat, much more than the pearl which he could not eat. He sent out his pearl fishers, and in four days they gathered twelve marks, or ninety-six ounces of pearls. The Indians were accustomed to open the oysters by roasting them, thereby discoloring the pearls; so the Spaniards showed the natives how to open the shells without heat, with greater diligence, indeed, than they

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exhibited in teaching the Christian doctrine, which was the condition under which Pope Alexander VI donated the Indies to Spain.

Tumaco told Vasco Nuñez that the firm land and seacoast extended far to the south, where dwelt a great nation, possessed of much wealth, who sailed the ocean in great ships, and employed beasts of burden. The animals especially interested the Europeans, as so far, no large domestic quadrupeds had been found in the New World. Tumaco then moulded in clay a rough image of the Peruvian *llama*, which the Spaniards thought must be a species of camel. "And this," says Herrera, "was the second intimation Vasco Nuñez had of Peru, and of its wealth." Captain Francisco Pizarro was with Balboa at the time, and doubtless pondered over this information, and made inquiries on his own account.

Vasco Nuñez deemed it prudent to enact another act of possession on the main ocean, so Tumaco rowed him out on the Gulf of Panama in his biggest and finest canoe. The oars of this state barge were inlaid with *aljófara*, an inferior pearl; and the Spanish commander directed the *escribano* to write down that on this South Sea, which he had discovered, were large boats propelled by oars inlaid with pearl. The party landed on the seashore near an island called Crucraga, but which was renamed San Simon. Here, on the 29th day of October, 1513, Balboa, with sword and banner, uttered the same all-embracing claim, "swearing to defend he knew not what against he knew not whom," as Bancroft puts it.

About five leagues westward in the sea, could be seen a group of islands, ruled by a powerful cacique who kept the seaboard in terror. At the largest island, called Toe in the native tongue, were found the finest pearls along that coast; so Vasco Nuñez named it *Isla Rica*, and the group *Islas de las Perlas*. He promised his newly made friends, Chiapes and Tumaco, that he would return some day, and go out to the islands and kill the bad chieftain who was called Dites, and promised himself to obtain those magnificent pearls.

Having more than accomplished the object of his expedition, Balboa decided to return to Darien, wishing, doubtless, to send an early report of his great discovery to the king. By a weary and hazardous march overland through an unknown and hostile country, he had found that sea which Columbus and the other navigators in the West Indies vainly sought through a strait. The natives on this Mar del Sur told him that the coastline extended without limit in either direction, and gave

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him confirmation of the existence of the great nation to the southward which Panciaco had made known to him. In addition to possessing boundless wealth and great ships, as the young cacique had stated, Balboa had learned from Tumaco that they made use of a beast of burden, which must be the camel of the East. It looked as if Spain, at last, by a western route, had gained access to that part of the Indies which Portugal had recently succeeded in reaching by the east.

Vasco Nuñez took a different route going back; so on the 3rd of November he was carried in canoes to the northern extremity of the Gulf of San Miguel, and entered a large river (probably the Rio Sabana). The company landed in the district of Teaochoan, which was pacified in the usual way; Chief *Teoca* contributing one hundred and sixty ounces of gold, and two hundred large pearls to the Spaniards. Balboa rested three days in *Teoca's* village, and then took leave of his South Sea friends. Chiapes, with whom were left some disabled Spaniards, wept at the parting; and *Teoca*, who had just been robbed, joined in the briny grief at the departure of the heavenly visitants.

The Indians supplied corn and dried fish for the trip, and *Teoca's* son guided the white men and native packers through the passes and over the hills. Although it was the latter part of the rainy season, they suffered from thirst, as the springs on which the guides depended had dried up; but the Indians aided the weary Spaniards until they could reach a refreshing stream. The next victim of the white invaders was a repulsive looking cacique by the name of *Poncra*, who fled from his village, but was overtaken and induced to come back. It reads as if the native allies of the Spaniards used deception in order to get *Poncra* in their power. Vasco Nuñez asked him whence came his gold; to which the chief replied that he did not know; that what he possessed was left him by his forefathers, and that they placed no value on the unwrought metal. Torture was applied, but could elicit nothing further. The neighboring caciques told horrible tales of his wickedness and brutality, and begged that he be killed. In a moment of weakness, or perhaps from policy, Balboa acceded to their request; and *Poncra*, with three of his principal men, was torn in pieces by the Spanish dogs. Perhaps *Poncra* was the cruel monster his neighbors claimed him to be and deserved his fate; but it seems to me that his death was the darkest episode in the short but illustrious career of Balboa on the Isthmus.

Vasco Nuñez found three thousand pesos worth of gold in

Poncra's town, and remained there a month, during which time he was joined by the Spaniards left with Chiapes. Balboa renamed the Indian settlement, *Todos Los Santos*. He brought about a peace with Poncra's successor, and received a present of two thousand pesos from a chief called *Bonomiama*, who came to see him.

On December 1st the Spaniards resumed their homeward journey, loaded down with gold; and in five days arrived at the residence of *Buquebuca*, who had fled because he was too poor to entertain such renowned visitors. The Christians condoned his poverty by robbing him of even that which he had. One day, as the Spaniards trudged along the trail, a voice from a cliff exclaimed: "O mighty men! Our King Chioriso sends greetings, and presents this offering, begging your assistance in vanquishing an enemy too powerful for him;" at the same time giving the Spanish commander thirty large gold plates, worth fourteen thousand pesos. Vasco Nuñez was tired of marching and fighting, and in a hurry to reach Antigua, so postponed aiding *Chioriso*, and sent him three axes, some gilt-beads, leather and cloth; keeping the thirty golden plates, of course.

This return march was to the westward of the route followed by Balboa when he went southward to discover the sea; so he arrived, on the 13th of December, in the district of Pocorosa, west of Comagre. Cacique *Pocorosa* deserted his town, but was won over in the usual way, and separated from his gold and slaves. Many of the Spaniards were ill and worn out, and Vasco Nuñez decided to tarry here for thirty days. Adjoining Pocorosa lived the famous *Tubanamá*, of whose power and wealth Panciaco had informed the Spaniards. In spite of his debilitated company, Balboa determined to subdue this chieftain, though failure meant loss of life and all the glory of what he had accomplished. With seventy picked men, and a body of warriors, Vasco Nuñez made a forced march and fell on *Tubanamá's* town by night, capturing the cacique and his household.

The neighboring chiefs said *Tubanamá* was worse than Poncra, and told of his brags to drag the Christians to death by the hair of their heads. They clamored for his life, but Balboa believed a live friend was better than a dead enemy, and decided not to kill him. Pretending great severity, he ordered *Tubanamá* to prepare for death, telling him he would be thrown into the river, as the chief threatened he would do with the Spaniards. With tearful eyes the cacique begged for his life,

and declared that envious enemies had spread these tales about him. Touching the sword of Vasco Nuñez, the chieftain exclaimed: "Who that had any brains would contend against this *macana*, which at one blow can cleave a man in two?" Apparently softened by his entreaties, the Spanish leader slowly relented, and spared his captive's life. The overjoyed Tubanamá stripped his wives and concubines of their bracelets and nose-rings, to the value of six thousand pesos, and gave them to the Spaniards. He denied the existence of mines in his territory but Balboa tested the soil, ; and believing it auriferous, planned to establish a settlement at that place.

Vasco Nuñez, with a train of slaves, returned in triumph to Pocosora, and shortly afterwards fell sick with a fever, the result of his hardships and exposures. In a litter borne by Indians, he resumed his march and came to Comagre. The old cacique was now dead, and Panciaco, who reigned in his place, was delighted to see the chief of the Christians again, and hear of his exploits. Panciaco collected more gold for his distinguished guest, and in return was given a linen shirt and Christian baptism, receiving the name of Don Carlos. Under the tender nursing of the young cacique, Balboa soon recovered his health ; and on the 14th of January, 1514, proceeded on his way and arrived at the village of Ponca. At this place he was met by four Spaniards from Antigua, with the information that two vessels, laden with provisions and recruits, had come from Hispaniola. Leaving the greater part of his company to follow at their leisure, Balboa selected an escort of twenty men and hastened onward.

After a brief stop in Careta, where he was heartily greeted by his Indian father-in-law, Vasco Nuñez embarked in a brigantine awaiting him in that port, and sailed for Darien. On the 19th of January, 1514, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa entered Antigua in triumph, amid the plaudits of the people, who escorted him to the plaza, where he told them of the victories of the Spanish arms, and of the wonderful Southern Sea.

Without counting the value of the pearls, cotton cloth, and other articles brought back by Vasco Nuñez, the gold amounted to at least forty thousand pesos. When the remainder of the party arrived, the spoils were equitably divided, and those who stayed behind also received a portion. Beside the royal fifth, two hundred of the finest pearls were set apart as a gift to the king. In a letter to Ferdinand, dated March 4, Balboa gave a detailed report of his late expedition, compared by Peter Martyr to the celebrated letter from Tiberius to the Roman

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senate. And in all his long letter, "containing such signal and new news * * * there is not a single leaf written which does not contain thanks to Almighty God for delivery from perils, and preservation from many imminent dangers." Vasco Nuñez requested that he be appointed governor of the region discovered by him, and supplied with means for further exploration on the Mar del Sur. The letter and presents were entrusted to Pedro de Arbolancha, an intelligent and reliable man, who sailed a few days later for Spain.

Despite my assertion that the passage of the Isthmus in 1513 was an easier task than it is today, I hold that in performance, as well as in result, it was one of the greatest expeditions of the Conquest. Aside from the discovery of the South Sea, Balboa had conciliated every cacique along the route. He could do what few other commanders could—retrace his march and be welcomed everywhere as an illustrious friend. All this had been accomplished during the rainy season on the Isthmus, and without a single reverse, or the loss of a man. I doubt if, today, a company of one hundred and ninety white men, with modern hygienic precautions, could wander over the Isthmus for four and a half months without a single fatality.

The Spanish colonists at Antigua, by adopting the customs of the natives, had largely adapted themselves to their environment. Maize and other crops had been planted and harvested, and with plenty of food and gold, and slaves and women at their command, the rough pioneers settled down to a fairly harmonious existence. Balboa had demonstrated his ability and fitness to command; and under his practical and tactful rulership both whites and natives promised to enjoy benign and peaceful government.¹³ Spanish amusements and fiestas were revived, and Cémaco's old capital became a Spanish pueblo.

I wish I could stop here and state, like the narrator of a fairy tale, that Vasco Nuñez and his people lived happily ever afterwards, but agencies in Spain were already so shaping the future as to bring distress on the colony, annihilation to the natives, and untimely and cruel death to Vasco Nuñez.

Had Ferdinand governed the Isthmus and Castilla del Oro through his officers at Santo Domingo, much suffering and disaster would have been avoided. Indeed, each European colony

¹³ "No one need hope to rule this land," writes Vasco Nuñez to the King, "and sit or sleep; for if he sleep, he will never wake. Day and night I think only of your Majesty's interests. In every battle I lead my men, and with truthful example, and kind treatment of the natives, seek to bring into favor your Majesty's government in these parts."

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established in America suffered from the control of a remote home government, until it became strong enough to successfully declare for independence.

List of the men with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean :

“Los cavalleros é hidalgos y hombres de bien que se hallaron en el descubrimiento de la mar del Sur, con el magnifico y muy noble Señor el capitan Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, gobernador por Sus Altecas en la Tierra-Firme, son los siguientes : Primeramente el Señor Vasco Nuñez, y el fué el que primero de todos vido aquella mar é la enseñó á los infrascriptos.

Andrés de Vera, clérigo.
Francisco Piçarro.
Diego Albitez.
Fabian Perez.
Bernardino de Morales.
Diego de Texerina.
Chripstóbal de Valdebuso.
Bernardino de Cienfuegos.
Sebastian de Grijalba.
Francisco de Avila.
Johan de Espinosa.
Johan de Velasco.
Benito Buran.
Andrés de Molina.
Antonio de Baracaldo.
Pedro de Escobar.
Chripstóbal Daga.
Francisco Pesado.
Alonso de Guadalupe.
Hernando Muñoz.
Hernando Hidalgo.
Johan Rubio de Malpartida.
Alvaro de Bolaños.
Alonso Ruiz.
Francisco de Lucena.
Martin Ruiz.
Pasqual Rubio de Malpartida.
Francisco Gonzalez de Guadalcama.
Francisco Martin.
Pedro Martin de Palos.
Hernando Diaz.
Andrés Garcia de Jaen.

Luis Gutierrez.
Alonso Sebastian.
Johan Vegines.
Rodrigo Velazquez.
Johan Comacho.
Diego de Montehermoso.
Johan Matheos.
Maestre Alonso de Sanctiago.
Gregorio Ponce.
Francisco de la Tova.
Miguel Crespo.
Miguel Sanchez.
Martin Garcia.
Chripstóbal de Robledo.
Chripstóbal de Leon, platero.
Johan Martinez.
Valdenebro.
Johan de Beas Loro.
Johan Ferrol.
Johan Gutierrez de Toledo.
Johan de Portillo.
Johan Garcia de Jaen.
Matheo Locano.
Johan de Medellín.
Alonso Martin, esturiano.
Johan Garcia Marinero.
Johan Gallego.
Francisco de Lentin, siciliano.
Johan del Puerto.
Francisco de Arias.
Pedro de Orduña.
Nuflo de Olano, de color negro.
Pedro Fernandez de Aroche.

Andrés de Valderrábano, escribano de Sus Altecas en la su córte y en todos sus reynos é Señorios, estuve pressente e doy fée dello, é digo que son por todos sessenta y siete hombres estos primeros chripstianos que vieron la mar del Sur, con los quales yo me hallé é cuento por uno dellos : y este era de Sanct Martin de Valdeiglesias.”

Oviedo, *lib.* XXIX, cap. III.

CHAPTER XI.

PEDRO ARIAS DE AVILA

Pedrarias

"The Wrath of God"—"The Timur of the Indies"

"And then a horror in the night,
And shots, and fire, and knives,
And demons yelling in delight,
As men fought for their lives."

Caroline Hazard.



THE long time required in those days to communicate between the Old and the New World is accountable for many of the wrongs related in this chapter.

Soon after the first Spaniards settled at Darien, the deposed Bachiller Encisco was permitted to depart for Spain to present his complaints to Ferdinand; and Zamudio, Balboa's fellow alcalde, embarked on the same vessel to defend the actions of himself, Vasco Nuñez, and the colonists. With loud and bitter denunciation of Vasco Nuñez, Encisco succeeded in stirring up the wrath of the king; and he resolved to appoint a new governor of Tierra Firme, who should call Balboa to account. As usually happens in this world, the pathfinder and pioneers had found the road and cleared the way; and the king's favorite was now going out to reap the fruits of the labor of others.

From the many applicants for the position, Ferdinand selected an elderly gentleman of Arias in Segovia, named Pedro Arias de Avila; known to English historians as Dávila, and by his Spanish contemporaries as Pedrarias. He was a colonel of infantry, having served with honor in the war in Africa; and had rich and influential connections who secured the favor of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, the head of the Council of the Indies. In youth, Pedrarias had been gay, and noted for his feats in the tournament; whence his nicknames *El Galan* (The Gallant) and *El Justador* (The Jousting). In America the monks dubbed him "*Furor Domini*," for the same reason that Attila merited the awful title of the "*Scourge of God*."

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The arrival of the Darien deputies, Colmenares and Caicedo, in May, 1513, did not change the decision of the king; and on the 27th of July, 1513, he commissioned Pedrarias to be governor of Castilla del Oro in Tierra Firme. In his instructions, Ferdinand ordered that Castilla del Oro be now called *Castilla Aurifica*; and the old limits changed so as to extend, according to Oviedo, from Cabo de la Vela to Veragua. This, it will be seen, included all of Ojeda's grant (Nueva Andalucia), and that part of Nicuesa's territory (Castilla del Oro) comprised in the eastern half of the Isthmus.

Colmenares and Caicedo told the king what Panciaco said about the existence of a Southern Sea, and that a thousand soldiers were thought necessary for the attempt to find it. The number of men for Pedrarias was fixed at twelve hundred, and the money-loving Ferdinand spent the enormous sum of fifty thousand ducats on the expedition; which was to reach by the west, if possible, the Spiceries and those parts of India barred to him by an eastern route, on account of the Pope's donation to Portugal. The search for a strait had not ceased, but if that South Sea or Indian Ocean (or whatever sea it was) could be reached by land, the discovery of a waterway would follow later. It seemed as if the dream of the old admiral might come true after all.

Colmenares and Caicedo also repeated that Indian tale, heard at Cenú, of a river so full of gold that the natives fished it out with nets as it was washed down from the mountains; and every Spaniard in Spain believed he was particularly adapted for that kind of fishing. Though the messengers were swollen, and "yellow as people in the jaundice" from the effects of the bad climate, the story caught the popular fancy and excited another rush for the Indies, like that of the second voyage of Columbus. Still another cause increased the number of applicants eager to go with Pedrarias. The victory of Ravenna, gained by the French over Spain and her allies, stimulated Ferdinand to raise volunteers for the defense of his Neapolitan possessions. These troops he intended to place under the command of Gonzalo de Córdoba, but becoming jealous of the popularity of his *Gran Capitan*, the king abandoned the expedition.

When Pedrarias arrived at Seville to enlist his force he found the streets filled with disappointed cavaliers and soldiers ready to engage in any sort of adventure. Instead of twelve hundred men, fifteen hundred were enrolled, and two thousand remained behind, pensive and sighing, who gladly would have gone at their own cost. In place of the heavy iron armour,

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which was both oppressive and unnecessary in combatting the natives of the tropics, the soldiers were equipped with wooden targets and coats of quilted cotton. The settlers were promised free grants of land, *repartimientos* of Indians, and mining privileges for ten years by the payment of one-fifth of the gold to the crown. Other products of the country could be sent home free of duty. As an additional inducement, the king ordered that no lawyer should go to Tierra Firme for four years. Altogether, according to Pascual de Andagoya, it was "the best equipped company that had ever left Spain."

Pedrarias' held a grand review of his force in the plaza of Seville, and on the 11th of April, 1514, the fleet of seventeen or eighteen vessels sailed from San Lúcar. It was a notable expedition, as among the company were the following:

Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, *alcalde mayor*.

Fray Juan de Quevedo, the first bishop of La Antigua and of Castilla del Oro, at the head of a company of Franciscan friars.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, *veedor* and *escribano general*, later the first chronicler of the Indies.

Alonso de la Puente, treasurer.

Diego Marquez, *contador*.

Juan de Tabira, *factor*.

Bachiller Encisco, *alguacil mayor*.

Juan de Ayora, the governor's lieutenant.

Luis Carrillo, captain.

Antonio Tello de Guzman, captain.

Diego Albites, captain.

Francisco Dávila, captain.

Diego de Bustamente, captain.

Gonzalo de Badajoz, captain.

Francisco Compañón, captain.

Juan de Zorita, captain.

Francisco Vasquez Coronado de Valdés, captain.

Francisco Hernandez, captain.

Gaspar de Morales, cousin of Pedrarias.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, historian of the conquest of Mexico.

Hernando de Soto, discoverer of the Mississippi.

Diego de Almagro, one of the conquerors of Peru.

Benalcázar, the destined conqueror of Quito.

Pascual de Andagoya, chronicler of the early period, one

¹ "The admiral of the fleet and new governor of Terra Firma was a man over seventy years of age, named Pedrarias Dávila, one of those two-legged tigers of whom Spain had so many at that time."—John Fiske, *Discov. of Amer.*, II, p. 377.

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of the first *regidores* of Panama, and inspector general of the Indians.

Juan Serrano, chief pilot of the fleet, subsequently killed with Magellan.

With the Governor went his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, niece to that Marchioness de Moya, favorite of Queen Isabella, who interceded for Columbus. Pedrarias left his four sons and four daughters in Spain. He was given lengthy instructions, in the preamble of which the salvation of the Indians and the spread of the sacred Catholic faith were given as excuses for invading Tierra-firme. Profiting by the experience of the Spaniards in Hispaniola, the Council of the Indies formulated some very good rules. How they were obeyed will be seen later. Pedrarias was charged to look well after his people, to prohibit the use of cards and dice, to punish murder, theft and blasphemy, to tolerate no lawyer in the colony, and to be tender and truthful in his dealings with the Indians. The latter were to be attracted to Christianity by the good works and shining example of the Spaniards. This last rule makes one smile, but it is not nearly so mirthful as the "Requisition" ordered to be read to the Indians before engaging in the slaughter. The Requisition (*El Requerimiento*) had been framed by Dr. Palacios Rubíos, a member of the Council, and other jurists, and was the same as the notice given by Ojeda at Calamar, and Encisco at Cénú.

The fleet of Pedrarias soon ran into a storm and put back for repairs. Setting out again, the voyage continued pleasant, and they arrived at the Caribee Islands, where they stole some natives for slaves. At one of these landings, a servant of Pedrarias named San Martin was disrespectful to Ayora, and when the Governor heard of it, he ordered his lieutenant to hang the fellow to the first tree, which was done. The fleet sailed again and came to the harbor of Santa Marta, where they stopped to inquire about eleven Spaniards, left there by Rodrigo de Colmenares. Colmenares, with an Indian interpreter, endeavored to confer with the natives, but the only reply was a shower of poisoned arrows. The next day Pedrarias ordered three hundred men to land, under command of his nephew, to secure some Indians. Oviedo went ashore with this party, bearing that formidable Requisition with him. The natives paid no attention to the curious document, but pressed the invaders so hard that the following morning the Governor came to the relief of Ayora with a thousand men-at-arms. After a slight skirmish, the Indians dispersed, and the Spaniards returned to their ships with a few captives. Continuing

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westward along the coast, the fleet touched at Isla Fuerte, and soon entered the Gulf of Urabá, and came to anchor June 29, near Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

A few days after the departure of Pedrarias, Pedro de Arbolancha arrived in Spain, and presented the report of Vasco Nuñez, announcing the discovery of the South Sea. He told his story, delivered the king's fifth of the gold, and with it the two hundred beautiful pearls filched from Tumaco. Ferdinand was really sorry—sorry for his anger against Vasco Nuñez, but still more did he regret the thousands of ducats spent on old Pedrarias. What the king of Spain hoped to accomplish with his fine expedition Balboa had achieved with his heterogeneous band of unruly followers. The news of a South Sea created almost as much furor as the discovery of Columbus. The west door to India had been found in Spain's hemisphere, and she could now enter the East and gather the harvest of spices, gums, silks, and jewels.

The delay of two months or less in despatching Arbolancha from Antigua not only cost Balboa his head, but the lives of millions of American natives. Had the king received the information a few weeks earlier, Vasco Nuñez would not have been deposed nor prosecuted; Balboa, in place of Pizarro, would have been the logical pacificator of Peru; the admirable Incan civilization would not have been wiped out; and there would have been instituted an entirely different policy in dealing with the Indians of the Isthmus, Nicaragua, and Peru.

It appears there was some discussion among the four hundred and fifty Spaniards at Antigua as to receiving the new arrivals; but Vasco Nuñez counseled peace, and it was agreed that they should go out unarmed and in the peaceful garb of magistrates. When an officer from the fleet, clad in silks and brocades, sought Balboa, he found him in cotton shirt and drawers, with *alpargatas* on his feet, directing the work of some Indians in thatching a house. "I come from Don Pedrarias de Avila, lately appointed governor of Darien," said the messenger.

"Say to Don Pedrarias that he is welcome to Antigua," replied Balboa.

On the 30th of June, 1514, Pedrarias disembarked at the landing, a league from the town, and formed his brilliant retinue. Holding his wife, the Doña Isabel by the hand, and with the bishop, in his episcopal robes, on the other side, the Governor headed the march to Antigua, the friars chanting

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the Te Deum. The colonists, tanned and sallow from the climate, came out to meet them, and the two leaders greeted each other with great courtesy. Vasco Nuñez conducted Pedrarias and his suite to his own house, and the others were billeted among the settlers.

The very next day the Governor sent for Balboa, and with gracious words ("*muchas palabras dulces*"), complimented him on his successes, told him how much his services were appreciated by the king—and would he please write down all he had learned of that country, everything he had done, and what he was intending to do. Vasco Nuñez has been dealing with Indians for so long that he forgets the malevolent craft of his countrymen, and courteously accedes to the honeyed request. Balboa went to his house and spent two days making out a report of the land, and of his administration for the guidance of Pedrarias. In nothing is the guilelessness and generosity of Balboa better shown than in his willingness to give his successor the benefit of his long experience in the Indies, and his four years' government of Castilla del Oro.

According to law, Balboa took his *residencia*, and Pedrarias, having extracted all the information he wanted from Vasco Nuñez, instituted civil suits against him for damages done to Encisco and others. Balboa was condemned to pay several thousand castellanos, and also imprisoned; but he was soon released in consideration of his services to the colony. The instructions from the king required that the Governor take no important step without consulting his principal officials, and Espinosa and Quevedo sometimes shielded Vasco Nuñez from the vengeance of Pedrarias.

It was not long before the newcomers suffered from the effects of the climate, and also from starvation, as much of the food brought over by the fleet had been spoilt by the sea. The old settlers were the survivors of the fittest out of several thousand men, and they had experienced great difficulty in securing sufficient food to maintain their existence. The sudden accession of fifteen hundred white men found the town and neighboring country unable to support them. Hidalgos, in silks and brocades, wandered about Antigua and dropped dead from hunger; and in less than a month seven hundred of the unseasoned Europeans perished.* Pedrarias got sick, and with guards and food, retired for a time to a more healthy spot, not far from Antigua.

* At this time, about 100 colonists, including Bernal Diaz, went from Darien to Cuba, and took part in the discovery and conquest of Mexico.

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On receiving the report brought by Arbolancha, King Ferdinand sent out orders to Pedrarias to establish a line of posts from sea to sea, in accordance with the plan of Vasco Nuñez; to build a town on the Gulf of San Miguel, and likewise three or four caravels to be placed in charge of skillful captains for exploration on the South Sea. Pursuant to this order, the Governor sent his lieutenant, Juan de Ayora, with four hundred men in a ship and three caravels westward along the coast to locate the first blockhouse, and from there to proceed across the Isthmus. At a small port in the territory of *Pocorosa*, he built the initial post, called *Santa Cruz*; but his chief concern was torturing the caciques to make them give up their gold, enslaving the men, and carrying off the women. Careta, Panciaco, Ponca, and the other chiefs who had been pacified by Vasco Nuñez, and who had furnished provisions when the Spaniards were in want, suffered the same as if they had been hostile Caribs. This was the first expedition sent out by Pedrarias, and it inaugurated that long reign of plunder, rapine, and murders which nearly exterminated the Isthmian tribes.

The malignant cruelty and vicious depravity displayed by the white men under Pedrarias is almost beyond belief. The gentle killings by Balboa, often necessary by reason of his little band, sink into insignificance before the wholesale atrocities and butcheries committed upon the Indians by Pedrarias and his officers. Says Oviedo, the king's inspector at La Antigua: "In this expedition Juan de Ayora not only omitted the Requisitions and summoning it was his duty to make to the Indians before attacking them, but took them by surprise at night, torturing the caciques and chiefs, demanding gold from them. Some he roasted alive, some were thrown living to the dogs, some were hanged, and for others were devised new forms of torture. Their wives and daughters were made slaves and divided according to the pleasure of Juan de Ayora and the other captains."

Ayora was repelled and wounded by a chief called *Sacativa*, and turned back to revenge himself on *Pocorosa*; who was warned by a friendly Spaniard, named *Eslava*, and took to flight. The author of the notice was discovered by Ayora and narrowly escaped hanging. One of the caciques thought it was his friend, Vasco Nuñez, who was going through the country, so prepared a feast and went out to meet the great white Tiba. He soon found out his mistake. Ayora tortured him until he gave up all his gold, and angry because it was no more, caused the unhappy Indian to be burnt alive. The

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lieutenant left a garrison of eighty men at Santa Cruz, and marched southward, robbing and murdering as he went. "This infernal hunt lasted several months."

"What has God done with the lieutenant, Juan de Ayora?" asked the bishop of the Governor; and Bartolomé Hurtado was sent out to hunt for the long-absent commander. Hurtado found Ayora, rivaled him in rapine, and returned before the lieutenant to Antigua, loaded with plunder and more than a hundred peaceable Indians (*Indios de paz*). To avert enquiry, he gave six Indians to the Governor, six to the bishop, and four each to the alcalde mayor, the treasurer, the contador, and the factor. Then the king's fifth was taken out, who happened to be carriers loaned by Careta, immediately sold by auction, branded and most of them carried over sea to other parts. Needless to add, Hurtado was not molested in his possession of the remainder.

Meanwhile, Juan de Ayora came to the lands of Tubanamá, and was resisted by that valorous chieftain; but succeeded in establishing a post there, which he left in charge of Meneses. Instead, however, of continuing across the Isthmus, as ordered, he left his captains in the field, and returned to Antigua with his gold and slaves. The latter were distributed among the royal officers, while Ayora made off with the gold in one of the vessels, which he and his intimates seized, and was never heard of more in Darien. Soon afterward, Francisco Becerra came in with seven thousand pesos of gold, and over a hundred captives, which he distributed so judiciously that he was immediately granted a larger command. With a hundred and eighty men and three pieces of artillery, he went to Cenú to avenge the death of forty-eight men lost by Francisco de Vallejo some time before. This was the place where the Bachiller Encisco held that famous conversation with the two caciques, and the Indians could defend themselves as effectively in war as they did in philosophy. They shot Becerra's men with their poisoned arrows, felled timber in the way, and destroyed the entire party when crossing a stream. The reader will observe that when the Spaniards met the natives on the water, they always suffered defeat. An Indian boy, servant to Becerra, was the only one to escape, and he carried the news of the disaster to Antigua.

All the natives of Darien were now in a hostile mood, and the eighty men at Santa Cruz met much opposition in their forays for food. When the Indians made captives of the Spaniards, they poured melted gold down their throats, crying—Eat! Eat gold, Christians! Take your fill of gold! One

night, about six months after its settlement, Pocorosa and his warriors fell upon the garrison of Santa Cruz and captured the fort; only five Spaniards living to reach Antigua.*

In 1515, La Antigua, was given metropolitan privileges, and hence was the first European city on the continent of America, and the seat of the first Episcopal see. Charles V., on the 20th of July, 1520, gave Antigua the right to bear as its arms, gules, a golden castle, surmounted by a sun of the same, supported on the right by a tiger, and on the left by a crocodile; with these words as a legend, *La Imagen de Nuestra Señora del Antigua*.

About this time, Oviedo the veedor, who was a severe but just man, returned to Spain for the purpose of giving information of the proceedings in Darien. His excuses for going were the state of his health and a wish to see his wife. After taking his *residencia*, during which no charge was preferred, he was allowed to depart. The Governor sent word to the king that the bishop interfered too much in the government of the colony, and that his friars were unruly and dishonest; and the bishop, on his side, accused the Governor of "avarice and inconstancy," and charged Oviedo to tell the king what a good fellow was Vasco Nuñez. So far the prelate seems to have been a friend to Balboa, though he sealed his fate when he advised the Governor not to send him for trial to Spain, where he would have been a hero, but to keep him within his power.

In November, 1515, Antonio Tello de Guzman set out from Antigua at the head of one hundred men to continue the work of establishing posts across the Isthmus, abandoned by Ayora. He reached the fort in Tubanamá just in time to relieve the besieged Meneses. Taking the reduced garrison with him, Guzman entered the province of *Chepó*, where he was feasted by the cacique and presented with a large amount of gold. While they were eating, a young chief rushed in, denounced *Chepó* as a usurper, and promised the Spaniards twice as much gold as *Chepó* had given if they would reinstate him. The request was irresistible, and Cacique *Chepó* was hanged on the spot; seven of his principal men being given to the dogs.

As Captain Guzman neared the South Sea he heard much mention of a place called *Panamá*, and thought it must be a

* Oviedo writes that Panciaco joined Pocorosa, and that they killed every Spaniard at Santa Cruz. Andagoya says that no one remained alive except a woman, whom the chief took for himself, and lived with as his wife for several years. "His other wives being jealous that the chief liked her better than them, killed her, and gave their lord to understand that an alligator had eaten her, when she went to bathe in the river."

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large town abounding in wealth and pearls. The word *panamá*, in the Indian tongue, signified "a place where many fish are taken;" and the Spaniards were much disappointed when they found only a collection of fishermen's huts. This was the first visit of white men to the site where was located, afterward, the renowned city of Old Panamá. Guzman rested here, and sent Diego de Albites with eighty men to ravage the rich province of *Chagre*, ten leagues distant. Albites did his work well, joined Guzman at *Pacora*, and the entire party returned to Tubanamá. From there to Antigua their march was a continuous combat. Flaunting the bloody raiment of slain Spaniards, the natives cried: "Behold the fate of the accursed, who leave their homes to mar the peace of unoffending nations." Pocosora, flushed with his victory at Santa Cruz, harassed the Christians so effectively that they were very glad when they found themselves again among their fellows in Darien.

An expedition, composed of two hundred men, was despatched up the river of Darien to seek the golden temple of *Dabaiba*. The old colonists wished Balboa for leader, but Pedrarias gave half the command to Luis Carillo. The company started out in canoes, in June, 1515, and after ascending the river for some distance, was beset by the natives. The hostile canoes, filled with Indians, darted out from the overhanging foliage; and the Spaniards were attacked from all sides. Being expert in the water, the warriors dived under, and overturned the Spanish boats; and Luis Carillo with half the expedition were lost. Vasco Nuñez and the survivors then returned to Antigua.*

The failure of several attempts to reach *Dabaiba* did not deter the gold-mad Spaniards from trying again. The greater the hazard, the richer grew the wealth of the mythical temple. Juan de Tabira, the factor, and Juan de Birues, the inspector, built three brigantines, collected more canoes, and led about one hundred and sixty men in quest of the sacred shrine. The Indians could not overturn the brigantines, and were beaten off; but the temple gods sent a great flood, which uprooted trees, swamped the factor's vessel, and drowned both leaders. Francisco Pizarro, who was one of the outfit, was asked to assume command and continue up the river, but he declined. The forlorn would-be robbers went back to Antigua, and, for a time, efforts to reach *Dabaiba* were abandoned.

* Another account says that Balboa succeeded in reaching *Dabaiba*, and that he was wounded in the face with a wooden sword, and in the arm by an arrow. This region abounded in locusts, upon which the people fed.



Permission of the *Smithsonian Institution*.

DAY-AK, A SAN BLAS CHIEF, FROM RIO DIABLO.

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In recognition of his distinguished services, Ferdinand, in 1515, appointed Vasco Nuñez de Balboa Adelantado of the South Sea and of the government of the provinces of Coyba and Panama (*"Adelantado de la Mar del Sur y de la gobernacion de las provincias de Coyba é Panamá."*) This excited the envy of Pedrarias, and for a time he held up the commission; an action opposed by Quevedo. Fearing lest his popular rival should be given supreme authority on the south coast of the Isthmus, the Governor hastened to send a detachment of eighty men to the South Sea. The expedition was placed in charge of Gaspar de Morales, the Governor's cousin, with Francisco Pizarro second in command; and they were ordered to go out to the Pearl Islands and secure the pearls spoken of by Balboa.

On the way, Morales and his men arrived at an Indian village when the people were celebrating a festival; during which it was the custom for the men and the women to sit apart. Morales seized the women, and carried them off, which so enraged the Indians that twenty chiefs swore to destroy the Christians. Unfortunately, Morales got wind of the conspiracy, captured the twenty chieftains, and gave them to his dogs to tear to pieces.⁵

On reaching the south coast of the Isthmus, half the command, under Peñalosa, a relative of Doña Isabel, was quartered on a cacique named Tutibrá, while Morales, with the remainder, stopped with a neighboring chief called Tunaca. Chiapes and Tumaco were still loyal to the Spaniards, and helped to supply canoes and warriors with which to proceed to the Pearl Islands and help subdue their terrible enemy, King Dites. With their forty Spaniards and a fleet of natives, Morales and Pizarro started out one evening from the mainland. The sea was rough, and it was not until the following day that the expedition reached one of the smaller islands, where a landing was effected with but little resistance. The invaders then passed over to the largest island, named Isla Rica by Balboa, the chief residence of the king. Dites and his warriors fought valiently and kept up a stubborn fight, until Chiapes and Tumaco spoke

⁵ Oviedo writes of two chieftains encountered by Captain Becerra—"This Cacique bore the name of father-in-law, because, when the Christians came here, they took (or he gave them, from fear) three or four daughters among the captains, and on account of this unwilling hospitality, they dubbed him "The Father-in-law" [El Suegro], but his real name was Mahe. The other Cacique they called "The Burnt One" [El Quemado], because actually and without cause, they burnt him because he did not give as much gold as they demanded."—*Lib. XXIX., Cap. X.*

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to the king, told him how useless it was to resist the white men, and prevailed upon him to submit. Dites conducted the strangers to his "palace" (as the old chroniclers generally called the chief's house) and presented Morales with a basket of large and lustrous pearls, receiving in exchange some mirrors, hatchets and hawk-bells.

In order to belittle the achievement of Vasco Nuñez, Morales, pursuant to orders from Pedrarias, took another possession of the South Sea, and renamed Isla Rica, Isla de Flores. The priest baptized the king, giving him the name of Pedro Arias; and imposing an annual tribute of one hundred marks of pearls, the Christians departed for the mainland. They found the country stirred up on account of the outrages perpetrated by Peñalosa, and in revenge, Morales renewed his butcheries, killing seven hundred Indians in one hour.

The Christians then went to the eastern end of the Gulf of San Miguel, attacked cacique *Birú* by night, and set fire to his towns. The people fled at first, but returned and fought the Spaniards all the next day. The Indians were finally driven off, but Morales thought it best not to stay long in *Birú*. While recrossing the cordillera, the whites were so hard pressed by the natives that Morales resorted to the "Herodian cruelty" of beheading his captives at intervals along the trail, hoping the gory spectacles would delay the pursuing Indians. Toiling along in the hot humid climate, and valorously repelling the onslaughts of the hostile inhabitants, the Christians managed to get back to Antigua, still clinging to their stolen treasures.

In March of this same year, 1515, Gonzalo de Badajoz, with one hundred and thirty men, sailed from Antigua, and landed at Nombre de Dios. No Europeans had touched here since the remnant of Nicuesa's company had been rescued by Vasco Nuñez. In the grass and brush could be seen heaps of stones, crosses, and dead men's bones; grim reminders of the fate of their countrymen, and which might be theirs also. Starting southward from this place, in the direction of the South Sea, the first chief encountered was Totonagua, on the mountains back of Nombre de Dios. Gold to the value of six thousand pesos repaid the white men for the favor of their visit. On the southern side of the Sierras, a chief called Tataracherubi not only contributed eight thousand pesos to the Spaniards, but told them of the wealth of his neighbor on the southwest, called *Natá*, with but few fighting men. Alonso Perez de la Rua, with thirty men, went after *Natá's* gold, and soon found himself among a large settlement of Indians. Retreat was impossible, but by securing the person of the cacique, Perez threatened

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Natá, who ordered his warriors to desist. Badajoz soon came up, and Natá was forced to give up fifteen thousand pesos.

After remaining in Natá for two months, the Christians visited the village of Escoria, ten leagues to the south, where they secured nine thousand pesos. Farther west lived a chief called Biruquete, who had a blind neighbor; and together they produced gold to the value of six thousand pesos. Other villages in this region were visited and plundered, including Taracuri, Pananomé, Tabor, and Chirú. Some of these names still persist on the Isthmus.

In these parts was a cacique called by the Spaniards Parizao Pariba, later abbreviated to *Paris*. The cacique and his people took to the mountains, and Badajoz sent him a message threatening to follow him with the dogs if he did not return. Paris begged to be excused on account of business; and would the leader of the Christians please accept a little present from his women. The gift so depreciatingly presented consisted of breast-plates, bracelets, nose-rings, and coronets, to the value of forty or fifty thousand castellanos; carried by four Indians in baskets lined with deerskin. Where there was so much wealth there must be more. Pretending to be well pleased, Badajoz passed on; but returned later, surprised the cacique in his village one night, and obtained as much more gold as Paris had sent him.

Cacique Paris was just as well versed in strategy as Captain Badajoz. He sent one of his men in advance of the Spaniards, who, when captured, said he belonged to a village three leagues distant. The next question, of course, was concerning gold; and he told them his village was full of it. The Indian was on his way to the river to fish, but would turn back cheerfully and show them the way; and Badajoz promptly sent a detachment to bring in the treasure.

When the Spaniards were divided, Paris, with four thousand warriors it is claimed, fell upon one party and almost exterminated it before the other came up. After losing seventy of their number, the remaining Spaniards abandoned all treasure, cut their way through the multitude of redskins, and fled to the territory of *Chame*. From here they went out to an island belonging to Tabor; and from thence to the island of *Taboga*. The Spaniards remained a month on Taboga, recruiting their strength for the homeward march. They then returned to the mainland, where Alonso Perez de la Rua lost his life; and the battered remainder of the company found their way back to

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Antigua, carrying nothing but the stories of the immense treasures they for a time possessed.

The administration of Pedrarias was meeting with nothing but disasters.* Every expedition that went out was assailed or destroyed, and there was no gold coming in; and what were they there for if not to get gold. The melting-house (*Casa de la Fundicion*) was closed, the bishop said prayers, and public fasts were ordered.

The old Governor resolved to show his young captains how a raid should be conducted, and directed his first blow at Cenú, where the wise cannibal caciques successfully resisted the Spaniards. So unpopular was this region that Pedrarias told his soldiers he was going to Pocorosa, and steered in that direction; but at night ordered the pilots to turn about to the east, and the next morning they were off the river of Cenú. Captain Hurtado with two hundred men, being two-thirds of the entire force, made a landing and fired the village. There was the usual killing, a few captives were taken; and having enough of the poisoned arrows, Pedrarias sailed again to the west towards Pocorosa.

About the region of Careta was a port from which a trail led across the Isthmus. The Indians called the place *Acla*, signifying in their language "Bones," or "Bones of Men;" in memory of sanguinary battles fought there by two neighboring tribes, ruled by rival brothers. Here the Governor began the construction of a wooden fort to replace the one destroyed at Santa Cruz, further west; the first of a new line of posts to extend to the South Sea. The old Governor's energy, as he assisted in the work, did not last long in that sultry climate; and he was carried to Antigua with a fever.

Gabriel de Rojas was left in command at Acla to complete the unfinished fort; and Gaspar de Espinosa, the young alcalde mayor, started southward with a force of men to have his turn at the poor natives. The young licentiate of the schools of Salamanca, ennuied by the closed court at Antigua, entered into the sport with the keenest zest. Espinosa has left a verbose account of the entrance (*la entrada*) which he made in the provinces.[†] All his killings were done strictly according to his

*"All the enterprises of Pedrarias proving unlucky, Valboa laughed at and mocked him, whereat the governor became so irate, that they came to serious contention."—Benzoni, p. 73 (*Hakluyt Soc.*, No. 21).

†"There are some whom travel improves but little, though like Hadad Ben Ahab, they should climb to the top of the world's wall and

interpretation of the law—either the king's law or his own. When the terrified Indians fled from the Spaniards it was considered *prima facie* evidence of guilt, and they were killed or enslaved. Those of Pocosora's people suspected of participation in the Santa Cruz affair, were hanged, burnt, or shot from the cannon's mouth.

Espinosa writes that he went to Poquina's land, where the Indians set fire to their huts and ran away. He sent the reverend Dean (dean of the *padres* at Antigua) with one squad, and a man named Ojeda with another to fight them; and they brought back some Indians. Later, the *Licenciado* came to the province of Tamame, from whence he despatched all the captains to explore the Rio Grande. About this time Espinosa met the dejected Badajoz, returning empty-handed to Antigua.

look down the other side. Our juvenile judge was not one of these. *Bonum est fugienda adspicere in alieno malo*, was his motto. It is good to note in the misfortunes of others what we should avoid, for so Publius Syrus has said. He would go to the wars as a warrior, not plodding his way wearily over mountain and through morass, like a common foot-soldier, but he would enter the domain of the enemy mounted, and in a manner becoming a general and a judge. Athena went to war mounted on a lion, Alexander on a horse, Espinosa on—an ass. History gives the licentiate this honor, and as an honest man, I cannot deny it him; he was the first to cross the Isthmus on an ass. Some horses had of late been brought to Antigua, which were employed to a very limited extent in the wars of Tierra Firme and also on the present occasion; but the *alcalde mayor* preferred to bestride an ass; it was a more judicial beast, not to say surer-footed or more safe. Did not Mahomet choose an ass on which to ride to Heaven? There was another advance. Several pieces of artillery were dragged across the Isthmus in this expedition.

"When the savages first beheld the conquering hero borne triumphantly through crowds of admiring spectators, they fell back dumb-founded. They knew the force of Spanish steel; bloodhounds they knew, and arquebuses vomiting fire and hurling thunderbolts. But what was this? Its eyes were not fiery, nor its nostrils distended, nor its teeth flesh-tearing. Its countenance betokened mildness, and mind-absence, such as attend benevolent contemplation; there was in it nothing of that refined lust or voracious piety which characterized the faces of the Spaniards. And surely Apollo was in error when he gave Midas such ears because he could not appreciate music. For listen to its notes. Ah, that voice! When Sir Balaam lifted up his voice the savages fled in terror. Tremblingly they returned and enquired for what the creature was asking. The Spaniards replied that he was asking for gold; and during the campaign his musical beast brought the licentiate more gold than did ever Leoncico earn for Vasco Nuñez. And throughout that region the learned licentiate became known to the natives by the noble animal that he bestrode, so much so that those who entered the Spaniard's camp to see the general used to announce their object by braying like an ass, an appeal to which the chief officer ever obligingly responded."—*Hist. of Cent. Amer.*, vol. I., p. 419.

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Hearing of the gold retaken from Badajoz, the *alcalde mayor* wrote Pedrarias for reinforcements, so he could go after the treasure. Badajoz claimed that privilege for himself.

Espinosa crossed the cordillera to Panamá, where he found a few huts and one woman; and then proceeded to Chirú. The chief, with his women and gold, was taken. Fifteen hundred *castellanos* were secured at Natá one night, and the *cacique* and his warriors pursued by the mounted soldiers. *Cacique Natá* rallied his forces, but they fled in terror before the horses.* Espinosa found plenty of provisions, including geese and turkeys, in this region, so rested at Natá. One day the chief, without arms, rushed into his village, and exclaimed to the *Licenciado*: "You are too strong for me. You have taken my warriors, my wives, my children; do with me as you please." For once, Espinosa was kind; but there appears to have been a motive in his gentleness. After restoring to Natá his wives and children, the *licentiate* demanded the gold retaken from Badajoz. The *cacique* declared that Paris had kept it all himself; so the Spanish commander sent a delegation of natives to demand of him the treasure. Paris hanged all the messengers but two, with whom he sent back a threat to treat in like manner all Christians caught in his domain.

On the 29th of July, 1516, all the Christians were confessed by the priest; "and in the name of God," writes Espinosa, he set out to kill Paris. The Indian chiefs, in council, had determined to fight, rather than give up the gold. They ambushed the advance-guard of eighty Spaniards, under Diego Albites, and would have destroyed it, had not the *licentiate* arrived with the main body. The horses and bloodhounds soon had the natives on the jump, and twenty *caciques* and a host of warriors were slain. That night the chief justice slept on the field of battle, and the next day was joined by Valenzuela, with a reinforcement of one hundred men from Antigua. They started after Paris, and came upon his town, but found it in ashes. That wily chieftain and all his people had fled to the hills, carrying the treasure with them.

Searching parties were sent out in different directions, under Albites, Hurtado, and Pedro de Gamez. The latter heard the

* Note the ease with which horses crossed the Isthmus and pursued the Indians. Whereabouts today, except on the bed of the Panama Railroad, could a troop of cavalry pass from sea to sea? In time, however, the highways in course of construction by the Isthmian Canal Commission will extend from one end of the Canal Zone to the other, and ultimately enable wheeled vehicles to travel between Colon and Panama.

gold was in the territory of cacique Quema, who, when tortured, gave up about thirty thousand castellanos; but denied knowledge of the remainder. Valenzuela and eighty men went toward the South Sea to seek large trees for canoes, in which to explore the coast. When two great canoes, each capable of holding seventy men, and three smaller ones, were secured, they were given in charge of Bartolomé Hurtado, with a hundred Spaniards, to proceed by sea. Espinosa and the remainder of his force intended to follow the coast by land, but after floundering through the mud for four days, they decided to go back to Quema and look for the rest of that gold.

Meanwhile, Hurtado rowed along the coast, and landed at a province called Guanata. The natives had fled, but on account of continuous rains, the Spaniards remained here seven days. Hurtado then continued his way, and in three days came to an island called by the Indians Caubaco; doubtless the island now known as *Cebaco*, at the entrance of Montijo Bay. The natives opposed his landing, but Hurtado was conciliatory and won their good will. When the cacique returned from the mainland, where he had been fighting, he gave Hurtado a golden armor valued at one thousand castellanos, and expressed a willingness to acknowledge the king of Spain, and embrace Christianity. Cebaco was so amiable that the Spaniards named him Cacique Amigo, and aided him and his brother Pequeari in an attack upon their enemy, who lived upon a neighboring island, called *Isla de Varones*^{*} by the white men. These people bravely defended themselves in a log fortress, surrounded by a ditch, from which they were dislodged only by the artillery of the Spaniards.

Hurtado took leave of the friendly Cebaco, and seven leagues farther west he arrived at another island, called Cabo, probably the modern *Coiba*. Here they got a little gold, and then steered for the mainland, where the inhabitants were so fierce they dared not land. Hurtado learned that he was opposite the provinces of Torra and Tabraba, and that it required only three days' journey across the land to reach the North Sea. The Spaniards continued westward by sea, but did not risk battle with the natives on the mainland, who gathered in numbers on the shore, pounding war-drums and sounding conchs. It is stated that Hurtado traveled about one hundred and forty leagues, and went as far west and north as the Gulf of Nicoya in Costa Rica. I do not think this is probable. No doubt the

^{*} Probably *Isla Gobernadora* (or *Gobernador*), separated from Cebaco by the *Boca del Gobernador*, the middle entrance to Montijo Bay.

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Spaniards visited the islands at the mouth of David (Pedragal) harbor, rounded Punta Burica, and entered Golfo Dulce. Near here were people called Chiuchires; and to the westward was a great race of people, said to have double faces and rounded feet—perhaps an allusion to the Mayas.

We must now be looking after that gold; the chief quest of the Spaniards in the New World. Espinosa turned from the South Sea, and came to the land of Chiracona, noted for its brave men, beautiful women, and fierce *tuyraes*, or devils. The chief was tortured in the usual horrible manner, and disclosing no gold, was given to the dogs. While here, there occurred a terrible earthquake, which scared Christian and heathen alike. On the 2nd of January, 1517, the *alcalde mayor* entered the province of Escoria, and soon after this, Hurtado returned from his voyage along the western half of the south coast of the Isthmus.

Early in 1517, Gaspar de Espinosa, the *alcalde mayor*, established at the fishing village of *Panamá*, on the South Sea, the southern station of the line of posts to traverse the Isthmus. Hernan Ponce, who had been with Hurtado in the canoe expedition, was installed as first commandant. Espinosa overthrew a few more chiefs, relieved them of their gold, and returned, half famished, to the North Sea. Vasco Nuñez, then living at Acla, gave them food and furnished a vessel in which the party proceeded to Antigua. As became his rank and high office, the chief justice's stealings lead all the rest. Eighty thousand pesos was the value of the gold; beside two thousand captives for slaves. The poor Indians all died, either at Antigua or in Hispaniola.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, having been appointed *Adelantado* of the South Sea, and Captain-General of the provinces of Coiba and Panamá,²⁰ tiring of his inactivity at Antigua, determined to proceed to his territory on the south coast. He started in to raise a force without permission or aid from Pedrarias, and secretly despatched Francisco Garavito in a small vessel to Cuba, to secure volunteers and arms for the expedition. Garavito fulfilled his mission, and came back to Darien with seventy men and provisions. He anchored in a small bay some six leagues from Antigua, and sent word to Vasco Nuñez. The old

²⁰ Amid the muddle of names and queer orthography of the early writers of all nationalities who have written about this region, it is a satisfaction to come upon one appellation that has persisted unchanged. As Bancroft says: "The chart-makers of every name and nation give only *Panamá*."

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Governor got wind of the undertaking and was furious. He recalled the fate of Nicuesa, and became alarmed for his own safety. Pedrarias arrested Balboa and confined him (it is claimed) in a cage in his own house. The situation was soon explained, friends interfered, and Vasco Nuñez was set at liberty. Nevertheless, there was no love lost between Vasco Nuñez and old Pedrarias.

It is best for man to work out his own destiny without the intervention of officious friends. Balboa's one friend in power at Antigua was Quevedo; and the bishop, unintentionally, caused Vasco Nuñez to be deprived of deserved honors, and brought about his downfall. Quevedo prevented Balboa being sent to Spain; he induced him to relinquish some of his rights as Adelantado of the South Sea; and now he interfered to bring about a marriage betrothal between Vasco Nuñez and Doña Maria, the eldest daughter of Pedrarias, and so bind the North Sea to the South Sea by the sweet bonds of love. The *novia* in this affair was still in a convent at Seville, in blissful ignorance of the important part she played in matters of State at Darien. Balboa was acquiescent, Doña Isabel more than willing, and Pedrarias gave his consent.

As the accepted son-in-law¹¹ of the Governor, Vasco Nuñez was now free to prosecute his designs. He set out for Acla to prepare for the South Sea. The post had been destroyed by the Indians of Careta, and Olano, the successor of Gabriel de Rojas, and twelve soldiers killed. Balboa laid out a new town, appointed an alcalde and regidor, and required everyone to plant sufficient for his sustenance. It was at this time that Espinosa came back from his raid on the southern provinces, and the Adelantado accompanied him to Antigua, in order to enlist some of his men for his own expedition. In this, Balboa was successful, and returned to Acla with two hundred seasoned robbers who had been with the chief justice.

Vasco Nuñez was so sensible and practicable in most affairs, and possessed so much knowledge of the Isthmus, that it is disappointing to read that he prepared at or near Acla materials for four brigantines, for use on the South Sea, all of which had to be transported by hand across the cordillera. It would have been just as easy to hew timbers on the south coast as on the north, and much time and many lives would have been saved. "No living man in all the Indies," affirms Herrera, "dared attempt such an enterprise, or would have succeeded in it, save Vasco Nuñez de Balboa."

¹¹ Under Spanish law and custom, betrothal was considered almost as binding as marriage.

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When the timbers, cordage, and anchors were ready, a great number of natives were rounded up to carry them over the Isthmus to the head of navigation in the Rio de las Balsas,¹² which debouched into the Gulf of San Miguel. This place, selected by Captain Francisco Compañón, was twenty-two leagues from Acla; and midway on the route, on the summit of the Sierra, twelve leagues from Acla, was built a fort for rest and protection. Thirty negroes are brought from Antigua; and whites, blacks, and redskins toil and sweat under the herculean task. The poor Indians, of course, get the worst of it. Though natives of the region, they sink and die from the unusual labor, and the unaccustomed way of doing things; driven by the restless energy of the white man. Vasco Nuñez does not spare himself, taking the lead in the work. "In this he was the foremost because he was a strong man, and at that time about forty years of age; and in all labors he took the leading part." Bishop Quevedo, who shortly went back to Spain, testified before the Court that five hundred Indians perished in transporting these vessels; and Las Casas says the number was nearer two thousand. It is worthy of note, on the authority of Herrera, that not one Spaniard nor negro died on the work.

After the parts are all transported, it is found that much of the green wood is already worm-eaten, and useless. A great flood in the Rio Balsas carries off some of the lumber, covers the materials with mud, and drives the people to the trees to escape the waters. The Spaniards had killed or driven away so many natives that foraging parties brought in but few provisions. Says the Bishop of Chiapa, "When Vasco Nuñez himself was forced to feed on roots it may well be imagined to what extremity six hundred Indian captives were reduced."

But to the gold-mad Spaniards of the sixteenth century all things were possible. They crossed the unknown seas in cockle-shells; invaded latitudes and altitudes radically different from Spain; ascended great rivers; traversed mountain ranges; subdued nations; and annihilated people with culture, in some respects, superior to their own—all in quest of the precious metal. Instead of four brigantines, there is collected timbers enough for only two; and in these, Balboa drops down the river into the gulf which he had named after Saint Michael, and sails out upon the great ocean which he had discovered.¹³

¹² River of the Rafts; doubtless the *Rio Sabana* (Savannah River), of modern maps.

¹³ "Wild as had been the dreams of these ignorant and voracious men, dreams with their Indies and Araby isles, they fell far short of

He goes first to the Pearl Islands, and from Isla Rica, sends his vessels back to the Rio Balsas to bring the rest of the company and stores. Timber is cut and hewn on the south coast, and in time two more brigantines are constructed, making four in all. With a hundred men, Vasco Nuñez took a cruise to the southeast, and after sailing twenty leagues, they ran into a school of whales, which so frightened the mariners that the Adelantado put into Puerto de Piñas on the mainland. This was the territory of Cacique Chuchumá, who had killed Bernardo Morales and his men. The natives now attacked Balboa, but were soon routed with great loss. The wind being contrary, the expedition returned to the Pearl Islands.

In October, 1515, Oviedo left Darien and went to Spain. He reported the bad state of affairs on the Isthmus, and did his utmost to have Pedrarias removed from office. King Ferdinand died January 23, 1516, and it was not until young Charles came into power that Lope de Sosa, acting governor of the Canary Islands, was appointed to succeed Pedrarias. A rumor of this change reached Acla, and was carried over to the Pearl Islands by one of Balboa's lieutenants. If the report proved true, the new governor might materially alter the plan of Vasco Nuñez for exploration on the South Sea.

One evening Balboa was talking with Valderrábano, the notary, and a clerigo named Rodrigo Perez, concerning the coming of Sosa; and remarked, "It seems probable that he is either come or that there is news of his approaching arrival; and if he is come, Pedrarias, my lord, is no longer governor, and we are defrauded of our hopes, and such labors as we have undergone are lost. In order therefore to know best how to proceed in this emergency I am of opinion that it would be well to send some faithful messenger to Acla for our further necessities; and if the new governor has come, we will furnish our ships, and pursue our enterprise as best we can, trusting to his future approval. But if my Lord Pedrarias is still in power, he will allay our fears, and we will then set out upon our voyage, which I trust in God will succeed according to our wishes."

"The wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death." While Vasco Nuñez was speaking, it began to rain (as it generally does towards night in the tropics), and the sentinel, whose duty it was to guard the Adelantado's quarters, took shelter under the eaves of the shack wherein Balboa and

reality. How could they dream of a Montezuma empire waiting expectantly to welcome the destroyer, or of an Inca faction so evenly balanced that so light a hell-flake as a Pizarro might turn it?"—Bancroft.

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his friends were sitting. This fellow heard part of his commander's words, and judged that he was proposing to sail away in his ships and shake off allegiance to Pedrarias or any other governor whose authority might interfere with his plans. In those days, every Spaniard was alert for plots and intrigues, and eager to discover something damaging to his betters, and profitable to himself. The sentinel turned the words over in his dull brain, and resolved to give the information where most welcome and where there was greatest hope of reward.

Iron and pitch were needed to complete the two new brigantines, so Vasco Nuñez sent Andrés Garabito, Luis Botello, Valderrábano, and Fernando Muñoz to fetch the materials from Acla; with particular instructions to ascertain the truth about a change in governors. When near Acla, the party was to halt; and at night one of them would enter the town and go to the house of Vasco Nuñez and learn from the servant whether Pedrarias was recalled. If Lope de Sosa had arrived at Antigua, his friends would return secretly to the South Sea, proclaim Balboa governor, and give him a paper purporting to be his commission. The latter was to deceive his command, so that they would follow him freely on his projected voyage.

However much we are inclined to praise Balboa for the fine things he did, and bemoan his sad ending, we must also admit that he committed some rather stupid mistakes. It was a blunder to open his soul to Pedrarias on his arrival; it was foolish to give up any of his rights on the South Sea; it was stupid to build ships on one coast for use on the other; and the scheme which he and his friends concocted to deceive his men was childish and unnecessary.

Encore, cherchez la femme! It turned out that Garabito was a treacherous friend to Balboa. Las Casas writes that Andrés Garabito fell in love with and sought to be intimate with Careta's daughter, the favorite of Balboa. The two men had some words over the Darien beauty, and Garabito slunk away and waited his turn for revenge. While putting the brigantines together on the Rio Balsas, he wrote to the Governor that Vasco Nuñez intended to throw off allegiance to him as soon as he reached the ocean. To add insult to injury, Garabito affirmed that Vasco Nuñez loved only the Indian girl, and never intended to marry the Governor's daughter. All of which simmered and seethed in the choleric bosom of old Pedrarias.

Luis Botello went into Acla at night, as was agreed, and found out that the new governor had not yet arrived. There was then no further reason for secrecy. The next day Garabito set about to complete his revenge on Vasco Nuñez. He frequented the public places, talked mysteriously, and threw

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out dark hints concerning what Balboa intended to do on the South Sea. He was arrested, of course, and when carried before the magistrate, Garabito required no torture to extract his damnable story. Francisco Benítez, Notary of Acla, hunted up evidence against Vasco Nuñez and carried it to Pedrarias. At this same time, Alonso de la Puente seems to have heard from the eavesdropping sentinel, and repeated the tale to the Governor. Pedrarias received a letter from Vasco Nuñez requesting an extension of the time granted him when he departed from Antigua. The year and a half in which he should return was now up, and Balboa also wrote to the notary, Fernando de Argüello, who had put a lot of money in the expedition, to intercede with the Governor for more time. Pedrarias, as we may imagine, was in a bad humor, and made no promise. Argüello then wrote to Vasco Nuñez that the Governor would neither grant nor deny an extension of time, and advised him to put to sea at once. This letter was intercepted by Pedrarias; and things began to look dark for the Adelantado of the South Sea. Already, Atropos was reaching for her shears.

To give the vicious old man his due, one must allow that now Pedrarias had grounds on which to question the loyalty of his promised son-in-law. Ever since the Governor had come to Tierra Firme, Vasco Nuñez had been as a thorn in his flesh. The first news he heard upon his arrival was that Balboa had found the South Sea. Disease and disaster had carried off his own party, and he knew that the people preferred Vasco Nuñez to himself. Pedrarias had tried to crush his rival, and failed. He was jealous of the fame and popularity of Balboa, and now that he could bring really serious charges against him, he decided in his heart that Vasco Nuñez must die.

In order to get Balboa in his power it was first necessary to lure him away from his three hundred followers on the South Sea, and get him to come to Acla. Pedrarias was an adept at dissimulation, so wrote a nice fatherly letter to Vasco Nuñez begging him to come to Acla and confer with him. The summons was despatched in great haste, and Francisco Pizarro was ordered to take all the soldiers he could muster, and go out and arrest Balboa. In the meantime, the friends of Vasco Nuñez, including Argüello, had been arrested and imprisoned.

The sun had set, and it was night on the Islands of Pearls. The air was heavy with the rich perfume of flowers, and the pacific waves of the South Sea broke lazily on the shores of Isla Rica. The sky was clear, and the Adelantado with his

friends strolled down upon the sands of the great ocean whose portals he had disclosed. He wondered why they had not heard from the party gone to Acla, and spoke of his intention to explore the coast of Biru: with a tender thought, perchance, for the bride-to-be¹⁴ in faraway Castile. Gazing up into the starry heavens—which seem so bright in Panama Bay—Vasco Nuñez saw the star which Micer Codro¹⁵ had pointed out to him as the harbinger of his destiny. "When you behold that star at yonder point, know that your fate approaches; your fortune then will be in jeopardy, and your life in peril. But if you escape that danger, wealth and renown such as have fallen to the lot of no captain in all the Indies will be yours." In gay and careless mood, Vasco Nuñez turned to his companions and remarked, "A sensible man indeed would he be, who should believe in diviners. Behold I see my star in that part of the heavens which Micer Codro called dangerous, when I find myself with four ships and three hundred men on the Sea of the South, just about to navigate it."

Even then, swift messengers were bringing the dissembling letter of Pedrarias which would seal his fate. They found Balboa on the little island of Tortugas. Conscious of no wrong, he suspected no treachery; and leaving his command in charge of Francisco Compañón, Vasco Nuñez immediately set out to meet his father-in-law. On the road, the messengers, convinced of his innocence, told Balboa of recent events at Acla, and warned him that his life was in danger. He refused to believe it, and kept on. As Vasco Nuñez descended the mountains on the north slope of the Isthmus, he was met by the force sent to arrest him. When Pizarro advanced towards his old commander, the latter cast on him a reproachful look and exclaimed, "What is this, Francisco Pizarro? You were not wont to come out in this fashion to receive me!" Balboa made no resistance; and was conducted to Acla in irons, and confined in the house of Castañeda.

The farce of a trial was soon over. Puente, the treasurer, was the chief accuser, ably assisted by Diego Marquez and the bachiller Corral; and urged on by the venomous Governor. Balboa was charged with being a traitor, and attempting to

¹⁴ Miss Maria (Maria de Peñalosa) came out to the Indies as a governor's wife, after all. Her father first betrothed her to Balboa, whose head he chopped off; he then gave her to Rodrigo de Contreras, who succeeded Pedrarias as governor of Nicaragua. Her sister Isabella married Hernando de Soto, who, in 1538, returned to the Indies as governor of Cuba.

¹⁵ A Venetian astrologer who had come to Antigua.

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usurp the rights of the Crown; and the old accusations about Encisco and Nicuesa were revived. It was patent to all that Vasco Nuñez and his principal friends were to be sacrificed to the fear and hate of Pedrarias. Balboa denied the treason, and plead innocence; but the Governor's party clamored for a verdict, and the *alcalde mayor*, Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, reported to Pedrarias that Vasco Nuñez was guilty, and had incurred the penalty of death; but recommended that his life be spared in consideration of his public service.

Balboa claimed the right of appeal to the Council of the Indies, which was denied him; and then to the Jeronimite Fathers at St. Domingo, which was likewise refused. Espinosa shrank from having the blood of this cavalier and discoverer on his soul, and begged the Governor to grant the appeal. "No," said Pedrarias, "since he has sinned, let him die for it" (*pues se peccó, muera por ello*); and ordered the sentence to be immediately executed by decapitation. Unfortunately, Quevedo, the bishop, was away in Spain.

In the evening of that fateful day in Acla, 1517, the guards brought forth the doomed men, heavily ironed, and wended their way towards the scaffold erected in the plaza. Before the little procession walked the town-crier, proclaiming in a loud voice, "This is the justice which our lord the King, and Pedrarias his lieutenant, in his name, command to be done upon this man as a traitor and a usurper of the lands subject to the royal crown."

Hearing which, Balboa, raising his eyes to Heaven, said: "It is a lie and falsehood which is charged against me! Never did I entertain such a thought. It was always my intention to serve the King as a faithful and loyal vassal, and my desire to enlarge his domains with all my power and strength."

The condemned men then confessed, and partook of the sacrament; after which Vasco Nuñez, with firm step and calm demeanor, placed his head upon the block. Like sheep, one after the other, his four friends implicated in the alleged conspiracy were beheaded with him—Andrés de Valderrábano, Luis Botello, Hernan Muñoz, and Fernando de Argüello. When it came the turn of the last, darkness came on; which seemed to the people that God wished to stay the execution. They fell on their knees before Pedrarias and asked that Argüello's life be spared. "It cannot be," exclaimed the hoary-headed Governor, "I would sooner die myself than spare one of them"; and the spurting blood of Argüello mingled with that of his companions. From between the canes forming the wall of a shack, only ten yards away, Pedrarias had

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feasted his eyes on the gory spectacle;" but not satisfied with causing the death of his great rival, he ordered that the head of Vasco Nuñez be stuck upon a pole in the plaza; where it remained many days.

Of those beheaded with Balboa, Valderrábano and Muñoz were with him when he first viewed the South Sea from the Sierra of Quarequá.¹⁶ According to Oviedo, Andrés Garabito¹⁷ was arrested and confined; but turned king's evidence against his party, and was released. At the time of his execution, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was about forty-two years of age. His death has ever been regarded as a juridicial assassination, which has drawn upon its principal author the reprobation of history.¹⁸

"Time, which throws a misty cloud between the present and the past, and strips the hideousness from many iniquitous deeds, drops no friendly mantle over the horrors of that day at Acla. One century after another rolls by, and the colors on the canvas deepen; the red gore dripping from the scaffold becomes redder, the black heart of Pedrarias blacker, and the generous qualities and brilliant achievements of Vasco Nuñez shine yet brighter."—*Bancroft*.

¹⁶ "é desde una casa, que estaba diez ó doce passos de donde los degollaban (como carneros, uno á par de otro) estaba Pedrarias, mirándolos por entre las cañas de la pared de la casa ó buhio."—Oviedo, *lib. XXIX, Cap. XII*.

¹⁷ Rodrigo Perez, the clerigo, was also involved; but Pedrarias was afraid to kill a priest, so sent him to Spain. Perez came back with Salaya in 1522, as an arch-deacon; which leads Oviedo to observe,— "From which it may be seen with what justice Vasco Nuñez was condemned, when his chief accomplice comes back not only acquitted but with honors."

¹⁸ Andrés Garavito fell dead from his horse, while engaged in a game of *cañas* in the new city of Leon, Nicaragua. Francisco Benitez, another informer against Balboa, when in Panama a few years later, died suddenly while lying in his hammock.

¹⁹ "The death of Vasco Nuñez was one of the greatest calamities that could have happened to South America at that time. He had collected his little fleet in the bay of San Miguel, and was about to sail away into the unknown ocean which he had discovered. He would thus have become the discoverer of the great empire of the Yncas, and the conquest of Peru would have formed a very different story from that which is now interwoven with the ill-omened name of Pizarro. For Vasco Nuñez was one of those men who are born to govern their fellows. He had the true genius of a statesman and a warrior, was as humane and judicious as he was firm of purpose and indomitable of will. And this great man was destined to fall through the mean jealousy of a miserable old dotard, whom chance had kicked into power."—Clements R. Markham.

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"Thus perished in the forty-second year of his age the man who, but for that trifle of iron and pitch would probably have been the conqueror of Peru. It was a pity that such work should not have fallen into his hands, for when at length it was done, it was by men far inferior to him in character and calibre. One cannot but wish that he might have gone on his way like Cortes, and worked out the rest of his contemplated career in accordance with the genius that was in him. That bright attractive figure and its sad fate can never fail to arrest the attention and detain the steps of the historian as he passes by. Quite possibly the romantic character of the story may have thrown something of a glamour about the person of the victim, so that unconsciously we tend to emphasize his merits while we touch lightly upon his faults. But after all, this effect is no more than that which his personality wrought upon the minds of contemporary witnesses, who were unanimous in their expressions of esteem for Balboa and of condemnation for the manner of his taking off."—John Fiske, *Discov. of Amer.*, vol. II, p. 383.



CHAGRES RIVER NEAR GORGONA.

Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.

CHAPTER XII

LAST DAYS OF ANTIGUA

And Settlement of Panama

"The Cordillera guards the main
As when Pedrarias bore
The cross, the castled flag of Spain,
To the Pacific shore;
The tide still ebbs a league from quay,
The buzzards scour the emptied Bay."
Edmund C. Stedman.



WE FEEL, as did Peter Martyr, who, in writing of the acts of Pedrarias, says: "I will give them in few words, because they were all horrid transactions; nothing pleasant in any of them." Spain was much wrought up over the execution of Balboa by Pedrarias. Bishop Quevedo¹ denounced him before the Court, but died soon after. Mainly through the efforts of Oviedo, Lope de Sosa was appointed Governor of Castilla del Oro to settle matters in Tierra-firme; and the young Carlos I. soon found his time fully occupied in exercising his imperial duties as Charles V. The friars of San Jerome at St. Domingo tried to restrain Pedrarias by ordering him "to resolve upon nothing by himself, but to follow the advice of the *Cabildo* of Darien; and, moreover, to send to Española all the gold taken from Cacique Paris."

The Governor appointed Espinosa to succeed Vasco Nuñez on the South Sea; but when he received positive information that Sosa was coming, Pedrarias determined to go to the south coast himself. He proposed to the Council at Antigua to remove the capital over to Panamá, and the proposition was promptly rejected, just as he hoped it would be. Pedrarias and

¹ Said the Bishop of Darien to the young emperor, as reported by Las Casas: "Seeing then that the land was going to destruction, and that the first governor [Nicuesa] was bad, and the second [Pedrarias] much worse, and that your Majesty had in a happy hour arrived in these kingdoms, I determined to come and give you intelligence of this, as to my Lord and King."

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his followers then set out for Panamá to establish themselves on the South Coast, leaving Antigua and the less attractive northern side of the Isthmus to welcome the new governor.

Before this time, Diego de Albites had raided the north coast from Chagre to Veragua; returning to Antigua with gold and captives. The *Cabildo* then granted him authority to make settlements in Veragua, and at the old site of Nombre de Dios. At one time the star of Albites seemed to be in the ascendant, and he sought authority on the south coast as well as on the north. He despatched Andrés Niño to Spain with two thousand castellanos to purchase for him a South Sea government; but the sailor returned without the office and minus the money.

Pedrarias, with Espinosa and his other followers, gathered up their valuables, and moved southward over the mountains with all the troops that could be mustered. For the third time the south coast of the Isthmus was officially taken possession of—the mainland on the 27th of January, 1519; and Isla Rica two days later. The Governor took his force, numbering about four hundred men, embarked in the vessels built by Balboa, and sailed to the Island of Taboga, where Badajoz found refuge in 1515. This was convenient to Panamá, about fifteen miles away. The fishing station had been abandoned by Hernan Ponce de Leon, and nobody liked the place; yet there Pedrarias determined to plant himself. On the 15th of August, 1519, Governor Pedrarias Dávila, by formal act, founded the town of *Panamá*; promising to defend the same for Doña Juana, the queen, and Don Carlos, her son. The lands adjoining were partitioned among his followers, and they were sent out to catch Indians, so that every settler soon had from forty to ninety slaves, who died off rapidly, however.

Gaspar de Espinosa was more successful as a looter than as a lawyer, though some may claim a relationship between the terms. He was one of the first great hikers' on the Isthmus, and could not long contain himself in the dull courts of justice. Ever since his first expedition to the southern coast he had been thinking of those baskets full of gold, retaken by Cacique *Paris*. Part had been extracted from Quema, by the gentle persuasion of artistic torture; but the greater portion remained in the hands of Paris, causing many sleepless nights to come to the Alcalde Mayor.

² These expeditions were accompanied by priests, who were ready to baptize the natives as soon as they acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Spain and embraced Christianity. Among the clergy was Father Francisco de San Roman, noted for his kindness to the Indians. He reports seeing about 40,000 natives killed by the sword or dogs.

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With a hundred and fifty men, Espinosa sailed westward to the domain of Paris, ascended the river in canoes, and surprised his village by night. This splendid chieftain had recently died, and Cutara, his son, ruled in his place. The town was plundered in the usual way, and the Christians were just about to depart, when someone suggested that it would be well to search about the corpse of Paris, then lying in state. *Gracias-á-Dios!* There was the long-sought gold; to the value of forty thousand castellanos. Espinosa then obtained a lot of maize from Chief Biruquete, and went back to Panamá very well pleased with himself. Half of the treasure was buried, and Pedrarias and Espinosa carried the other half over to Antigua. The Alcalde Mayor paid the royal tax, and returned to Panamá; from whence he set out to explore the coast to the west, with Juan de Castañeda as pilot. They sailed one hundred and eighty leagues, entered a gulf he named Culebras, and came back laden with maize, and gold to the value of thirty-three thousand castellanos.

Pedrarias asked the cabildo at Antigua to let him go to Spain to look after his interests there, but they turned down his application. If he wanted to go, he could give up his office and submit to a *residencia*. Returning to Panamá, he found provisions scarce, and many suffering from fever. The people preferred a roving life of plunder, and did not want to settle down as citizens and become self-supporting.

The much talked-of inter-oceanic chain of posts was not yet established. In 1519, the same year Panamá was started, Diego de Albites sailed from Darien to found a settlement in Veragua. About Punta Manzanillo one of his vessels sprung a leak, and he put back to the isle of Bastimentos, where it foundered. The Indians helped to carry his party over to the mainland in canoes, and he started in to build a town on the site of Nombre de Dios, where Nicuesa had located his capital. This settlement was permanent; and, until about 1597, *Nombre de Dios* remained the northern terminus of trade across the Isthmus. Thus by chance, there was established on either coast a stable settlement, directly opposite each other in a north and south line, and at one of the narrowest regions and easiest passes on the Isthmus. A roadway was gradually opened from sea to sea, which became the famous *Camino Real*, paved and bridged; and wide enough for two carts to pass, according to Peter Martyr.

In May, 1520, the new governor, Lope de Sosa, with three hundred men, finally arrived at Antigua. Pedrarias was there at the time, and prepared to receive him with becom-

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ing ceremony. Sosa gave orders for the disembarkation, entered his cabin to dress for the occasion, was taken ill, and expired. Pedrarias buried him before the altar of the church with every outer manifestation of grief, but his wicked old heart was rejoicing within him. Sosa had been empowered to bring about reforms in Castilla del Oro, and with him returned Oviedo, clothed with new offices in addition to those already possessed. With Sosa came also Juan Rodriguez de Alarconcillo as *alcalde mayor*.

Secure in his office at least for some time, Pedrarias had his *residencia* taken by Alarconcillo; during which no charges were preferred. Oviedo opposed moving the capitol to Panamá, and was told by the Governor that he could remain at Antigua and govern the place to suit himself. Oviedo presented his credentials to the Council in November, 1521, and started in to correct abuses with all the zeal of a reformer. Blasphemy and gambling were prohibited; and the keeping of mistresses, and trading in Indian children were forbidden. This was simply playing into the hands of Pedrarias, as no Spanish colony could exist under such new and startling regulations. Among the excellent things Oviedo did, was to open mines, build ships, and send out peaceful expeditions. Out of some old iron, he made five hundred hatchets, which were sold to the Indians at a good figure. When these became dull, and their owners not knowing how to sharpen them, Oviedo put three large grindstones in a vessel, and coasted along the Isthmus, sharpening, out of sight, the implements which he had sold, and charging therefor a sum equal to the original cost. This the Indians cheerfully paid; and during one voyage, seven thousand castellanos were thus secured.

During the regime of Oviedo at Antigua, cacique Bea slew a few Spaniards, including Martin de Burga, *visitador* to the Indians. Juan de Escaray took forty men and went out and punished the rebellious cacique. On July 1, 1522, Rodrigo Perez, the clerical friend of Vasco Nuñez, returned to Antigua, and in the same vessel came the licentiate Sancho de Salaya, another *alcalde mayor*. His first dispensation of justice fell upon chief Corobari, who was sentenced to be burnt; after which the judge proceeded to Panamá. As Antigua became depopulated, the natives revived courage, and conspired to burn the town. Oviedo, in person, took the field with forty men, captured cacique Guaturo, and hanged him. During these insurrections in Darien, I have been able to find no further mention of cacique Cemaco, and judge that he must have died or emigrated from his territory.

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To add to his troubles, Oviedo had the misfortune to lose his wife and son while at Antigua. One of his official acts was to send the bachiller Corral to Spain in chains; but the lawyer soon returned, and was appointed by Pedrarias to relieve Oviedo. When the order was read in council, Oviedo—who held a commission from the emperor as *regidor perpetuo*—laid aside his staff of office as president and took a seat among the members, saying, "This is my place, given me by the emperor; here will I henceforth serve their Majesties, as in duty bound, and here only." The people of Antigua then elected Oviedo to represent them in Spain. While waiting for a vessel, he brought charges against the Governor before Alarconcillo; for which he suffered a dangerous wound at the hands of an assassin. Pedrarias then ordered his *residencia* to be taken, and even placed him in irons until bonds should be given. Oviedo got through his *residencia* with a fine of twenty castellanos for sending Corral to Spain. There was another attempt to murder him; so on the 3rd of July, 1523, he embarked on a vessel for Nombre de Dios, but bore off to Cuba, and thence to Spain.

With the departure of Oviedo, Antigua rapidly went down; until only Diego Ribero was left. In September, 1524, he and his entire family were killed by the Indians, and the town reduced to ashes. Darien returned to nature, and to the dominion of the few surviving natives. From that day until this, the white man has not been able to establish himself in the eastern part of the Isthmus.

Contemporary maps do not give the location of the town of Darien or Antigua. Later cartographers indicate its site on the west side of the gulf of Urabá, within Cabo Tiburon. We find the name also written Dariena, Daryen, Darion, Dariem, Tarena, Tariene, etc. Oveido declares that, after the capture of Cemaco's village, the bachiller Encisco found that the river which flows by the settlement possessed the same name, so he ordered the town to be called *La Guardia* (The Guard). A little later, when Encisco was deposed, Balboa commanded that the place be called Santa Maria de la Antigua.

"Todo lo que es dicho, desde el cabo de la Aguya y Sancta Marta, descubrió el capitan Rodrigo de Bastidas, como está dicho en el libro III de la primera parte de aquesta *Historia general de Indias*; pero no vido la Cuenta ni el rio grande de Sanct Johan que en ella entra: que aquello despues lo descubrió el adelantado Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, como se dirá adelante en su lugar. En estas dos costas del golpho de Urabá fueron fundados los dos primeros pueblos que ovo de chripstianos en la Tierra-Firme: el primer el de Urabá, y el segundo el de la Guardia, á par del rio Darien; la qual problaçion se llamó despues *Sancta Maria de la Antiqua*, como se dirá adelante. En esta provincia de Caribana se acaba la gente de los flecheros de la hierba, la qual tura desde ençima de la isla de la Trenidad, y algo mas al Oriente, y de la otra parte del golpho de Urabá, en la costa del Poniente do es la

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Cuenta y entrada de aquel poderoso rio de Sanct Johan. Y adelante es la lengua que llaman de Cueva, y no usan los indios flechas; y porque en este golpho de Urabá cogian desde los navios del capitan Bastidas agua dulce en ocho bracas, llamaron á esta ensenada Mar Dulce, de la qual adelante en su lugar y tiempo se dirán mas particularidades, y de aquella provincia y lengua de Cueva, la qual, so ciertos limites, la mandó llamar el Rey Cathólico *Castilla del Oro*; y alli he yo residido algund tiempo—*tomo II. lib XXI. cap. VI*

CHAPTER XIII

GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA

The First Conquistador in Nicaragua

"But we, who sought for China's strand,
By ocean ways untried,
Forgot our mission when we cast
Our anchor in a tide
That kissed a gem too wondrous fair
For any eastern sea to wear."

Thomas Frost.



ANDRÉS NIÑO, the pilot, who had been with Vasco Nuñez on the South Sea, got a notion into his head that the Spice Islands and oriental splendor, which all were still seeking, were not very far from the south shore of the Isthmus. All he needed was ships; so in 1519, we find him back in Spain soliciting the Council of the Indies for the vessels of Vasco Nuñez, in which to sail on the South Sea in search of the Moluccas. Niño succeeded no better for himself than he had for Diego de Albites, and was about losing hope, when he was referred to the contador of Hispaniola, Gil Gonzalez Dávila,¹ then at the Court of Spain.

Gil Gonzalez was a man of good family, considerable influence, and stood well with the all-powerful Fonseca. He entered into the scheme of the famous pilot, and the rest was easy. Gil Gonzalez was to be captain-general of the expedition, Niño a partner and pilot; and Andrés de Cereceda the contador. By royal order² issued at Barcelona the 18th of June, 1519, the governor of Castilla del Oro was directed to turn over to Gil Gonzalez the vessels built by Balboa. Lope de Sosa, who had not yet left Spain, promised to aid the enterprise in every way he could. The expedition, consisting

¹ No relation to Pedrarias Dávila.

² As showing the increase of European stock in the recently settled island of Jamaica, the crown agreed to furnish there 500 hogs for the expedition, in addition to 2,000 loads of cassava.

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of two hundred men, landed at Acla prior to the arrival of Sosa at Antigua. Gil Gonzalez despatched the royal order to Pedrarias by the hand of Juan de Sauce, who delivered it in the presence of the notary, Martin Estete.

It is interesting to witness how the villainous old hypocrite received the royal command. "And forthwith the said lieutenant-general," writes the notary, "took the said cédula of his Highness in his hands and kissed it, and placed it on his head, and said that he would obey it, and that he did obey it with the utmost reverence he could and ought, as a letter and commandment of his king and natural lord, whom may it please God our Lord to let live and reign during many and long years, with increase of kingdoms and seignories; and, as to the fulfilment thereof, that his lordship would see to it, and answer and provide therefor as might be conducive to his Highness' service."

The foxy Pedrarias did not want to have such an influential man as was Gil Gonzalez in his territory, so offered many excuses, and finally refused to deliver the ships. Gil Gonzalez thought he could wait until the new governor arrived; but here fortune favored Pedrarias, and Sosa died before setting foot on the Isthmus. Even this did not discourage the persistent Gil Gonzalez, and he took apart his ships and carried them over the mountain to the Rio Balsas, just as Balboa had done. He put together four vessels, and like Vasco Nuñez again, lost them before getting out of the river. The party, reduced more than half in number since leaving Acla, then went to the Pearl Islands in canoes.

Rendered desperate, Gil Gonzalez insisted that Pedrarias furnish men to help build new ships; and in time four miserable vessels were ready at the Pearl Islands. After losing most of his men, and spending all his wealth, Gil Gonzalez started out on the 21st of January, 1522. After sailing westward a hundred leagues, he was obliged to beach three of his ships, on account of the worm-holes, while the fourth was sent back to Panamá for pitch and other necessary articles. Landing his four horses, and one hundred men, the commander followed the coast by land, directing Niño to take the ships on for eighty or a hundred leagues, and wait for him in some safe harbor. The Christians trudged along for many days through mud and rain, and burning heat, gathering gold from the Indians, and baptizing them afterwards.*

* The writer has travelled through this region, and is convinced that the Spaniards found the country much more populated than it now is, with less undergrowth and better trails.

It is worth noting that Gil Gonzalez made no war, and was not warred upon. These Spaniards thirsted for gold, but without bloodshed, if possible. In time they came to what they called an island, where the floods descended, and they sought refuge in the chief's "palace," surrounded by water for a fortnight. The ground became so softened that the posts of the house slowly sank into the earth; when the Spaniards cut their way through the roof, and dwelt in the tree-tops for several days until the waters went down. After much tribulation, softened by frequent hauls of golden ornaments, they came to a gulf, which Gil Gonzalez called *San Vicente*.⁴ Here to their great joy they found Andrés Niño with the ships.

The commander was suffering with cramps from exposure, and wished the pilot to lead the land party, but the men would not have it; so they started off as before, leaving two ships in the gulf in charge of the treasure. Near the head of the gulf, Gil Gonzalez met a cacique, whose name was *Nicoya*, who presented the white men with gold to the value of fourteen thousand castellanos. He permitted himself to be baptized, and gave up his golden idols—which the Christians immediately cherished. *Nicoya* warned the white men of a great chieftain, fifty leagues to the northward, whose name was *Nicaragua*.⁵ "He is wise as well as valiant, and your little army will quickly melt before his warrior host." He was reputed to have much gold, so the Spaniards thought they would hazard an interview with the redoubtable cacique.

Gil Gonzalez sent messengers ahead to announce his coming, and was received by *Nicaragua* in a peaceful manner. He inquired if the bearded white men came from heaven, and the interpreter assured him they did. "But how," asked *Nicaragua*, "directly down, like the flight of an arrow, or riding a cloud, or in a circuit like a bent bow?" The chief wanted to know of the Deluge which had destroyed the earth, and whether there would be another; or would the sky fall and end all? Where did the sun and moon obtain their light; and whence came heat, and cold, and darkness? How large were the stars, and who held them in the heavens and moved them about? What honor was due the God of the Christians, and why did he not make a better world? Whither went the ever-

⁴ Later and stilled called Golfo de *Nicoya*, after the chieftain of that name. Perhaps the San Lúcar of Hurtado, though I doubt if he got this far north.

⁵ Also written *Nicarao*. A later writer, more ingenious than learned gives *Nicarao-agua* as the origin of the name for the lake, and the region thereabout.

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lasting soul when it left the body? Did the Pope never die; was the King of Spain mortal; and why did the Christians so love gold? (*vide* end of chapter).

These remarkable questions, uttered by a half-naked barbarian, astounded the Spaniards, but we are assured by Cereceda and others present that their commander answered them all in a skillful and Christian manner. The priest baptized the cacique and his people to the number of 9,017, large and small, all in one day, so it was affirmed.

Nicaragua's capital stood on a large body of water, which, on tasting, was found to be fresh. Gil Gonzalez rode his horse into the lake, and took possession; calling it *Mar Dulce*, or fresh-water sea. The expedition had set out to find the Moluccas, and Gil Gonzalez was looking out for the supposed strait through Tierra Firme. A canoe was sent out on the great lake to explore it. "The pilots I had with me," writes the commander in his narrative of the expedition, "certify that it opens into the North Sea; and if so it is a great discovery, as the distance from one sea to the other* is but two or three leagues of very level road."

A distant cacique, called *Diriangen*, heard of these celestial visitors, and their mysterious rites of salvation, and resolved to pay them a visit. In the van of his train were five hundred unarmed warriors, each carrying one or two live turkeys, followed by ten men with banners. Then came seventeen women nearly covered with plates of gold; after which were five trumpeters; and lastly, the chief men of the tribe, bearing on their shoulders a palanquin adorned with colored cloths and feathers, in which sat *Diriangen*. He presented his gold plates and two hundred golden hatchets, valued at eighteen thousand castellanos, to Gil Gonzalez. The latter asked the chief if he did not wish to become a Christian, and a subject of the King of Spain; to which *Diriangen* replied that he would consult with his women and priests, and return an answer within three days. The wily barbarian then mounted his litter and was borne away.

Three days later—April 17, 1522—*Diriangen* suddenly appeared at the head of three thousand of his tribesmen, armed with flint-toothed swords, lances, and arrows, and wearing wadded cotton coats. There was a desperate hand to hand fight; when the Indians gave way, and were driven off by the mounted commander and two other horsemen.[†] After

* Meaning from the Pacific Ocean to Lake Nicaragua.

† Strange to say, there is no mention of dogs on this expedition.

this evidence of hostility, the Spaniards decided to return to Panamá.

Having discovered the vulnerability of the bearded strangers, the baptized Indians suddenly apostatized, and harassed the Spaniards during their march back to the ships; Nicaragua's people being the most aggressive. While in this region, Gil Gonzalez inquired if any white men had entered the country from Mexico, but found that he was the first to arrive in the territory about Lake Nicaragua. Gil Gonzalez reached the gulf of San Vicente eight days after the return of Niño and his party. The pilot reported that he had coasted three hundred and fifty leagues northwesterly, reaching possibly the southern limit of Cortes' conquest. He discovered a large bay which Gil Gonzalez called Fonseca, in honor of his friend the bishop of Burgos; a name which it still retains. To an island within this bay he gave the name of his niece, Petronila.

The expedition returned to Panamá on the 25th of June, 1523, with gold to the value of 112,000 pesos. Gil Gonzalez reported that he had converted to Christianity 32,000 souls; so the rate per soul can easily be calculated. With a small and poorly equipped party, Gil Gonzalez had traversed more strange territory without losing a man, and brought back more gold, than any other captain on Tierra Firme. Old Pedrarias, of course, undertook to get some of that gold, and all the credit for the success of the enterprise which he had tried his best to defeat. Gil Gonzalez took his gold, left Panamá by stealth, and escaped in a caravel lying at Nombre de Dios, which he had purchased for a thousand castellanos, just as the minions of the Governor appeared on the shore with a warrant for his arrest.

Gil Gonzalez reached Española in safety, where the royal *Andiencia* approved of his acts, and advised him to proceed at once to the eastern shore of Tierra Firme opposite his Freshwater Sea, and search for a passage to it from the North Sea, thereby avoiding collision with Pedrarias. Gil Gonzalez despatched his treasurer, Antonio de Cereceda, to Spain with a report to the king, and a map of the west coast of Tierra Firme from Panamá to the gulf of Fonseca. He then paid over the king's share of the gold, and sailed from Santo Domingo, in the spring of 1524, to hunt for the strait supposed to communicate with his Mar Dulce. The equatorial current, here flowing northward, carried him north of the *Desaguadero* (San Juan) river, and Cape Gracias á Dios, where the land turns to the west. He reached the mainland on the north shore of Honduras, and entered a port about

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twenty leagues east of Golfo Dulce, where a storm obliged him to throw overboard some horses to save his ship, from which it was called *Puerto de Caballos*.⁸ The wind drove him westward to Golfo Dulce, where he took possession and started the colony of San Gil de Buenavista. With the remainder of his men he coasted to the east, disembarked between Cape Honduras and Cape Camarones, and started southward overland to find Lake Nicaragua.

As he approached his Mar Dulce, Gil Gonzalez met a body of Spaniards commanded by Hernando de Soto, sent out by Córdoba, the lieutenant of Pedrarias in Nicaragua. They had a fight at a place called Toreba, and Gil Gonzalez finally overmastered Soto; securing his treasure amounting to one hundred and thirty thousand castellanos. Satisfied with his success, and not prepared to meet a superior force under Córdoba, Gil Gonzalez returned to Puerto Caballos.

Ever since the subjugation of Mexico—which was accomplished in 1521—Hernando Cortés had been hearing of rich domains to his south. In addition, he was urged by Charles V. to look for the strait which all were seeking. On the 11th of January, 1522, Cortés despatched a fleet of six vessels from *San Juan de Chalchihucuecan*—now Vera Cruz—under command of Cristóbal de Olid, with instructions to hunt for a strait as far south as Darien. Arriving at Honduras, Olid turned traitor to Cortés, and started in to possess the country on his own account. When Gil Gonzalez got back to Puerto Caballos, he found there the fleet from Mexico under Olid. This made three opposing Spanish expeditions in the region of the present Nicaragua and Honduras—Gil Gonzalez, the first explorer, with authority from the crown; Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba and his captains who were trying to steal the land for Pedrarias; and Cristóbal de Olid, sent from Mexico by Cortés, who had determined to seize the land for himself.*

At this time, Francisco de las Casas, sent by Cortés to chastise the rebel Olid, appears on the scene and takes a hand in the game. What joy for the Red Men to see these bearded White Devils fighting among themselves! Olid finally captures

* The present *Puerto Cortés* (Porto Cortez) where Hernando Cortés arrived a short time after, on his march from Mexico.

⁸ "It was a golden chain of treachery thus lengthening itself from the capital of the Indies through Mexico and into the wilderness of Central America; Velasquez revolts from Diego Colon, Cortés from Velasquez, Olid from Cortés, and Briones from Olid"—*Bancroft*.

"A wild scramble ensued—every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."—*Fiske*.

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Casas and Gil Gonzalez; but is stabbed by the pair while entertaining them at his table, and crawls away to an Indian hut to die. Casas becomes master of the situation, and Gil Gonzalez accompanies him through Guatemala to Mexico. When they arrive there, conditions had changed, and they barely escaped execution at the hands of the enemies of Cortés. Ultimately, both were sent to Spain for trial. Gil Gonzalez was wrecked on the island of Fayal, but reached Seville in April, 1526; where he was confined in the atarazana, or arsenal. Liberated on parole, as a knight commander of Santiago, he returned to his home at Avila; where he soon died, deeply repentant of his sins, we are told, on the 26th day of April, 1526.

Gomara's account of the questions addressed by Nicaragua to the Christians:

"Pasó grandes pláticas y disputas con Gil Gonzalez y religiosos Nicaragua, que agudo era, y sabio en sus ritos y antigüedades. Preguntó si tenían noticia los cristianos del gran diluvio que anegó la tierra, hombres y animales, é si habia de haber otro; si la tierra se habia de trastornar ó caer el cielo; cuándo ó cómo perderian su claridad y curso el sol, la luna y estrellas; qué tan grandes eran; quien las movia y tenia. Preguntó la causa de la escuridad de las noches y del frio, tachando la natura, que no hacia siempre claro y calor, pues era mejor; qué honra y gracias se debian al Dios trino de cristianos, que hizo los cielos y sol, á quien adoraban por Dios en aquellas tierras, la mar, la tierra, el hombre, que señorea las aves que volan y peces que nadan, y todo lo al del mundo. Dónde tenían de estar las almas, y qué habian de hacer salidas del cuerpo, pues vivian tan poco, siendo inmortales. Preguntó asimesmo si moria el santo padre de Roma, vicario de Cristo, Dios de cristianos; y cómo Jesu, siendo Dios, es hombre, y su madre, virgen pariendo; y si el emperador y rey de Castilla, de quien tantas proezas, virtudes y poderio contaban, era mortal; y para qué tan pocos hombres querian tanto oro como buscaban.

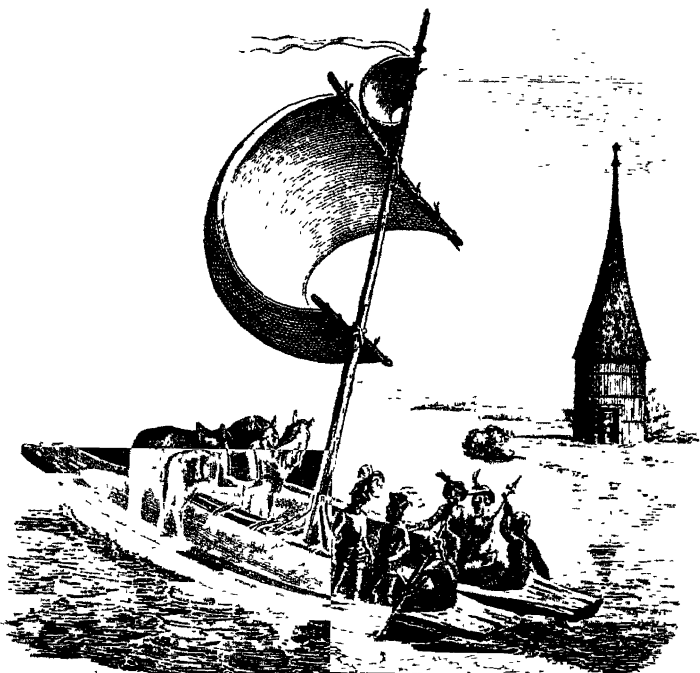
Gil Gonzalez y todos los suyos estuvieron atentos y maravillados oyendo tales preguntas y palabras á un hombre medio desnudo, bárbaro, y sin letras, y ciertamente fué un admirable razonamiento el de Nicaragua, y nunca indio, á lo que alcanzo, habló como él á nuestros españoles. Respondióle Gil Gonzalez como cristiano, y lo mas filosóficamente que supo, y satisfizole á cuanto preguntó harto bien. No pongo las razones, que sería fastidioso, pues cada uno que fuere cristiano las sabe y las puede considerar, y con la respuesta lo convirtió. Nicaragua, que atentísimo estuvo al sermon y diálogo, preguntó a oído al faraute si aquella tan sutil y avisada gente de España venia del cielo, y si bajó en nubes ó volando, y pidió luego el baptismo, consintiendo derribar los idolos."

Historia de las Indias, Francisco Lopez de Gomara.



From Oviedo, *Historia General*, tom 1

SLOTH — Perico Ligeró



From Oviedo *Historia General*, tom. 1.

METHOD OF TRANSPORTING HORSES.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SPANIARDS ON PANAMA BAY

Pedrarías Seizes Nicaragua

AL EMPERADOR.

"No tuera Alcides, no famoso tanto,
Ni durara en el mundo hoy su memoria,
Si menos cara hubiera la victoria
De los monstruos que aun hoy causan espanto,
La fuerte emulacion con todo cuanto
Contrasta casi al par con vuestra gloria
Harán al fin, Señor, que vuestra historia
Nos dure con eterno é inmortal canto
El vencer tan soberbios enemigos,
Sujetar tantos monstruos, tanta gente
Con el valor que el cielo en vos derrama.
Al siglo por venir serán testigos
Del honor que dará perpetuamente
A Carlos Quinto Máximo la fama."

Gutierre de Cetina.



SO WE have seen, Panamá¹ was founded on the 15th of August, 1519, by Pedrarías Dávila. The new settlement on the south coast of the Isthmus rapidly absorbed the residents of Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien, and attracted new-comers arriving at Acla or Nombre de Dios. By royal decree issued at Burgos, September 15th, 1521, Panamá was created a city, receiving the title "*Nueva Ciudad de Panamá*." Its coat of arms was a shield on golden field divided; on the right was a yoke, the device of the Catholic kings; below which was a handful of gray arrows, with blue points and silver feathers. On the left two caravels; over which shines the north star, significant of discovery and commerce. Around the field was a border of castles and lions; the whole surmounted by a golden crown.

¹ The city we now speak of as Old Panama.

"Panama was founded in the year 1519, on the day of Nuestra Señora de Agosto, and at the end of that year a captain named Diego Alvites founded Nombre de Dios, by order of Pedrarías." * * *

"The governor divided the land amongst the four hundred citizens who then settled in Panama, leaving a certain portion of the province of Cueva for the citizens of Acla. But as the captains, who had made

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Among the special privileges granted the new city, was that for the first ten years it had to pay only a tenth on gold; the eleventh year, one ninth; the twelfth, one eighth; and so on to the fifteenth year, when the usual fifth would be collected. Later on, by decree dated from Lisbon, December 3rd, 1581, Panamá received the honors and titles of "*muy Noble y muy Leal*" (very Noble and very Faithful); and her *regidores* enjoyed the title of *veinticuatro*s, as in Seville and Córdoba.

The first *regidores*, or aldermen, of Panama, were Gonzalo de Badajoz, Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, Rogel de Loris, Pascual de Andagoya, Martin Estete, Benito Hurtado, Luis de la Rocha, and Francisco Gonzalez. The new *alcalde mayor*, Hernando de Salaya, was made lieutenant of Pedrarias in Panama. Alonso de la Puente, the treasurer; Diego Marquez, the contador; and Miguel Juan de Ribas, the factor, still retained office. Fray Vicente de Peraza, the successor of bishop Quevedo, was still at Antigua in 1524. Pedrarias used his blandishments on the bishop, and induced him to transfer the episcopal see over to the new city. Peraza had not been long in Panama before he and Pedrarias quarreled at cards, during which the bishop told the governor what he thought of him; and soon after the bishop died. Then the vicious old wretch had words with Salaya, the *alcalde mayor*, and threatened to chop off his head. "More than one head you have wrongfully cut off," retorted Salaya, "but he who cuts off my head must have a better head than mine; and that you have not." Then the governor got friendly again, and Salaya suddenly died. Everybody believed that Pedrarias had poisoned these men, but no charges were ever preferred against him.

In 1522, Pascual de Andagoya was appointed Inspector-General of the Indians, and went to explore the country east of the gulf of San Miguel, called *Chochama*; where the natives

many incursions into the country from Darien, had carried off great numbers of Indians, and as the land was of small extent from one sea to the other, there were very few Indians at the time that the land was divided, and the governor could give only ninety Indians in *repartimiento*, or fifty or forty. And as each cacique had to give nearly all his Indians, who were required to till the ground and build houses, and as those that remained were taken off to the mines, where they died, in a short time neither chiefs nor Indians were to be found in all the land."—*Pascual de Andagoya*, trans. by Clements R. Markham.

Bancroft states that: "The boundaries of the municipality extended about forty-five leagues in every direction from the three leagues of city lands in the centre."

Herrera says that Panama was much disliked by the settlers, on account of its unhealthy situation, and that 40,000 men were computed to have died there of disease within the first twenty-eight years after the founding of the city.

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were raided during the periods of the full moon by some fierce tribesmen, who drove them from their fisheries and slew many of their number.

This warlike people came from a province called *Birú*, which name was corrupted by the Spaniards into *Pirú*, and finally into the *Perú* of Francisco Pizarro. Chief Chochama begged Andagoya to protect him; and together they set out to chastise the warriors of *Birú*. Ascending a large river for twenty leagues, the allied forces came upon the enemy in a sort of native fortress. The people of *Birú* defended themselves with great bravery, but could not withstand the superior skill of the Christians, and were forced to come to terms. While in this region, the Spaniards received further information concerning the great empire of the Incas to the southward. Returning to his ships, the commander continued down the coast, exploring the shore in canoes. One day his canoe was overturned in the surf, and Andagoya was saved only by the brave efforts of one of the natives whom he had befriended. A rheumatic fever² followed this exposure, and caused him to abandon the exploration. Andagoya turned back to Panama, where he arrived in safety with a few captives.

Juan Basuto was then authorized to continue the discovery of Andagoya, but his sudden death checked further preparations. Despite the glowing reports brought back by Andagoya confirming the existence of a rich nation to the south, there was no other expedition in that direction until the sailing of Pizarro.

The attention of Pedrarias was directed to the west and north of Panama, rather than to the east and south. In the sierra of Veragua, on the south coast, dwelt a powerful cacique named *Urracá*. He was reported to have much gold; so Espinosa by sea, and Pizarro by land, started out after the mountain chieftain. *Urracá* sent his women, children, and infirm to a place of safety, and fiercely attacked the Spaniards with his fighting men. The licentiate was getting the worst of it, when Hernando de Soto came up with thirty of Pizarro's men and saved the Spaniards. When the latter retreated, the Indians fell upon them in the defiles of the mountains, and it was only by the most desperate efforts that the white men got back to the ships.

² Andagoya writes that it was fully three years before he was again able to ride on horseback. Indeed, Montesinos affirms that the illness of Andagoya arose not from getting wet in the sea, but from a fall from his horse, while showing off his horsemanship to the wondering eyes of the Indians.

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Espinosa wished to found a colony at *Natá*,³ the most attractive place yet visited on the Isthmus. He left at *Natá* fifty men under *Compañón*, and returned to Panama. *Urracá* threatens *Compañón* by night and kills one of his men, but is scared off by a single Spanish soldier. Runners are despatched for aid, and *Hernando Ponce de Leon* and the governor himself appear with reinforcements. They go out after *Urracá* and fight for five days, but are forced to come back to *Natá*, leaving the cacique unbeaten. *Pedrarias* divides the lands and captive Indians among such of his soldiers as elect to settle at *Natá*, and sixty choose to remain and start a pueblo. *Diego de Albites* is left as the governor's lieutenant, and finally makes peace with *Urracá*; which displeases *Pedrarias*, who appoints *Francisco Compañón* to govern *Natá*.

Chiriquí was the name of a province west of *Veragua*, and *Benito Hurtado* was sent there to found a settlement. The country was thinly populated, and the two principal chiefs, *Vareclas* and *Burica*, submitted without resistance. For two years the colony remained unmolested; but the Spaniards became unbearable, and the Indians rose in revolt. *Urracá* again took up arms, but was induced to visit *Natá* under solemn assurance of safety. When in their power, the Spaniards put the chief in irons, and sent him to *Nombre de Dios*, with the intention of shipping him to Spain. Luckily, the brave cacique burst his bonds, and returned to his home to wage a relentless warfare against the white invaders. Like his prototype, the *Quibian*, on the north coast of *Veragua*, *Urracá* escaped the vengeance of the Christians, and died among his own people.

When *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés*, inspector and historian, fled from *Antigua* in 1523, he first went to *Cuba*, where he was entertained by the governor, *Diego Velasquez*. Later, *Oviedo* went to *Española*, and was invited by *Diego Colon* to take passage with him for *Seville*; where he arrived in November, 1523. As delegate for the city of *Antigua*, he entered complaints against *Pedrarias*, and urged the appointment of a new governor. He was opposed by the wife of *Pedrarias*, and the *bachiller Corral*; both in Spain at the time. They involved him in litigation for two years; but the *veedor* succeeded in displacing *Pedrarias*, and in securing the appointment of *Pedro de los Rios*, of *Córdoba*, as governor of *Castilla del Oro*, and of the *licenciado Juan de Salmeron* as *alcalde mayor* and judge of *residencia*.

³ *Oviedo* considered *Natá* the best of the Spanish settlements. He describes the town as being "two leagues from the sea up a river."

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As Pedrarias retired from Antigua, and settled himself on the South Sea when Lope de Sosa was appointed to relieve him, so now he opened up a line of retreat to Nicaragua, by taking advantage of the recent discovery by Gil Gonzalez. His first step was to despatch thither as his lieutenant, Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, with Gabriel de Rojas, Francisco Compañon, and Hernando de Soto as captains; who sailed from Panama in 1524. Córdoba founded a settlement at Urutina on the eastern shore of the gulf of Nicoya, which he called *Brusélas*; dismantled by order of Diego Lopez Salcedo in 1527. Then he marched to the Mar Dulce, and at Nequecheri, on the shore of the lake, he started the city of *Granada*. To the north-west, in the province of Nagrando, Córdoba founded another city which he called *Leon*. One of the brigantines was taken apart, carried overland, and rebuilt on Lake Nicaragua. The Freshwater Sea was explored and found to have an outlet in the Rio San Juan, which, on account of the rocks and rapids, was not navigated. One day Córdoba heard of a strange body of white men marching down from the north, and sent out Soto to investigate, who came in conflict with Gil Gonzalez Dávila, as we have already related.

Soon after Córdoba settled in Nicaragua,⁴ encouraged by the Audiencia at St. Domingo, he planned to throw off allegiance to Pedrarias; and called on the citizens of Leon⁵ and Granada⁶ to petition the king for his appointment as independent governor. This was opposed by Soto and Compañon, who each thought himself as deserving of that office as Córdoba. Hernando de Soto was imprisoned in the fortress of Granada, but Compañon, with a few adherents, liberated his companion, and together they took the field against Córdoba. The latter was too nice a man, and too squeamish about chopping off heads to be a successful rebel, and allowed Soto to escape to the south.

⁴ "This land was very populous and fertile, yielding supplies of maize, and many fowls of the country, and certain small dogs which they also eat, and many deer and fish. It is a very salubrious land. The Indians were very civilized in their way of life, like those of Mexico, for they were a people who had come from that country, and they had nearly the same language." Andagoya further tells us that they had many beautiful women, and that both sexes wore clothes made of cotton. There was very little gold in the land, and the Indians traded in the markets with cacao, as in New Spain. Wives made their husbands attend on them, and perform household labor, and even raised their hands against them, and turned them out of doors.

In later years, the Spaniards called the region about Granada and Leon, *Mahomet's Paradise*.

⁵ In 1610, Leon was removed from its location on Lake Managua to

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In the meantime Cortés had made his famous march down from Mexico, and had established himself at Trujillo, on the north coast of Honduras. He was pondering about seizing the country to the southward, when Córdoba, in dilemma, offered to Cortés the province of Nicaragua on condition that he should remain in command as his lieutenant. Unfortunately for Córdoba and the natives, affairs in Mexico required the immediate return of Cortés, who sailed from Trujillo on the 25th of April, 1526; leaving Saavedra behind in command.

Hernando de Soto with ten faithful followers started southward to Panamá. The horses became an encumbrance in crossing the mountains and penetrating the jungles, and were abandoned. Footsore, ragged, and weary, the little band of Spaniards arrived at the town of *Fonseca*, in Chiriqui, lately founded by Benito Hurtado, who relieved their wants and provided Soto with a canoe in which to continue his journey toward Panamá. He reached Natá in safety, and sent to the governor a report of the revolt of Córdoba. Hoping to gain favor with Pedrarias, Hurtado started toward Nicaragua with all his able-bodied men, to bring Córdoba and his rebels to terms. The infirm white men left at Fonseca, after waiting in vain for the return of Hurtado, abandoned the post, and set out toward the gulf of Nicoya in search of their commander.

When Pedrarias heard of the defection of Córdoba, other factors, also, determined his departure for Nicaragua. He had heard of the encroachments of Hernando Cortés on the north, and knew that Pedro de los Rios would soon relieve him on the Isthmus. Most of the men of Panamá and Natá had gone off with Pizarro and Almagro to Peru, and Pedrarias had to draw on Acla and Nombre de Dios in order to raise a force to cope with Córdoba. A large number of Indians were taken along, and in January, 1526, Pedrarias sailed from Panamá. Perhaps Córdoba relied too much on the interference of Cortés, and the support of the Audiencia. He tamely submitted to old Pedrarias, who promptly cut off his head.

the site of a large Indian town, called Sutiaba, in the midst of the vast plain intervening between Lake Managua and the Pacific Ocean.

* E. G. Squier, in his *Central America*, states that Córdoba founded Granada "on the site of the aboriginal town of Saltaba or Jaltava, about half a mile distant from Lake Nicaragua, on a little bay which there bends its crescent into the land so as to afford a comparative shelter from the constant and often severe northeast winds."

When Thomas Gage, the English friar, visited Granada, in 1636 "there entered the city, in a single day, not less than 1,800 mules from San Salvador and Honduras alone, laden with Indigo, cochineal and hides. Two days after, there came in 900 more mules, one-third of which were laden with silver, being the king's tribute"

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The reader must remember that, so far, the eastern shore of Nicaragua had not been explored; and the mouth of the San Juan river, and its relation and proximity to Lake Nicaragua were yet unknown. The routes to Granada and Leon were by way of Panamá, or down through Honduras from its north coast.

Cautiously, Pedrarias set about to control Honduras, and gain the shorter route to the Caribbean Sea. Saavedra, left behind by Cortés to hold the land, was no match in cunning or audacity for Pedrarias. The latter sent Captains Rojas and Hurtado to occupy the Olancho valley, where Rojas had been before, and ordered out by Cortés. They had a fight with a force from Trujillo, and lost two men. The Indians took advantage of these broils, and drove both parties out of that region. Among the slain were Benito Hurtado, who had fought so many battles on the Isthmus; and Juan de Grijalva, who discovered the southern shores of Mexico.

The fleet of Pedro de los Rios, the new governor of Castilla del Oro, arrived at Nombre de Dios July 30, 1526. In his suite were Juan de Salmeron, alcalde mayor; the bachiller Diego de Corral; Gutierrez de los Rios, a nephew; and Egas, a half-brother of the governor. For the third time Oviedo, maker of governors, comes to the Isthmus; bearing this time still another office, that of captain-general and governor of the province of Cartagena. The next day the new officials were sworn in, and within a month had taken up their residence at Panamá. Rios seized the property of Pedrarias to hold during his residencia.

When the old governor heard of this, he filled a vessel with Indians, to be sold at auction in Panamá, and hastened back from Nicaragua. The wily old man had carried many of his enemies to Nicaragua, and left them there. Accusations and claims were brought against Pedrarias, but so well had he forestalled action that he was acquitted, and his property restored. Among the accusers was Oviedo, who escapes from another attempt at assassination. The old governor had yet another stroke of good fortune, as Gil Gonzalez Dávila, the rightful claimant to Nicaragua, died; and Pedrarias was appointed governor of that province.

Over in Spain, the king, with or without the advice of the Council of the Indies, changed boundaries in the New World, made and unmade governors, and dispensed offices to royal favorites; often in ignorance of the facts, and sometimes regardless of the rights and wishes of his loyal subjects, who were undergoing such cruel hardships in America.

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To check the warring factions in Honduras and Nicaragua, the emperor, Charles V., forbade any Spaniard to draw his sword against another; and in 1525, appointed Diego Lopez de Salcedo governor of Honduras. Salcedo ousted Saavedra at Trujillo; and as the limits of his province were ill-defined, he departed with nearly a hundred and fifty horsemen towards Lake Nicaragua. The Indians were hostile, and the Panamá settlers at Leon were rather glad to receive him. Salcedo was sworn in as governor on the 7th of May, 1527. Pedro de los Rios came up from Panamá and claimed Nicaragua as a part of Castilla del Oro; but the people would not have him, and Salcedo ordered Rios to leave the province within three days, under a penalty of ten thousand pesos.

Salcedo managed to make himself very unpopular, and when the people heard that Pedrarias was appointed governor, they locked him up. Old Pedrarias arrived at Leon in March, 1528, and amply rewarded Martin Estete and others who had been true to him. Salcedo was held a prisoner until Christmas eve, 1528; during which time Pedrarias gobbled up all the lands to the north that he wanted. It was a case of dog eat dog, and the stronger got the bone. Much broken in health and spirit, Salcedo retired to his own abbreviated province.

One of the last acts of Salcedo in Nicaragua was to order Gabriel de Rojas to explore the San Juan river, and to found there a settlement. Pedrarias, always quick to profit from the wise measures of others, increased this expedition to more than one hundred and fifty men; placing Martin Estete in chief command. A settlement was started at the outlet of the lake, called *Nueva Jaen*, soon abandoned, however. After passing down the river, the expedition followed the seacoast northward, fighting and enslaving the natives. Many were branded and sent as slaves to Pedrarias in Leon; others were chained together and used as carriers. When an Indian fell from exhaustion, to save time, the Spaniards cut off his head, so as to release the body. Mines were found near Cape Gracias á Dios, where Rojas was left in command of a colony, while Estete returned to Leon.

On the Isthmus of Panamá, as on Hispaniola, the natives disappeared rapidly under the Christianizing regime of the white men; so Pedrarias carried on a brisk trade in Indians, who were sold in the slave-market he had established at Panamá. At this time, Ponce de Leon, and Hernando de Soto, were among those who took ship-loads of slaves to Panamá. When Gil Gonzalez first entered Nicaragua, that region, like most of the New World, was well populated; the city of Managua alone containing about forty thousand souls. Here, as elsewhere, the Indians melted away under the harsh rule of

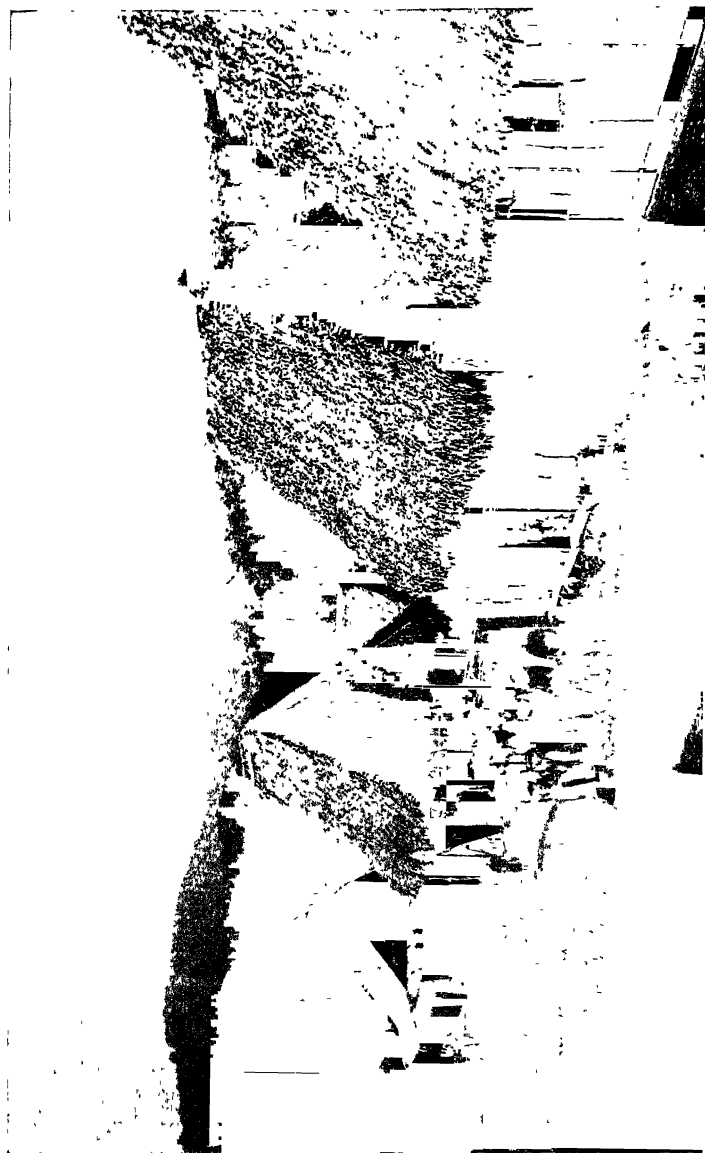


Photo by *Maduro*, Panama

CRUCES, FORMERLY CALLED VENTA DE CRUCES.

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the conquerors. So broken in spirit and hopeless became the natives that the women, like those of Hispaniola, formed the noble resolve not to perpetuate a race foredoomed to servitude or untimely death. Among the diversions of the octogenarian Pedrarias at Leon were the gladiatorial contests between Indians and dogs. At first young and inexperienced dogs were set upon the captives, which they could drive off with sticks, leading the poor Indians to hope their lives might be spared. When this part of the sport grew tame, several fierce old dogs were introduced into the arena, which pulled down the Indians and devoured their flesh.

Pedrarias despatched Estete and Rojas to the northwest, in the region we know as Salvador, already over-run by Alvarado, the lieutenant of Cortés. A settlement was attempted, when Jorge de Alvarado ran them out, half of the intruders deserting to his standard.

The last days of Pedrarias were saddened by the knowledge that he had permitted the rich prize of Peru to slip through his fingers. The fourth interest which had been given Pedrarias for his favor, the governor relinquished for the paltry consideration of a thousand pesos. Another opportunity to get in the game presented itself when Nicolás de Ribera came to Nicaragua seeking recruits for Peru, particularly Hernando de Soto,⁷ Hernan Ponce, and Francisco Compañón; all able captains, with vessels available for the voyage. The old governor sent an alguacil to seize Ribera's vessel, but he received timely warning and sailed away.

In the midst of charges of peculation and abuse of authority, Pedrarias died on the 6th of March, 1531, nearly ninety years of age. He was buried in the church at Leon, near the remains of his victim, Hernandez de Córdoba. Pedrarias was the most cruel and infamous ruler Spain ever sent to the Indies. One writer, Oviedo,⁸ states that from 1514, when Pedrarias arrived in Tierra-Firme, until he died, he had sent two million Indians on the journey of death.

⁷ Soto went to Peru with about 100 men, and was one of the few Spaniards who condemned the execution of Inca Atahualpa.

⁸ "Ni han tenido más largas jornadas que caminar dos millones de indios que desde el año de mill é quinientos y catorce que llegó Pedrarias á la Tierra-Firme hasta qué murió."

Hist. Gen. y Nat., lib. 29, cap. 34.

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"Carta á S. M. del Licenciado Castañeda, juez de residencia, sobre la muerte del gobernador Pedrarias Dávila; y sus consecuencias en la Gobernacion de Nicaragua. Mayo 30 de 1531."

"SACRA CESÁREA CATHOLICA Magestad

Despues que a Vuestra Magestad escrebi la muerte del Thesorero Tobilla, Thesorero que fué de Vuestra Magestad en esta Provincia, ha sucedido quel Governador Pedro Arias, Governador que era de Vuestra Magestad, falleció desta presente vida a seis de Marzo pasado: su muerte fue de vexes a pasiones y enfermedades que tenía; enterrose en el Monesterio de Nuestra Señora de la Merced desta Cibdad de *Leon*; e de más de ser Caballero por ser Teniente e Governador, por Vuestra Magestad, en estas partes fize hacer su entierro con toda la mas honrra e abtoridad que ser pudo, porque fize venir al entierro, de mas de los clerigos que aqui se hallaron, los friles de los Monesterios de San Francisco e Santo Domingo e Nuestra Señora de la Merced desta Cibdad, le llevamos en los hombros, e fize que llevasen delante de las cruces las banderas todas que tuvo quando a estas partes vino por Teniente de Vuestra Magestad, e se las fize poner encima de la capilla mayor a do se enterró; por manera que se complió con su honrra como convernía a criado e Teniente de Vuestra Magestad."

CHAPTER XV

THE QUEST FOR PERU

Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque

"Let nobler bards in loftier numbers tell
How Cortez conquered, Montezuma fell;
How fierce Pizarro's ruffian arm o'erthrew
The sun's resplendent empire in Peru;
How, like a prophet, old Las Casas stood,
And raised his voice against a sea of blood,
Whose chilling waves recoiled while he foretold
His country's ruin by avenging gold.
That gold, for which unpitied Indians fell,
That gold, at once the snare and scourge of hell,
Thenceforth by righteous Heaven was doom'd to shed
Unmingled curses on the spoiler's head;
For gold the Spaniard cast his soul away,
His gold and he were every nation's prey."

James Montgomery.



THE OVERTHROW and despoliation of the Incan empire was accomplished from Panama. Peru, containing the greatest wealth, and presenting the highest culture found in the New World, fell to the lot of one of the lowliest and rudest of conquerors. The prize, by right, should have gone to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who, had he been a baser man, would have sailed away from old Pedrarias, and have discovered, at least, the wonderful nation in the south of which Panciaco and Tumaco had spoken. As we shall see later, the time was not yet ripe to tilt to destruction the evenly balanced factions among the lords of Peru.

Francisco Pizarro¹ was born a foundling, about 1471, at Trujillo, in Estramadura; and laid by his mother on the steps of the parish church, where he was picked up by a swineherd.² He grew up amid the coarsest surroundings, fled to Seville, and

¹ His mother was Francisca Gonzales, of humble station; his father was Gonzalo Pizarro, a colonel of infantry, reputed to be related to the mother of Hernando Cortés, who was a Pizarro. Francisco served with his father in the Italian war, and, in 1509, appears with Ojeda at San Sebastian.

² It is sometimes stated that little Francisco was suckled by a sow.

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sailed for Hispaniola. At Santo Domingo, Pizarro enlisted under Alonso de Ojeda, and arrived in Tierra Firme the last of the year 1509. He was left in command of the settlement at San Sebastian; and when they moved across the gulf of Urabá into Castilla del Oro, Pizarro served faithfully as a captain, first under Vasco Núñez, and then under Governor Pedrarias. When the latter laid out the municipality of Panama, Francisco Pizarro received his share of land and a *repartimiento* of Indians to work it. Though he had arrived at middle age, and seen plenty of hard service, Pizarro had no desire to settle down to the dull life of a planter. Francisco Pizarro was by nature a robber and soldier. The unknown region to the south, rumored to possess gold and jewels in abundance, yet remained to be discovered, and awaited a conqueror strong enough to seize and to hold it. What Cortés had done in the north, Pizarro might do in the south. The recent voyage of Andagoya went no farther than *Puerto de Piñas*, where Balboa had been before him, but his report confirmed the former stories of greater wealth to the southward.

Pizarro determined on an expedition beyond the region then known as *Birú*, and went to Father Luque* to obtain the necessary funds. Fernando de Luque had been school-master (*maestrescuela*) of the church at Antigua, and was then acting vicar of Panama. He had saved some money, amounting to twenty thousand castellanos, and entered heartily into the project. Diego de Almagro, another soldier of fortune, a few years older than Pizarro, and likewise of illegitimate birth, joined in the enterprise; and Pedrarias, the governor, graciously permitted these three men to risk their lives and fortunes provided he received one-fourth of the plunder. Pizarro was to command the expedition, Almagro to fit out and have charge of the vessels, while Father Luque would raise the money and look after the governor.

On the 14th of November, 1524, Pizarro sailed* from Panama with about a hundred men, and four horses; leaving Almagro behind to equip and follow in another vessel. Pizarro stopped at Taboga; then to the Pearl Islands, and to the river of Birú on the mainland. Finding there no provisions, he put to sea again, and ran into a ten days' storm. In a port called *Puerto del Hambre*, Pizarro landed most of his party, and sent Gil de Montenegro in the ship back to the Pearl Islands for supplies. When these arrived, he continued south-eastward

* Soon called *Padre Loco* for entering into this foolish undertaking. Father Luque owned the revenues of the island of Taboga.

* In one of the vessels built by Balboa.

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along the coast, making landings, and securing both food and gold.⁵ The ship requiring repairs, and fearing to carry his force back to Panama, lest they should disperse, Pizarro landed with most of his men at Chicamá, and dispatched Nicolás de Ribera with the vessel and plunder to Panama.

Three months after the departure of Pizarro from Panama, Diego de Almagro followed with a party of seventy men. He searched the coast for his pardner, and had a fight with the natives, losing an eye in the encounter. He continued on down the coast as far as the San Juan river, about four degrees north of the equator, where the houses and cultivated lands indicated a higher culture-stage than any region yet visited by them. Finding no trace of Pizarro, Almagro turned back, and at the Pearl Islands was directed to his retreat. Leaving most of his men with Pizarro, Almagro returned to Panama to aid Luque and Ribera in obtaining more supplies.

Pedrarias was now following the golden lead in Nicaragua and grumbled over the loss of men and funds in the southern expedition. Though he had invested nothing,⁶ Almagro was glad to get rid of Pedrarias by paying him one thousand *pesos de oro*.⁷ Pizarro came back to Panama about this time, and it is evident that the three remaining confederates now felt convinced that great wealth and opportunity awaited them in the kingdom and land of *Perú*.

On the 10th of March, 1526, Don Fernando de Luque, Captain Francisco Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro signed that memorable contract for the subjugation and equal partition of Peru. Besides being an agreement between three parties, it is a contract between Luque, party of the first part, and Pizarro and Almagro, parties of the second part. This is explained when we learn later that Luque was only the agent of the

⁵ Herrera says that the natives drew near the white men and inquired, "Why they did not stay at home, and till their own lands, instead of roaming about to rob others who had never harmed them?" At another place, according to the same authority, the Christians found human hands and feet in the cooking pots, from which they judged that the natives were Caribs and used poisoned arrows, and retreated precipitately to their vessel.

⁶ Pedrarias was charged by Almagro with having contributed only a she-calf to defray the expenses of the expedition.

⁷ Oviedo was present on this occasion and witnessed the agreement of release. His account of the transaction furnishes an interesting glimpse of affairs in the early days of Old Panama. Prescott's translation of this scene is given at the end of this chapter.

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Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa,⁸ who furnished the twenty thousand pesos. Pizarro and Almagro bind themselves in the most solemn and legal manner to turn over to the said Luque all the lands, rents, vassals, treasures, and emoluments arising from their grants and conquests; and in case they engaged in any other enterprise, and failed to perform their part of the contract, they pledged themselves and all they possessed to return to Luque the said twenty thousand dollars which they had received. Fernando de Luque subscribed his name to the document, and as neither Pizarro nor Almagro could write, two of the three witnesses signed for them. All of which was certified to by Hernando del Castillo, *escribano publico* of the city of Panamá.

To make the covenant still more binding, Pizarro and Almagro traced the sign of the cross on the holy missal on which they made oath; and Father Luque solemnized the occasion by administering the sacrament, dividing the consecrated wafer into three portions, each partaking of one." The by-standers, says an historian, were moved to tears by this solemn ceremonial with which these men voluntarily devoted themselves to a sacrifice that seemed little short of insanity.

Made equal by this contract, the three associates prepared for another voyage towards Peru. So many Spaniards had perished from hunger and disease on the first venture that it was difficult to enlist another body of men. Most of the survivors of the first party, strange to say, decided to try it again, and in time, about one hundred and sixty men, poorly equipped, were secured. Pizarro and Almagro, each in command of a vessel, sailed direct to the *Rio San Juan*, the farthest point yet dis-

⁸ Gaspar de Espinosa was one of the ablest men who came to Castilla del Oro during the first years of the Conquest. Upon the death of Padre Luque, Espinosa, then living at Santo Domingo, returned to Panama to look after his interest in the Peruvian speculation, and probably received a share of the immense ransom collected for Atahualpa. Later, Espinosa led a force of 250 men to the aid of Francisco Pizarro, at Lima. While in Peru, he headed an embassy to Cuzco, the Inca capital held by Almagro, to try and effect a reconciliation between Almagro and Pizarro. In the midst of this negotiation, Espinosa suddenly died, and strange to say for those times, there was no imputation of poisoning.

⁹ "The religious tone of the instrument is not the least remarkable feature in it, especially when we contrast this with the relentless policy, pursued by the very men who were parties to it, in their conquest of the country." W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, vol. i, p. 237.

"In the name of the Prince of Peace they ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects."—Robertson—*America*, vol. iii., p. 5.



From De Biv, *India Occid*, 1595.

**PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE, MAKING THE AGREEMENT, IN OLD PANAMA, FOR
THE SUBJUGATION AND EQUAL PARTITION OF PERU.**

CHAPTER XVI

CASTILLA DEL ORO

1525-1550

Rebellious Attempts to Control the Isthmus

"Loudly the cracked bells, overhead,
Of San Francisco ding,
With Santa Ana, La Merced,
Felipe answering;
Banged all at once, and four times four,
Morn, noon, and night, the more and more
Clatter and clang with huge uproar,
The Bells of Panama."
—Edmund C. Stedman.



EDRO DE LOS Rios, who came out as governor in 1526, was so grasping and avaricious that complaints were made to the Council of the Indies. Before the expiration of his three years' term of office, the licentiate Antonio de la Gama was sent to take his *residencia*. Dissatisfied with the result, Rios appealed to the Council in Spain, Oviedo acting as attorney for the city of Panama. Here he fared no better, being fined, despoiled of office, and forbidden ever to return to the Indies. The wife of Rios, left behind in Panama, refused to journey to Spain without the company of her husband, and ended her days in the Indies.

Antonio de la Gama succeeded Rios in 1529, and, for those days, was a fair sort of governor. But he, too, caught the prevailing itch in his palms; and in the spring of 1534, he was superseded by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo, a soldier who had gained some distinction at Cartagena.

In 1533, a royal Audience (*Audiencia real*), was instituted at Panama, previous to which the courts of Castilla del Oro were under the jurisdiction of the Audience of Española. At first, the Audiencia at Panama included Peru, but that country soon grew too big to be subject to Panama. The *personnel* of the court consisted of a president, four oidores, a fiscal, a relator, two secretaries; and for local government, two alcaldes, and three ministers of justice. A few years previous to this,

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the prohibition on lawyers had been removed, and with the horde of adventurers and vagabonds now flocking to the Isthmus, came an avalanche of legal counselors and advocates. Bribery was still in fashion, and the courts were not held in high repute.¹ "Only that an ocean lay between Charles and his down-trodden subjects," exclaims Vasquez, "nineteen out of twenty would have thrown themselves at his feet to pray for justice."

Bishop Peraza, believed to have been poisoned by Pedrarias, was followed by Fray Martin de Béjar, a Franciscan; who was followed, in 1530, by Fray Tomás de Berlanga, a Dominican. He marked the site for the cathedral, the convent of La Merced, and other religious houses in Panama. He renounced the chair in 1537, and returned to Spain. During the voyage a storm arose, when the good bishop arrayed himself in his sacred vestments, and kneeled with the frightened company to chant a litany to the Holy Virgin. The storm abated, and on the waves appeared a box, which on being opened, was found to contain an image of the Virgin. This marvellous manifestation of her favor was carried to Spain by Berlanga, and placed in the convent of Medina de Rioseco. A similar fiction is related of Our Lady of Guadalupe, during a voyage to the Philippines from Mexico.

In 1532, Pedro de Heredia, who had seen service in the Indies, sailed from Spain with about one hundred men to enter and settle the region between the Atrato and Magdalena rivers, which had been granted him. He anchored his three vessels in the port of Calamari, which he named Cartagena, because of its resemblance to the harbor of Cartagena in Spain. On marching inland, the Indian women fought with the men to repel the invaders. In spite of their poisoned arrows, the Indians were driven from their town, where were found provisions and gold. Reinforced from Española with men and horses, Heredia penetrated as far as the town of Cenú (Zenú), on a river which still bears that name (Sinú). In two chests was found gold to the value of 20,000 pesos; and in a pit called by the Indians "El bohio del diablo" (home of the devil), the Spaniards discovered nearly as much more. This pit comprised three compartments, each about two hundred and fifty feet in length, in one of which was a hammock containing the gold, supported by

¹ Oviedo, who had reason to know something of the law and the way it was administered, wrote to the emperor,—“A magistrate is worse than a pestilence, for if the latter took your life it at least left your estate intact.”

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four human figures, in which his satanic majesty was wont to take his siesta. In a nearby sepulchre,² sought years before by Encisco and others, gold-dust was unearthed to the amount of 10,000 pesos. With such easy wealth in the neighborhood, Cartagena attracted adventurers and colonists, and grew rapidly. Later on, it became a regular stopping place for the Spanish *galeones* on their way to Nombre de Dios or Puerto Bello.

Heredia sent his brother Alonso to the shore of the Gulf of Urabá to rebuild the settlement of San Sebastian. A new site was selected some leagues south of Ojeda's colony, near some cocoanut palms, about half a league from the shore of the gulf. This displeased Julian Gutierrez, who had married the sister of cacique Urabá, and was making a fortune trading with the Indians. He built a fort on the Rio Caiman, not far from San Sebastian, and was joined by Francisco César and some malcontents from Castilla del Oro. Gutierrez claimed to be acting under instructions from the governor of Castilla del Oro; but Heredia killed most of his party, and carried Gutierrez and his wife to Cartagena. César made his escape, and afterward took service under Heredia, rising to some prominence. Barriónuevo went to Cartagena from Panama, and secured the release of Gutierrez; concluding an agreement with Heredia to make the Atrato river the eastern limit of Castilla del Oro.

In 1536, Captain Francisco César led an expedition from San Sebastian and journeyed south for ten months, arriving at the Guaca valley. Here he was surrounded by an army of twenty thousand natives, and just about to be annihilated, when St. James³ appeared in the heavens, and the enemy was routed. Shortly afterward, the Christians found some *guacas*, or graves, wherein was treasure to the value of 30,000 castellanos; after which they were able to make the return march in seventeen days. That same year, Pedro de Heredia started out from San

² The cemetery of Zenú was composed of hundreds of mounds or tumuli, some conical, others oblong. When a warrior was interred, his arms and jewelry were buried with the body, with food and *chicha*. Sometimes his wives and servants were put in the grave, they being first made drunk. Some beautiful figures in gold have been taken from this cemetery. Fray Pedro Simon says that all who robbed these tombs died in extreme poverty.

³ Santiago, Spain's patron saint, was kept mighty busy about this time, appearing first in one place and then in another, stimulating the Spaniards to greater slaughter of the Indians. Spanish chronicles are filled not only with gross exaggerations, but with preposterous tales of miraculous interventions by saintly and ghostly characters.

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Sebastian to find the golden temple of Dabaiba,⁴ but after floundering through the swamps for several months, found nothing but a few huts built in the tree-tops. When accused of leading the Spaniards astray, the Indian guides replied: "We go from the river to the mountains in three days, while you and your horses require as many months." In 1538, César led another force to the south. When surrounded by Nutibara with two thousand warriors, Santiago again appeared in the heavens—this time on a white horse—and the Indians were dispersed with much carnage. César got 40,000 ducats; but the next time he went out he lost his life.

In 1535, a third attempt was made to found a colony in Veragua on the North Sea (Caribbean). Ever since the disastrous failures of Christopher Columbus, and of Diego de Nicuesa at Belen, no further efforts had been made to settle in the northwestern part of the Isthmus. It is remarkable that the region where the first attempts were made to settle on the continent of the New World, and which the old Admiral⁵ valued more than all his other discoveries, should be the last part of *Tierra Firme* to be occupied by the white man. Even today, nature and the few surviving natives still possess most of the north coast of Veragua and Chiriqui. The northwest coast of the Isthmus had been raided by Espinosa, and by Albites, and the latter sailed thence to start a town, but was driven back by a storm, and located on the site of *Nombre de Dios*.

In 1514, the king offered Veragua to Bartolomé Colon for colonization; but the Adelantado was then broken in health, and declined. In 1526, the Admiral Diego Colon, son and heir of Christopher Columbus, died in Spain, and was succeeded by his son Luis. In 1538, being then eighteen years of age, Luis Colon brought suit before the tribunal of the Indies to establish his right to the grants, titles, and dignities inherited from his father and grandfather, unjustly withheld from him by the crown. In 1540, wearied with the interminable litigation, Luis abandoned all claims to the vice-royalty of the Indies in con-

⁴When questioned concerning the treasure of Dabaiba, a friendly cacique answered: "There is no treasure, for they have no need of any; but when they want gold to purchase food or redeem a captive, they pick it up in dry weather from under the rocks in the river beds."

⁵When writing of Veragua, Columbus said: "De una oso decir, porque hay tantos testigos, y es que yo vide en esta tierra de *Veragua* mayor señal de oro en dos dias primeros que en la Española en cuatro años, y que las tierras de la comarca no pueden ser mas hermosas, ni mas labradas, ni la gente mas cobarte, y buen puerto, y hermoso rio, y defensible al mundo." From letter to *los Reyes*, Jamaica, 7th of July, 1503.

sideration of receiving therefor the title⁶ of duke of Veragua and marquis of Jamaica, and perpetual admiral of the Indies.⁷

Maria de Toledo, widow of Diego Colon, usually accorded the title of vice-queen (*vireina*) of the Indies, demanded a license to colonize the province of Veragua; and on being refused, she determined to go ahead with the enterprise without the royal sanction. With the financial assistance of a priest called Juan de Sosa, she fitted out an expedition, which was placed under the command of a fine young gentleman named Felipe Gutierrez, son of the treasurer Alonso Gutierrez. The commander made Pedro de Encinasola his chief captain, and sailed from Santo Domingo in September, 1535, with a well-armed force of four hundred men. The pilot of the fleet, named Liaño, was ignorant of the coast and wandered from Nombre de Dios to Honduras, looking for Veragua. Finally they anchored in the mouth of a large river, which some said was the Belen, and others a stream west of the Belen. It is affirmed that this was the *Rio Concepcion*, about two leagues west of the river *Veragua*, and four leagues west of the *Belen*.

On a small island at the mouth of the river, Gutierrez landed his men and stores; and on the mainland adjoining he selected a town site, erecting a governor's house of logs for himself, dwellings for the men, and storehouses. As usual on this coast, it rained almost continuously, damaging their supplies, and interfering with planting. The floods came and washed away the houses, and drowned some of the settlers.⁸ The calamities of former colonists were repeated. Provisions became scarce, and the men sickened and died in the debilitating climate. There were no friendly Indians to welcome them as gods, and

⁶ "por duque de Veragua y marqués de la isla de Sanctiago, alias Jamáyca, é almirante perpétuo destas Indias."

⁷ Not long after, Don Luis died, leaving two daughters and an illegitimate son. From this time the lineal descendants of the great admiral were denominated dukes of Veragua, and after passing through several genealogical stages, the honors and emoluments of Columbus fell to the Portuguese house of Braganza, a branch of which was established in Spain.

⁸ The pertinacity with which the Spaniards clung to the swamps fringing each shore, instead of locating among the hills within plain sight, is explained, I believe, by their greater security near their ships, and by the motive for the settlement. The Spaniards did not locate at first with any idea of remaining to cultivate the land and make homes, but simply as a camp from which to make forays and rob the natives of gold. The golden jewelry of the Indians was the slow accumulation of centuries of crude mining or distant barter; but the Spaniards acted as if rich mines existed everywhere, and all they had to do was to torture the chiefs to make them disclose their locations.

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perform all the labor in sun and rain. The four hundred healthy, hopeful men were soon reduced to two hundred and eighty weak and sickly wretches. To add to their distress, the settlers were poisoned by drinking from a certain spring, which caused the lips to swell, the gums to soften, and sometimes death to ensue.

Gutierrez named his town *Concepcion*, "but from the sufferings of the people," says Oviedo, "better to have called it *Affliccion*." The members of this outfit seem to have had but little experience in the Indies. With enough men to overrun the country from sea to sea, they supinely waited for death; each hoping to outlive his companions, and make a rich haul of gold. But few Indians remained along the shore, and these they could scarcely communicate with. The clerigo, Juan de Sosa, went in one of the vessels as far as *Nombre de Dios*, seeking an interpreter, but found none. Expeditions were sent out for gold and provisions, securing but little of either. Once they foolishly burnt the cornfields of the Indians, from whence they might have obtained maize.

On one of these forays the Christians came across a chieftain named *Dururua*, who proved himself a worthy successor of the Quibian. At first, he received the Spaniards courteously and entertained them to the best of his ability. When they demanded gold, the cacique gave them all his store. Not satisfied with the amount, the white men resorted to harsher methods to extract the gold; and hostilities opened. A force of a hundred and fifty men under Alonso de Pisa and the militant priest, went out and brought in *Dururua* and some of his warriors. The chief promised to collect four baskets of gold, each containing 2,000 pesos, if they would set him free. He was allowed to send out messengers, who returned empty-handed. *Dururua* called them traitors, and begged to be taken out, bound as he was, to make his people furnish the gold. With a guard of thirty Spaniards, he traveled five days, arriving at a deserted village. *Dururua* directed his guards to dig at a certain spot, where only about half an ounce of gold was found. Captain Encinasola then called him a dog and other vile epithets, in which the Spanish language abounds, and struck the chief in the face. *Dururua* was playing for his life and vengeance, so begged for one more trial, saying that his people must have removed the gold when they departed from the village. Blinded by his cupidity, Encinasola agreed. That very night six hundred Indians attacked the camp, killed eight Spaniards, and carried off their chief.

The natives then disappeared from that section, carrying all

their food supplies with them. On the way back to Concepcion many of the surviving Spaniards died of starvation. Some fed upon the bodies of dead Indians; then they slew some captives, and, according to Herrera, a sick Christian was slaughtered and devoured. Nine emaciated wretches got back to Concepcion; when one of them informed the governor of their cannibalism, and Gutierrez tried and condemned all except the informer. Two who were considered the most culpable were burned to death, the others branded in the face with the letter C.

When out on another excursion the Spaniards heard of rich mines in a certain high hill. An Indian guided them to the place, and showed where to dig; whereupon a few nuggets were actually found. Dissatisfied with the returns, the Christians turned fiercely upon the poor Indian, who sprang upon a rock which overhung a precipice, and hurled himself headlong into the chasm.

At Concepcion one horror succeeded another; the putrefying bodies lying unburied within and around the huts. Those convinced that death was near, dug their own graves in the humid soil. One Diego de Campo, a native of Toledo, when about to die, dragged himself to one of these holes, scooped out by another, and in it expired in peace. Soon the owner felt his end approaching, and sought his grave, to find it already occupied by another; but directed that his own body be placed therein without disturbing the corpse of his comrade. Rendered desperate by famine, forty men deserted, and set out for Nombre de Dios, most of them perishing by the way. Later, the Governor despatched Father Sosa and alcalde Sanabria with six soldiers, four negroes, and two Indians to Nombre de Dios for recruits and supplies. In three days they reached the Belen, when being unable to cross, they followed up the bank of that river for eleven days before they could get over to the eastern side. Continuing their weary way, they encountered the rotting bodies of many of those who had preceded them, and soon came upon the remnant of that party, now reduced to twenty-five men. Farther progress was barred by hostile natives, so they fortified themselves, and awaited whatever fate might be in store for them.

Meanwhile, Gutierrez, hearing from no one, determined to abandon the settlement. He and the few remaining Spaniards embarked in a vessel—which it seems they possessed all the time—and reached Nombre de Dios in safety. Receiving some intimation of the whereabouts of Juan de Sosa and his beleagured companions, a vessel was fitted with food by the people of Nombre de Dios, and despatched to their relief. The

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survivors, twenty-seven in number, were carried back to Nombre de Dios, and the government of Felipe Gutierrez in the province of Veragua was at an end. Gutierrez crossed the Isthmus to Panama, and went to Peru, where Gonzalo Pizarro made him a governor, but subsequently chopped off his head. The fortune which Juan de Sosa had just lost in the Veragua enterprise had been obtained in Peru, so the clerigo again turned his face towards that land of riches.

So far, strange to say, the Caribbean slope of the country now called Costa Rica had not been explored. One of the last acts of Pedrarias in Nicaragua was to send Martin Estete and Gabriel de Rojas to explore and loot the valley of the San Juan River, the outlet of Lake Nicaragua. This was a land party which went down the northern bank of the stream, and then turned up the coast to Cape Gracias á Dios. By going up from Panama, and southward from Honduras, the Pacific side of this region of the continent was settled before the eastern.

When Rodrigo de Contreras—who happened to be a son-in-law of Pedrarias—came from Spain to govern Nicaragua, he considered opening up communication with the North Sea by way of El Desaguadero, as the Rio San Juan was then called. Bartolomé de las Casas, protector of the Indians, was in Nicaragua at this time, and opposed the scheme; foreseeing the enslavement and extermination of the natives of that section should it be occupied by the Christians. However, when Las Casas and his Dominicans departed from Leon, the governor ordered Captain Diego Machuca to proceed with the exploration. Two vessels entered the river from the lake, while a force of two hundred men went by land. It is not stated how they got through the rapids, but the vessels reached the North Sea, and sailed for Nombre de Dios. Doctor Robles, then governor of Castilla del Oro, thought to profit by this discovery, so arrested the mariners from Nicaragua, and despatched an expedition under Francisco Gonzales de Badajoz to take possession of the Desaguadero and adjoining territory. This outfit built a fort and raided the natives, collecting gold to the value of 200,000 castellanos. After six months, Contreras ran them out and sent their leader a prisoner back to Panama. Robles sent out another party under Andrés Garavito, which likewise failed of success.

In 1540, Diego Gutierrez, a citizen of Madrid, and brother of Felipe Gutierrez, was commissioned governor of the unexplored province of Costa Rica, or Nueva Cartago as it was also

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termed. Gutierrez raised a force of two hundred men in Española, and sailed for Jamaica, the base of supplies for the colonies of Tierra Firme. Here his men mutinied, causing the loss of his military stores. Sailing thence to Nombre de Dios, the governor fell desperately ill, and nearly all the command deserted and crossed to Panama, where they shipped for Peru. When Gutierrez recovered, he found himself with but five men and almost without means. Nevertheless, he fitted out a small bark and sailed to the San Juan River, and managed to reach Granada in Nicaragua. Contreras, the governor of that province, declared that Nicaragua extended to the western border of Veragua and that there was no intervening territory for Gutierrez.

After a year or two, the two governors adjusted their differences, and Gutierrez, with sixty men, sailed in two vessels for the mouth of the Rio Surre (or Suere). Ascending that stream for three leagues, they came to some deserted huts and made camp. After meeting with some success, nearly all his men again deserted and went back to Nicaragua, leaving the governor with only six followers, one of whom was his nephew, Alonso de Pisa. At this time relief came in the shape of Captain Bariento with more men and provisions. Gutierrez now gave Pisa all the gold he had collected, and sent him to Nombre de Dios to procure recruits and supplies. Alonso de Pisa arrived at that port early in 1545, and secured twenty-seven men for his uncle, one of whom was Girolamo Benzoni, a young Italian adventurer who wrote a chronicle of his travels in the New World.

Returning with his reinforcements to Costa Rica, the brigantine ran into a gale and was driven to the islands of Zorobaro, where they remained seventy-two days, exposed to incessant rains. During this period the party did not see four hours of sunshine, and three of the number were killed by lightning. Pisa at last reached the camp of Gutierrez, who, in the meantime, had accumulated some more golden jewelry. The ship was sent back for more help, and with about eighty men the governor set out to explore his province. It was the same old story repeated all over the Indies by the Spaniards during the Conquest. Almost incredible hardships and courage on the part of the Spaniards, combined with religious zeal and fanaticism, and cruel and inhuman treatment of the Indians. The natives of this New World given to Spain by the Pope of Rome must give up their golden ornaments and ceremonial figures, and become converts to the Spanish variety of Chris-

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tianity, if every cacique encountered had to be burnt at the stake or given to the dogs to be torn to pieces.

Diego Gutierrez was not nearly so bad as most of the commanders. He started out with good intentions, and told the first caciques he met that he came to drive out their evil spirits; but the Indians soon discovered that these messengers of the gospel were more to be dreaded than the evil spirits which they had come to exorcise. By July, 1545, the governor had crossed the divide, and was on the western slope of the cordillera. Tiring of the cruelties of these white bandits, the Indians gathered in war paint and feathers, and killed all but six of the party. Gutierrez was slain, and his head, hands, and feet severed from the body, and borne as trophies among the tribesmen.

The six survivors,—among whom was Benzoni—were saved by the timely arrival of Alonso de Pisa with his detachment; and by marching night and day the little band reached the San Juan River, and thence embarked for Nombre de Dios.

In 1542, Bartolomé de las Casas placed in the hands of Charles V. the manuscript of his celebrated treatise on the "Destruction of the Indies."⁹ That same year a royal junta, composed chiefly of theologians and jurists, met at Valladolid and devised a system of laws for the better government of the American provinces. Though a member of the Dominican order, which had established the Inquisition, Las Casas declared that the Indians were by the law of nature free, and that the white man had no right to enslave them, since "*God does not allow evil that good may come of it.*"

The junta framed a code of ordinances, which received the emperor's approval, and was published in Madrid in 1543, and became known as the *New Laws*. No more Indians could be enslaved, and masters had to show a legal title to their human chattels, and not hold an excessive number in captivity. The New Laws, as may be imagined, created a ferment of revolution from Mexico to Peru; and had there been harmony, instead of feud, between the Conquistadores, the American colonies would have declared their independence of Spain at that time, and not have waited three centuries longer. When the laws were read in the plazas and public places, the colonists received them with groans and hisses. "Is this the fruit," they cried, "of all our toil? Is it for this that we have poured out

⁹ In this connection, read "Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias" (1552).

our blood like water? Now that we are broken down by hardships and sufferings to be left at the end of our campaigns as poor as at the beginning! Is this the way government rewards our services in winning for it an empire? The government has done little to aid us in making the conquest, and for what we have we may thank our own good swords; and with these same swords," they continued, warming into menace, "we know how to defend it." Then, stripping up his sleeve, the war-worn veteran bared his arm, or, exposing his naked bosom, pointed to his scars, as the best title to his estates.

Down in Peru, Diego de Almagro had been executed by Hernando Pizarro; Francisco Pizarro had been assassinated by the adherents of young Almagro, the son of an Indian woman of Panama; and young Almagro, in turn, was beheaded, "on the very spot where his father met a like fate," by the new governor, Vaca de Castro. The last was just about establishing stable government in Peru, when the emperor sent out Vasco Nuñez Vela as viceroy, to bring about order and institute reforms. In January, 1544, the viceroy landed at Nombre de Dios, attended by the judges of a new Audiencia, and a numerous retinue. Finding at that port some Spaniards, returning home with stores of wealth, acquired in Peru, Vasco Nuñez laid an embargo on the treasure as being a product of slave labor. Arriving at Panama, the viceroy caused more than three hundred Indians brought from Peru, to be liberated and returned to their own country. When remonstrated with for these high-handed measures, Vasco Nuñez coldly replied that "he had come not to tamper with the laws, nor to discuss their merits, but to execute them,—and execute them he would, to the letter, whatever might be the consequence."

Arrived at Lima, the viceroy confined Vaca de Castro on a ship in the harbor, and by impolitic acts stirred up rebellion among his unruly subjects. He was deposed by the Audiencia which came out with him, and afterwards lost his life in battle with Gonzalo Pizarro,³⁰ near Quito. Peru was again in the hands of a Pizarro.

Not satisfied with becoming dictator of Peru, and receiving the plaudits of the people, Gonzalo Pizarro dreamed of controlling the Isthmus, and the ports of Nombre de Dios and Panama

³⁰ Gonzalo, the ablest of the Pizarros, fell short of being great, and was executed by Gasca. Had he taken Carbajal's advice and married the Coya, the female representative of the Incas, thereby securing the support of the Peruvians, he could have established a dynasty independent of the Spanish crown.

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—the line of travel to and from Peru.¹⁴ With this end in view, he sent Hernando Bachicao with six or seven hundred men, in about thirty vessels, to Panama. Warned by Vaca de Castro, who had escaped from Peru, and others, the city had raised a force of seven hundred men, ill-equipped and without discipline. The authorities at Panama sent two messengers to meet Bachicao at the Pearl Islands, and request him not to land troops in Tierra Firme. That commander answered that he intended simply to land passengers and revictual his fleet. He was allowed to come to the city, and almost without resistance, seized all the arms and ammunition in the arsenal. Bachicao gave Panama over to pillage, and ordered the ship-masters in port to join his fleet, hanging at the yard-arm those who refused. Pedro Gallego, a captain, was executed for refusing to shorten sail and cry *Viva Pizarro*. The city of old Panama suffered its first reign of terror, men being put to death on the merest suspicion by order of Captain Hernando Bachicao. When news of these outrageous procedures reached Gonzalo Pizarro, he immediately recalled his blundering lieutenant.

Resolved, however, to command the Isthmus, Pizarro next despatched Pedro de Hinojosa, at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with orders to seize and hold both Panama and Nombre de Dios. When the expedition reached Puerto Viejo, Rodrigo de Carbajal was sent on ahead with letters from Pizarro to the prominent citizens of Panama, disclaiming responsibility for the misconduct of Bachicao, and informing them that Hinojosa was on the way with sufficient funds to reimburse them for all losses. Accompanied by fifteen men, Carbajal landed at Ancon, a small cove two leagues from Panama. There some planters informed him that two captains, Juan de Guzman and Juan de Illanes, were in the city enlisting recruits for the viceroy of Peru (who had not yet met defeat and death). Carbajal did not deem it prudent to land, but sent his letters secretly into the city by night. The recipients of the letters turned them over to the authorities, and the messenger was forced to disclose all he knew. The guard was increased, and two brigantines despatched to capture Carbajal, who, suspecting all was not well, slipped away and hid among the Pearl Islands, to await the arrival of his commander.

On the voyage northward, Hinojosa stopped at Buenaventura, capturing some followers of the viceroy, Vasco Nuñez Vela, securing some treasure from them, and liberating an

¹⁴ So far, there was no communication by way of the strait found by Magellan.

illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, held for ransom. After picking up Carbajal, Hinojosa, in October, 1545, anchored in front of Panama with eleven ships. There was a division of feeling among the population as to admitting Hinojosa, the merchants being in favor of it, while Doctor Robles, the governor, and other crown officials loudly disclaimed against the rebels. The governor's party prevailed, and the corregidor, Pedro de Casaos, was appointed captain-general. He took command of the eight hundred armed citizens, and marched forth to oppose the insurgents.

Hinojosa moved his fleet to the cove of Ancon, disembarking two hundred men on a rocky projection of the shore, under cover of his guns, and where the Panama cavalry could not maneuver. He then marched toward the city, directing his vessels to accompany him near the shore, with guns trimmed for action. As the men of Peru neared the city, the ecclesiastics issued forth, clad in mourning covered with crosses, with sad countenances, and holy chants. "Is it necessary," they cried, "for Christians to imbue their hands in each other's blood?" An armistice of a day was agreed upon, and hostages exchanged.

Hinojosa declared that he came not to make war but restitution, and did not see why he was denied entry into Panama, if they received a wretch like Bachicao. He told them that Pizarro was master of Peru, and proposed to command the gate-way to it. If the people of Panama would not submit to Pizarro there would be war. It was finally agreed, before a notary, that Hinojosa could enter Panama with a guard of thirty men and remain forty-five days; sending his ships to Taboga or the Pearl Islands for repairs and provisions; the loyal colonists from Nombre de Dios returning to their homes. Guarding against assassination, Hinojosa established himself in a well-furnished house, and dispensed lavish hospitality to all comers. The impecunious adventurers congregated at Panama were filled with wine, and regaled with stories of the fabulous wealth of Peru. Free passage and liberal pay were promised to all enlisting under the banner of Gonzalo Pizarro.

The Viceroy's captains, Illanes and Guzman, seeing their men desert to the enemy, attempted to steal away to Peru; but were brought back, and succumbed to the wiles of Hinojosa. At the end of the forty-five days Hinojosa had won over most of the opposing parties; and, amid the acclamations of the populace, made a formal entry into Panama at the head of his forces. As honest as he was able—a rare combination at any period—Hinojosa took no advantage of his bloodless victory.

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He maintained discipline among his reckless followers, and protected the citizens in their rights and business. Hinojosa then despatched his son-in-law, Hernando Mejia de Guzman, with Pedro de Cabrera, across the Isthmus to take and hold Nombre de Dios; and the highway to Peru was in the hands of Pizarro.

A partisan of the viceroy, named Melchor Verdugo, escaped from Peru by seizing a vessel from the fleet of Bachicao, and sailed to Nicaragua with a company of men. He prepared several vessels on Lake Nicaragua, and sailed down the Rio San Juan to the North Sea. At the mouth of the Chagre he learned from some negroes, in charge of a boat, the state of affairs at Nombre de Dios, the number of soldiers stationed there, and the location of the quarters of the commandant. Verdugo quietly landed at Nombre de Dios in the night, and surrounded the house occupied by Mejia and his officers. The building was fired, but Mejia and Cabrera seized their weapons, and cutting their way through the enemy escaped to Panama; leaving Verdugo in possession of Nombre de Dios.

Like so many of the coarse and ignorant Spanish commanders whom fortune favored for the time, Verdugo immediately proceeded to abuse his power. He jailed the alcaldes, levied assessments, and made himself so obnoxious that the people tired of the loyalist forces; and Doctor Ribera, the mayor, appealed to Hinojosa for help. Hinojosa came to his aid with a picked company of veterans, and together they ran Verdugo to his boats; whence a brisk cannonade was opened on the town, resulting only in loss of ammunition.

Hinojosa was soon to find himself undermined by the same mild and insinuating methods which he had used to win over the people of the Isthmus. Pedro de la Gasca, a counsellor of the Inquisition, was sent over from Spain, with the title of President of the Royal Audience, to settle the rebellious¹² condition

¹² "Nothing could have happened that would draw the attention of the court of Spain to the affairs of the New World more effectually than rebellion, as I have before intimated. The discovery and conquest of America cannot be classed as an achievement of the nation. It was a magnificent accident, in the busy reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. Those sovereigns, absorbed in wars and involved in ambitious intrigues at home, with a vast continent thrust upon them by a Genoese navigator, could scarcely find time to do more than grant permits to adventurers to subjugate, at their own cost, new territories in the western world, and to receive when remitted to them the royal fifth of the returns. But rebellion, of whatsoever magnitude or shape, is always distasteful to a sovereign. Therefore when tidings reached Spain that the emperor's representative in Peru had been maltreated,

of affairs in Peru. With a small retinue, among whom were the *mariscal* Alonso de Alvarado, who fought under Francisco Pizarro, and the *adelantado* Pascual de Andagoya, the priest sailed from San Lúcar on the 26th of May, 1546. Touching at Santa Marta, he received the astounding intelligence of the defeat and death of the Viceroy at the battle of Añaquito, and began to appreciate the gravity of the work before him. The president was in doubt as to which way to attempt to reach Peru, but decided to proceed direct to Nombre de Dios.

Hernando Mejia was uncertain how to receive the royal envoy. He was willing to oppose the landing of an armed force, but could see no danger in this poor ecclesiastic. He paraded his forces, saluted with cannon, and conducted the president to his own quarters. Gasca was the brainiest man that, so far, had landed on the Isthmus. He was clothed with regal powers, and possessed the good sense to know how to use them. Of a calm and judicial mind, he yet was versed in all the wily craft and casuistry of the priesthood. He announced that he came on a mission of peace; that he had authority to grant pardon for all offences, and that it was his purpose to proclaim the revocation of such of the New Laws as bore most harshly on the colonists. The objects of the revolution were thus attained, and there was no longer any motive to oppose the officers of the crown.

Mejia was completely won over, and placed himself and men at the disposal of the president. Hinojosa was not pleased with the action of his son-in-law, but when Mejia and Alvarado went over to Panama and explained matters to him, he received the envoy with every outward respect. Hinojosa was not so easily handled by the subtle churchman. He asked the president to see his authority, and wanted to know if he had power to confirm Gonzalo Pizarro as ruler of Peru. The prelate evaded this question, and the faithful Hinojosa immediately wrote to Pizarro an account of the interview. Gasca also sends

and that a powerful body of insurgents held possession of that province, the monarch and his ministers were aroused. The affairs of Peru occupied for a time their careful considerations. Lengthy debates and close councils followed. At first the king's counsellors in their deliberations consulted only the honor of the nation and strongly advocated sending an armed force against Pizarro; but insurrection at home and insurrection in Peru were two very different things. The Spanish government could more easily make war against a hundred thousand men in Spain or Germany than against one thousand in the wilds of that distant province." Bancroft's Works, Vol. VII, p. 264.

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a diplomatic letter to Pizarro, and by a Dominican friar he despatched manifestoes to the principal towns.

Upon receipt of the president's letter, Pizarro called a council of his officers and the principal citizens of Lima. It was decided to send an embassy to Spain to petition the emperor to confirm Pizarro in the government of Peru; and a resolution, signed by seventy cavaliers, was forwarded to Gasca, stating that the country now enjoyed the blessings of peace, and that his presence would not only tend to distract the province, but would probably cost him his life. Lorenzo de Aldana headed the embassy for Spain, but on arriving at Panama, he, too, fell under the spell of the crafty envoy, and deserted the side of Pizarro. Hinojosa finally turned over his fleet, and Gasca wrote to all the governors for assistance, impressed every available man on the Isthmus into his service, and on the 13th of June, 1547, he arrived at Tumbez in command of more than a thousand men.

Had Gonzalo Pizarro been a great man, he would have chopped off the head of Pedro de la Gasca, and have become king of Peru. As it was, Pedro de la Gasca chopped off the head of Gonzalo Pizarro, on the field of Xaquixaguana; and Peru remained, for two centuries and a half longer, a province of Spain.

Several years after the down-fall of Gonzalo Pizarro, another rebellion was started, in Nicaragua, with the same object in view, viz., to seize the Isthmus and Peru, and set up a monarchy independent of Spain. The ring-leaders in this revolution were Hernando and Pedro de Contreras, sons of the deposed governor of Nicaragua, and grandsons of old Pedrarias. Largely through the enmity of Bishop Valdivieso and the friars, Governor Rodrigo de Contreras had been deprived—probably unjustly—of his property and estates in Nicaragua. Returning to Spain to seek justice, he was turned down by the Council of the Indies, and forbidden to return to Nicaragua.

This left the sons in comparative poverty, and they determined by force of arms to recover their father's property. In Nicaragua, at this time, were certain refugees from Peru; among them, Juan Bermejo and Rodrigo Salguero, whom Gasca had banished for attempt at insurrection after the execution of Gonzalo Pizarro. Bermejo was an old friend of the Contreras family, and it was he who instigated the sons to the grander scheme of seizing the government of Castilla del Oro and Peru; "the audacity of which has no parallel in the history of Spanish colonization." If successful, Hernando was to be proclaimed king of Peru, believed to contain more of the precious metals than all the rest of the world.

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Preparations were begun at Granada, and men secretly enlisted. The brothers appear to have been held in high esteem by the colonists, and they received a considerable following. The headquarters were then moved to Leon, leaving Pedro, the younger brother, at his mother's house in Granada, so as not to excite suspicion. At Leon, the elder brother invited his friends to a pretended merry-making, when he denounced the rulings of the Audiencia, by which so many of the conquerors had been deprived of their lands and *encomiendas* of natives. Hernando claimed that he was entitled to the government of Peru by certain rights inherited from his grandfather, Pedrarias Dávila. There was no basis for this preposterous claim, but his reckless adherents saw a chance to share in the spoils of the rich country to the south.

As a measure of prudence, as well as to avenge the disgrace of Rodrigo de Contreras, the party proceeded to the residence of Bishop Valdivieso to put him to death. Hernando and an apostate friar, named Castañeda, entered the house and stabbed the prelate to death before the eyes of his aged mother, the point of Hernando's dagger breaking off in the victim's breast. After looting the dwelling of gold and jewels, the conspirators rushed into the plaza, and proclaimed Hernando "captain general of liberty." Then proceeding to the treasury building, these early disciples of liberty quickly divided its contents among themselves.

Hernando, with the main body of the rebels, went to Realejo to enlist men and seize the ships; Salguero was despatched to Nicoya for like purpose; while Bermejo, with about thirty men, returned to Granada to destroy the vessels on Lake Nicaragua, so that no news of the uprising could reach Nombre de Dios. As Bermejo approached the city, he found himself confronted by Captain Luis Carillo with a hastily mustered force, much superior in numbers. Many of these, however, deserted to the revolutionists. There was a brief skirmish, during which Carillo and several of his men were killed, when Bermejo took possession of the city. Bermejo then joined the other leaders on the west coast, being accompanied by the young Pedro, much against the wishes of his mother, Doña Maria. Soon after their departure from Granada, the *alcaldes* ordered a vessel to be constructed for the purpose of sending warning of the threatened invasion to Nombre de Dios; but Doña Maria scared them out of this intention by declaring that her sons had information of their doings, and were even then returning to destroy the city. The officials hastily begged the lady to assure them that no messages would be sent to the Isthmus.

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The conspirators seized the vessels on the Pacific side, and learned from persons recently arrived from Peru that Pedro de la Gasca was then returning to Spain with a large amount of treasure. It was necessary to hurry to Panama in order to intercept this silver and gold. If successful, they would put Gasca and the governor of Panama to death; levy an army of six hundred men on the Isthmus; send the women and children to Cartagena; and burn Nombre de Dios, Panamá, and Natá to the ground. Besides, the country was to be laid waste, the cattle killed off, and crops destroyed; so that if an army should be sent against them from Spain, it would have neither means of subsistence nor ships for transport. The rebels would then sail for Peru and endeavor to set up Hernando as king. All being ready for the desperate undertaking, the rebels, now numbering more than three hundred men, sailed from Nicoya for Punta de Higuera in the district of Natá, where they captured a vessel loaded with corn. Continuing toward Panama, Hernando took another vessel, and learned from her crew that Gasca had arrived at Panama, and the strength of his forces. They decided to surprise the city by night, kill the governor, and thus create a panic among the citizens. As to Gasca, "they swore," says Vega, "to make powder of him, an article of which they were much in need."

In the meantime, Gasca had arrived at Panama on the 12th of March, 1550, with the royal share of the famous Potosi and other mines in Peru, valued at eleven million castellanos. This he was ordered to ship to Spain with all speed, as it was needed to defray the expenses of the emperor's European wars. Gasca himself was to remain at Panama until the arrival of the newly appointed viceroy, Mendoza. He had with him one hundred and fifty veteran soldiers, and the seamen on the fleet numbered about four hundred and fifty. Nevertheless, Gasca felt uneasy for the safety of his treasure, and as the fleet from Spain had not yet arrived, he seized nineteen trading vessels anchored at Nombre de Dios, put on stores, and armed them with the artillery brought from Peru. On board these ships were placed all vagrants and those who had come from Spain without license, together with certain married men who had left their wives in Spain; as the governor was determined to leave on the Isthmus none but settlers or traders, or those known to live on their means or by their labor. "Twelve hundred mule-loads of gold and silver were soon conveyed to the town of Cruces on the Chagre, there to be shipped in barges, under Gasca's charge, for transportation to the North Sea, and still a large amount of treasure awaited means of conveyance at Panama."

The night of the 20th of April, 1550, was a memorable one in Old Panama. Hernando and Bermejo, with the main body of the revolutionists, landed at a small inlet about a league from the city, and under cover of the darkness made their entrance without opposition, shouting "Death to the Traitor!" and "Long live Prince Contreras, captain general of liberty." The governor's house was plundered, and the governor escaped assassination by being in Nombre de Dios. The royal treasury was seized, and so confident were the rebels of success that, instead of removing it to their ships, they deposited it with the merchants, who bound themselves before a notary to deliver it when called for either to Bermejo or Contreras. Arms and ammunition were secured, and the people told that they came not to sack the town, but to seize the king's treasure, and to inaugurate a reign of liberty. In spite of this assurance, many of the lawless gang broke into the stores, and for the first time since leaving Spain, attired themselves in a new suit of clothes.

Bermejo dragged the bishop from the cathedral, where he had fled for refuge, and urged that he and the other principal officials be put to death. Hernando, not wishing to shed blood unnecessarily, simply accepted their promise under oath to join the cause of the revolution; whereupon Bermejo remarked to his tender-hearted leader,—“If you are in favor of your enemies and against yourself you will find that these very same men whose lives you now spare will, upon the first opportunity, turn about and hang you and all your followers.” His words proved prophetic, for the city officials managed to send news of the invasion to Gasca.

While this was going on, Pedro had seized the ships anchored off the city, and Salguero, with twenty mounted arquebusiers, had hurried to Cruces in hopes of overtaking Gasca and the governor, and capturing the treasure. The two officials had already departed with most of the wealth, but five hundred bars of silver were still in the village. Hernando, with only forty men, left Panama for Nombre de Dios, and at a place called La Venta de Chagre he overtook a messenger to Gasca, named Gomez de Tapia, whom he strung up to a tree, with a paper attached to his feet, with this inscription, “This man was hanged for carrying advices to Gasca.” The job was done in a bungling manner, and Tapia survived the interesting experience. A mulatto boy who gave some fruitless information, was hanged at the same place. Arrived at Capira, within three and a half leagues of the town, Henando rested until Gasca, with the treasure, should reach Nombre de Dios by way of the Chagres river and the sea.

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Bermejo, foolishly, started from Panama to join Hernando, believing, doubtless, that Hernando's force was too small to cope with Gasca. This left only Pedro, on his vessels in front of the city. Hearing a commotion on shore, the latter sent a boat to ascertain the cause. The church bells were ringing, and the citizens shouting, "Long live the king!" and "Death to tyrants!" The boat's crew were captured, and an attempt made to take the ships of Pedro. One of the captive sailors was placed in the boat and it was rowed out to the fleet, followed by three others filled with armed men. When challenged, the sailor was forced to answer, "Hernando de Contreras, the prince of liberty." The men then attempted to board the vessels, but were repulsed with the loss of six of their number. During the fight, the sailor got free of his bonds, and swam off to his ship.

When Bermejo arrived at Chagre, he received tidings of the turn of affairs in Panama, and hurried back, vowing to hang and quarter every one who had broken their vows. He despatched couriers to Salguero and Hernando, and made the fourteen leagues march back to Panama in one day, and without giving his tired men any rest, attacked the city that same night. The people had thrown up barricades, and fought from the house-tops, causing Bermejo to beat a retreat. He decided to fire the place the following night, and slaughter every one over twelve years of age. One of his captives happened to overhear the plan, and induced a negro to carry the information into the city.

The next day, the men of Panama placed the women and children in the cathedral, and about noon sallied out to give the rebels battle. Bermejo was greatly astonished at their audacity, and withdrew to a neighboring hill to await the onslaught; where he was joined by Salguero, who just arrived from Cruces. Salguero had packed some of his captured treasure on mules, and brought it along; but most of it was lost, being thrown in the river, or stolen by negroes. The combined forces put up a desperate fight, but the reinvigorated men of Panama overpowered the rebels, and killed ninety of them on the field, including the two leaders, Bermejo and Salguero. The remainder were led in fetters to the jail, where they were all stabbed to death; the alguacil mayor, Rodrigo de Villalba, plunging his own dagger into the breasts of many, and not allowing them the consolation of religion.

Leaving twenty-five men under Landa to hold the passes at Capira, Hernando hastened back to the assistance of his lieutenant. Hearing at Chagre the result of the battle, he disbanded

Two hundred sixty-six

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his little force, bidding them to make their way to the sea-shore, where they might be picked up by his brother, Pedro. With three companions, Hernando then struck off in the direction of Natá. The men left at Capira, fearing an attack by Gasca, returned across the Isthmus, and when near Panama were attacked; but escaped during the night, and also sought the coast.

Meanwhile, when Gasca got down to the mouth of the Chagre, he received news from Nombre de Dios that Panama was in the hands of a rebel band. After crushing rebellion in Peru, and bringing the royal treasure to the shore of the Atlantic, the president found himself in a critical situation. As usual, he faced the danger instead of flying from it. He proceeded direct to Nombre de Dios, and soon restored confidence to the terror-stricken inhabitants. Finding he was not attacked by the rebels, Gasca started out to hunt them; but when about to depart, he received news from Panama that the rebellion was already crushed.

When Bermejo met with defeat, Pedro de Contreras sailed towards Natá with two of his best ships, abandoning the others. The Panama forces started in pursuit in four vessels, and came up with Pedro at Punta de Higuera. The rebels escaped to the shore, where some were captured, and others died of starvation. Landa's party was taken, and he himself was hanged and quartered at the same tree at Venta de Chagre, from which the mulatto boy was suspended. Of all the captive rebels, only twelve were spared, and these were sent to Spain to work in the galleys. Hernando and his men reached the south coast, and put to sea in a canoe; but were driven back by rough weather, and dispersed along the shore. Enfeebled by his labors and hunger, Hernando was drowned while fording a river. The body was discovered, and identified by his clothing and a golden ornament suspended from the neck. The head which aspired to wear a crown was removed, and exposed in an iron cage in the plaza at Panama.

If Hernando de Contreras had possessed the cunning and merciless ability displayed by his grandsire, he, too, might have ruled the Isthmus, and have won the government of Peru. Had one region seceded from Spain, the other provinces would have followed; as there was much discontent among the old conquerors and colonists, and the time was ripe for revolt. Not republics, but monarchies would have been started, and the history of the New World would tell quite a different story.

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"When the wild beasts of a forest have hunted down their prey, there comes the difficulty of tearing it into equal or rather into satisfying shares, which mostly ends in renewed bloodshed. Nor is the same stage of the proceedings less perilous to associates amongst the higher animals; and men, notwithstanding all their writings and agreements, rules, forms, and orders, are hardly restrained from flying at each other's throats, when they come to the distribution of profits, honors, or rewards. The feud between the Pizarros and the Almagros, which forms the next great series of events in American history, is one of the most memorable quarrels in the world. Pizarro and Almagro were two rude, unlettered men, of questionable origin; but their disputes were of as much importance to mankind as almost any which occurred in that century, rich as it is in historical incident, except the long-continued quarrel between the Emperor Charles the Fifth and Francis the First. Moreover, the European feud between these monarchs was important chiefly on account of its indirect consequences, inasmuch as it gave room for the Reformation to grow and establish itself; but this dire contest in America destroyed almost every person of any note who came within its influence, desolated the country where it originated, prevented the growth of colonization, and changed for the worse the whole course of legislation for the Spanish colonies. Its effects were distinctly visible for a century afterwards, whereas the wars between France and Spain, though they seemed to be all-important at the time, did not leave any permanent mark upon either country." Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*, Vol. 4, p. 1.



Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.

CATHEDRAL TOWER OF OLD PANAMA.

CHAPTER XVII

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF VERAGUA AND PANAMA.

Nearly Literal Translations from Original Documents.

A FELIPE II.

Ya que el sujeto reino lusitano
Inclina al yugo la cerviz paciente,
Y todo el grande esfuerzo de Occidente
Teneis, sacro Señor, en vuestra mano,
Volved contra el suelo hórrida africano
El firme pecho y vuestra osada gente,
Que su poder, su corazon valiente,
Que tanto fué, será ante el vuestro en vano-
Cristo os da la pujanza de este imperio
Para que la fe nuestra se adelante
Por du su santo nombre es ofendido.
¿Quién contra vos, quién contra el reino hesperio
Bastará alzar la frente, que al instante
No se derribe á vuestros piés rendido?
Fernando de Herrera.



ROYAL, cedula, dated Madrid, 24th of December, 1534, declared that the contract and capitulation with Felipe Gutierrez was without prejudice to whatever rights and privileges the Admiral, D. Luys Colon, might have in the province of Veragua.

On the 19th of January, 1537, Veragua was made a dukedom with préeminence of domain; comprising 625 square leagues of land, 25 leagues from the Rio Belen west to Bahia Corabora, and 25 leagues towards the Sea of the South. The duchy did not reach to the South Sea, as the distance across the Isthmus at this point was estimated at from 30 to 40 leagues.

In 1539, the Bishop of Panama, Fray Tomás de Berlanga, in the name of the Vicequeen D.^a Maria de Toledo, mother of Don Luis Colon, executed a capitulation or contract with Hernan Sanchez de Badajoz for the conquest and colonization of

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the Duchy of Veragua. At the same time, Doctor Robles, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Panama, in the name of the King, authorized Badajoz, who was his son-in-law, to conquer and exploit the territory belonging to the Crown outside of Veragua. This contract was not approved by the King. In the meantime, Badajoz going into the disputed lands on the confines of Costa Rica, was arrested and sent to Spain by Rodrigo de Contreras, who claimed that region by the exploration of Captain Alonso Calero, who went down the Desaguadero (the outlet of Lake Nicaragua) in 1539 with Machuca.

In the year 1546, Don Luis Colon, Duke of Veragua, sent Cristóbal de Peña to settle his duchy, but the latter returned without having accomplished anything.

In the city of Nata, the 10th of April, 1556, Francisco Vasquez ("*el magnifico señor*"), lieutenant of the Governor for the said city, and a number of the citizens held a meeting, and passed resolutions to send an agent to Spain to treat with Luis Colon, and induce him to settle two towns in his territory. The next day, the Ayuntamiento of Nata wrote a letter to the Duke, stating that the Indians (presumably from Veragua) came secretly to Nata to trade hammocks, carrying hatchets, daggers, and other arms; and that the residents of that city were sending Miguel Sanchez de la Reta, *escribano publico*, to negotiate with the Duke, and begged to hope that his lordship would settle the duchy of Coro Boro, or Veragua. Five days later, April 15th, this letter was endorsed in the city of Panama, and attested by three notaries public.

This same year, on the 2d of December, 1556, Don Luis Colon, in consideration of a yearly rental of 7,000 ducats, renounced his claims to Veragua, and the province became a part of the crown lands. The people of Nata then wrote to the King of Spain, petitioning that his majesty give them permission to elect a governor and populate Veragua, dividing the district among the citizens and settlers.

By royal cedula, dated Valladolid 21st of January, 1557, the King authorized the officials and citizens (*vecinos*) of Nata to settle the province, land, and dukedom of Veragua; giving them thirteen good instructions how the conquest and settlements should be made. They were not to settle west of the Escudo on the North Sea, or the Rio Chiriqui Viejo on the South Sea.

Soon after this, the King, through Licentiate Monjaráz at Panama, made Francisco Vasquez Governor and Captain General of the province of Veragua. Vasquez had some differences with Monjaraz as to who should enter the territory, but con-

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quered him in battle, and discovered (*descubrió*) the greater part of Veragua, founding therein two cities.

The government to the north continued to meddle in the affairs of this region, and on December 18th, 1559, the *Audien-
cia de los Confines*, up at Comayagua in Honduras, instructed Licenciado Cavallón, alcalde mayor of Nicaragua, to found a town in Veragua, in peace and not with war. In the following year, 1560, another royal cedula was issued authorizing settlement in Veragua.

An unsigned account of Veragua, dated 1560, describes that province as thirty leagues in extent from the North to the South Sea. On the north coast, in the port formed by the mouth of the Rio Concepcion, was the town of *Concepcion*, headquarters and smelter for the mines. Here resided a *teniente de general*, two *alcaldes* and *regidores*, and the lieutenants of the royal officials who lived in Santa Fé. From Conception to a place called *Llerena*, among the mines, was three leagues of level road over which horses could travel when they might have them, and over which provisions were carried from the port to the mines. As the land could not be cultivated on account of the abundant rains, supplies were brought from Santo Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, Cartagena, and Nicaragua; and could be landed in Veragua only from the end of April to November, because during the rest of the year storms ("*muy brava por las brisas*") prevailed upon that coast causing the loss of ships and frigates.

From the port of the mines it was ten leagues to *Santa Fé*, by a road passable only afoot. At that time, Santa Fé consisted of above 50 houses, and counted 10 or 12 married men, and 30 bachelors. Twelve leagues beyond Santa Fé was *Natá*, from whence cattle were brought to furnish the miners with meat, for the mines of Veragua being in the mountains, there were no pastures for cattle. Ten leagues from Santa Fé, in another direction, in an Indian province, was a settlement called *Trota*, founded by Francisco Vasquez with 100 Spaniards; later depopulated by the war stirred up by the governor, Nonjaraz. The white men, however, would go back to Trota because it possessed mines of pure gold as well as gold mixed with copper; besides, there would be 40 *repartimientos* of Indians for 40 settlers. Forty leagues from Trota in the direction of Nicaragua, "which is almost towards where the sun sets" (*que es casi hacia donde el sol se pone*), was the province named El Duy [or Talamanca, now in Costa Rica], where it would be neces-

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sary to establish another town, as that region also was reported to possess many mines of gold.

From Concepcion westward, the north coast was settled as far as the valley of Calobegola, an Indian district; beyond which was the valley of Guaymi, a large province rich in mines, ruled by Cacique Cape, who would furnish over fifteen *repartimientos*. Opposite the valley of Guaymi, near the mainland, was an island called Escudo de Nicuesa [Escudo de Veragua], where were two caciques with many people.

In November, 1560, was founded a place called Castillo de Austria, on a river somewhat inland from the Chiriqui Lagoon. This location was abandoned or destroyed; and, in 1575, the settlement was moved to "*Puerto del Suerre, Nueva villa del Castillo de Austria*," which was on the port of San Geronimo [Bahia del Almirante] in the province of Cartago and Costa Rica.

In the year 1575, Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, senior *oidor* of the Royal Audience of Panama, describes the settled portion of Castilla del Oro as being eighty leagues in length, from the Gulf of San Miguel to the Concepcion de Veragua. From Concepcion on the north coast to Philipina on the South Sea was twenty-four leagues, while the distance from Nombre de Dios to Panama was only twelve leagues, though by the winding *camino real* it was eighteen leagues. Within these confines the white inhabitants could freely move and trade, but the rest of the land was held by hostile Indians and remained to be conquered. The land in possession of the Spaniards was divided into two principal parts; first the province of Veragua, and second the province of Panamá, properly called Tierra-Firme.

Veragua was 30 leagues long from Concepcion in the north to the settlement of Meriato on the south coast, and twenty leagues wide from the city of Concepcion to the Rio del Calobre. Concepcion was the principal town, the seat of the royal Hacienda, where resided the Governor and other officials. It possessed thirty inhabitants whose wealth consisted of negroes who mined the gold in gangs of 50 or 60 at a place named Rio de Santiago del Turluri ("*que se dice el rrio de Santiago del Turluri*"), three leagues from Concepcion. The slaves at the mines occupied more than 30 houses, where also was a church, and a priest who said mass at the expense of the owners of the said negroes.

Twelve leagues from the mines was another city called

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Sancta Féé, the first settlement in the discovery of this province, with 30 citizens who sold their cattle to the people at the mines. The first governor and discoverer of Veragua, excepting Badajoz, was Francisco Vazquez, who founded the two cities of Santa Fé and Concepcion.

Farther off, 20 leagues from Santa Fé, was another place which they called *La Philipina*, settled by Alonso Vaca, born in these parts. The 20 white residents sustained themselves upon the corn furnished by the Indians who had been divided among them. Five leagues by sea from Philipina, and twenty by land, was another white settlement called *Meriato*, which was not a regular town, but a place where seven or eight Spaniards lived, and gathered gold with 50 negroes.

Veragua is described as being very rough and mountainous, with neither meadows nor flat land; so that one could not travel on horseback, but only on foot. Vegetation grew large and dense, and to erect houses it was necessary to cut away the trees. In the mountains was but little game, and scarcely any birds. There were many large rivers of fresh water. The greater part of the year it rained excessively ("*lueve la mayor parte del año excesivamente*"), so that the rivers overflowed, twice invading Concepcion. The character of the country was very humid and at the same time hot, except Santa Fé, which was on elevated land and cool; and all the province was unhealthy. The white men became very yellow in color, and the feet swelled, of which many died. However, the gold mined in this region, though not excessive in quantity, was very fine, being twenty-two carats and one grain, only one grain under the legal standard. "And this is, in substance, the province of Veragua," adds the writer.

The other part of the kingdom of Castilla del Oro was the province of Panamá, at the head of which was the city of *Panamá* on the shores of the Sea of the South. Here resided the *presidente* and *oidores* of the *Audiencia Real*, and it was the seat of the cathedral church. Panamá consisted of 400 houses, which, though built of wood, were very handsomely constructed. The citizens numbered 500, although it was common to have 800 men present in the city. The people of Panamá are described as being all Spaniards, and a great part of them originally from the city of Seville. They were very polite and of much understanding. The men engaged in trade and traffic, except fifteen or twenty who had estates in the country and raised cattle. Most of the citizens were rich, though a few had come to want by reason of the high prices of things, and many of little fortune were in passage to Peru.

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About Panamá were good level fields and many fertile meadows, and an abundance of vegetables; but the land was not cultivated for want of people, and those who were there were not inclined to work the soil. They raised many cattle but no other herds, and possessed *récuas*, or pack-trains of mules. The citizens of Panamá also owned barges, worked by their negro slaves, which carried the merchandise, brought to Nombre de Dios from Spain, up the Chagre river to the house called *Cruces*. *Cruces* was a *depósito*, or warehouse, between the two seas, owned by the city of Panamá, where were assembled the articles from Spain and the produce of Peru. In the house at *Cruces* were rooms let to the traders, half a *peso* for each day. At this place could be a population, and it would be very convenient, especially for raising maiz and other provisions for people coming up the river and stopping there.

The *Rio de Chagre* was a beautiful river, its banks shaded by many trees, carrying a great quantity of very fresh and clear water. The distance from Nombre de Dios to the mouth of the Chagre by sea was 18 leagues, as the journey by land was impossible on account of the roughness and imperviousness of the mountains and woods. From the mouth of the river up to *Cruces* where the barges unloaded, was likewise 18 leagues, and from *Cruces* overland to Panamá was 6 leagues. Corsairs hung about the mouth of the river to rob the barges, and had caused much loss. The pack-trains, which were many and expensive, in like manner carried commodities and passengers from the city of Nombre de Dios, and from the said house of *Cruces* to Panamá.

Near the city of Panamá, upon the side which did not border upon the plain, commenced the mountain, which was so wooded that one could not travel through it without cutting away the dense and interwoven branches; an opportunity which encouraged the runaway slaves (*los negros Cimarrones*) to hide there and defend themselves, and by which they succeeded many times in reaching the city on that side without being perceived and stealing the negresses. Somewhat distant from Panamá was good water; but the people used that from a little river near by, though the water was not so healthy. The city contained three monasteries, though the friars were not many. The oldest was La Merced, where dwelt 6 or 7 religiosos; soon afterwards San Francisco was established, where resided 7 or 8; and the newest was Santo Domingo, with 3 or 4 members. These houses were very poor and sustained by public alms.

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The hospital was the refuge of all the sick of this land to be cured of their diseases, and commonly it sheltered more than 60 indigent sick. It was supported by the charity of the populace, because its income of 1,700 pesos was not sufficient, as it expended more than 6,000 pesos annually. Great care was taken in the refreshment of the poor patients, the President, Oidores, Alcaldes, Regidores, and most of the principal citizens taking their turn every day in assisting the hospital service and *administrador* in the treatment and needs of the sick, whence resulted much benefit and many cures.

The only church was the Cathedral; a very elegant temple, though constructed of wood. The Most Reverend Bishop was assisted in the ministry of it by a dean, precentor, and canon. The ecclesiastics were supported by the tenths collected from the bishopric of Panamá and the province of Veragua, amounting in the year 1574, to 2,395 *pesos de plata ensayada*.

Panamá was much molested by the *cimarrones*, who traveled through the mountain in gangs commanded by Captains, and ruled by a black King, whom all obeyed. They went naked, and carried very large and strong bows with sharp-pointed arrows, spears, darts, and *machetes*; and did not use poison on their arms because they did not understand it. They possessed no arquebuses nor other ingenious weapons because they were barbarous and did not have the industry to make them; although among the escaped slaves were smiths who fabricated the irons for the lances and arrows. These *cimarrones* went out upon the road from Nombre de Dios to Panamá, robbing the trains of merchandise, and usually killing the people they met; as well as inflicting loss on the cattle-ranches and among the herds. Always harmful, these outlaws were especially dangerous when they joined with their friends, the French and English, who furnished them arms; for which reason Panamá was exposed to great peril from these enemies.

This land was very hot because the sun burns with great force. It is in 9 degrees of latitude, and the days and nights are equal, except a difference of three-quarters of an hour in summer, which is from December to the last of April, when the nights were coolish and the sky serene and clear. The other months of the year was the season of winter with cloudy nights, and rains with tempests of thunder and lightning. The province of Panamá was sickly, though not so much so as Veragua. "The malice of the air corrupts everything, so that even iron is consumed and destroyed."

As no wheat could be raised on the Isthmus, flour was brought from Peru. In the mountains was plenty of game.

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On that side of the city of Panamá close to where were located the houses of the Royal Audience, was the port where only small vessels and barks gathered, for when the sea fell, which was twice in the course of day and night, the waters receded more than a league, leaving them high and dry. The little vessels loaded and unloaded the big ships which lay in a sheltered and quiet haven, two leagues from the city, at an island which they called *Perico*, where came each year more than forty ships from Peru and Nicaragua.

Fifteen leagues from the city were more than fifteen islands called the Pearl Islands, where some citizens of Panamá collected many pearls with their slaves. Five leagues from the city was the island of Otoque, and three leagues from Panamá was the island of Taboga; both tilled and cultivated by some inhabitants of Panamá, who planted and harvested corn.

Eighteen leagues from the city of Panamá was *Nombre de Dios*, the port on the Sea of the North where came the *flotas* and ships from Spain. The harbour offered little shelter, and was very dangerous when the northers blew, during which many ships were lost, and one year, 1565, an entire fleet, the general of which was Aguayo. *Nombre de Dios* comprised 200 houses, but most of the owners lived there only when the fleets arrived, when they went to buy or receive their goods; the rest of the year only fifty inhabitants remained. The town was very unhealthy by reason of being inclosed on the land side by very dense and thick-grown mountains. The heat was excessive, and it rained during the greater part of the year, the heavens being almost always clouded. *Nombre de Dios* was reputed to be the grave-yard of Spaniards, for so many people who came with the fleets died there. The place was much harassed by the privateers in the North Sea, and by the *cimarones* on land. The church was spacious, and there was a poor monastery where lived one or two Dominicans. The hospital was but ill provided for the many sick it was called upon to treat, and depended largely upon alms from the inhabitants of the city.

Thirty leagues from Panamá was another small city, called Natá, governed by an *alcalde mayor* furnished by the Audience at Panama. It was quiet and well situated, with fertile fields. The sixty inhabitants supported themselves by their herds and agriculture, like the farmers of Castile. Three leagues beyond Natá were two Indian towns, the one named *Ola*, and the other *Pueblo Nuevo de los Reyes de Chirú*; each

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containing a little more than 100 natives. These Indians were not held in vassalage (*encomienda*) but were free, paying the king of Spain the tenths of their cattle and maiz. They were ruled by one of their number elected by the city of Natá, and when he did not give satisfaction the Audiencia appointed another Indian.

Nine leagues from Natá was the Spanish town called *La Villa de los Santos*, of 50 inhabitants, few of whom had helped to settle it. They enjoyed good water and fields, and supplied the city of Panamá with beef and corn, gathering each year more than 30,000 bushels of maiz. Half a league from this place was a settlement of 90 or 100 Indians, called *Cubitá*; free like the others, and poor. They raised cattle and corn.

Six leagues from the city of Panama (in the opposite direction) was the Indian town of *Chepo* inhabited by 130 natives with their cacique, and 7 or 8 Spaniards. These Indians, like those of the other towns mentioned, were free, and were required to pay to His Majesty the tenth of what they produced. Each Indian village had its church and a *clerigo* who instructed them in the faith.

The white people in Castilla del Oro did not serve, neither were they inclined to work, all the labor being performed by slaves, which accounted for the great number of negroes in the kingdom, amounting in all to 8,629. The author of this report then proceeds to enumerate the slaves held in each district, and the taxes paid by each town.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Spanish Crown addressed 355 intelligent interrogatories to the Spanish cities, towns, and native villages in the islands and firm land of the Western Indies; requiring the officials in these places to make careful investigations, and forward prompt returns. The king wanted to know if the population was a city or town of Spaniards, or an Indian settlement—the number of men and women, and whether born in Spain or Creoles—the number of married men, bachelors, and old persons—the name of the town, its founders, and in what year—a plan of the city, and its coat-of-arms—its castles, forts, and means of defense—was it a good port and could they repair ships—if the town had a cathedral church, and was it sumptuous or plain—what convents of friars and nuns, and was there a university or seminary—officials and their salaries—how many keys to the treasure chest, and who held them—name of the province and audience—who was governor or corregidor—was the place on the highway, and where

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did it go—if through deserts, were there inns for travelers—number of tributary Indians, their food, drink, and productions—about the graves, ancient rites, and traditions of the Indians—what the Spaniards planted and raised, and their herds—number of mule and horse trains—number of negroes free and slave, and *cimarrones*, *mulatos*, and *tambaygos*—what rivers and their fishes—the animals, roots, herbs, and minerals thereabout? etc.

Among the Spanish archives we come across many accounts and descriptions of provinces and towns in America, obviously made in reply to these questions. A report on Castilla del Oro, dated 1610, describes the city of Panama (*Vieja*) as composed of 4 streets running east and west, and 7 from the south to north, a large plaza and two small ones, a cathedral, 5 convents, a hospital, 7 royal houses and prison, tribunal and gaol, the cabildo, 2 ermitas, 332 fine houses covered with tile, 40 little houses, 112 straw shacks, 2 bridges, meat-market and slaughter-house. All the houses were of wood, except eight which were built of stone, being the houses of the Cabildo, the Audiencia, Hospital, Jesuit's convent, nunnery of the Conception and slaughter-house.

The city then contained 548 citizens, 303 women, 156 children, 146 mulattoes, 148 free negroes, and 3,500 African slaves, male and female.

Old Panama commenced at a small plaza, 60 yards square, on the beach of the port at the east end of the city, and extended westward 1,412 yards to the convent of La Merced. The city was 487 yards in width, from the seashore on the south to the swamps and country on the north. Running north and south along the east beach was Calkers street. From the little plaza a street ran 232 yards west to the *plaza mayor*, which was 94 yards east to west, and 88 north to south. Upon the greater plaza were the houses of the Cabildo, the cathedral with six houses (five with porches), the provincial courts, and city gaol.

From the great square went out two streets to the north, the one on the east ending in the quagmires of the port; the other, *la calle de Santo Domingo*, had on its right hand the convent of Santo Domingo, and terminated at a garden fence in the suburb, on the way to the hermitage of Santa Ana. From the great plaza ran three streets to the west. The one nearest the south beach was known as the *Carrera*, and on this street, not far from the *plaza mayor* was the meat-market, with a small plaza about it, with porches to the east and south where were

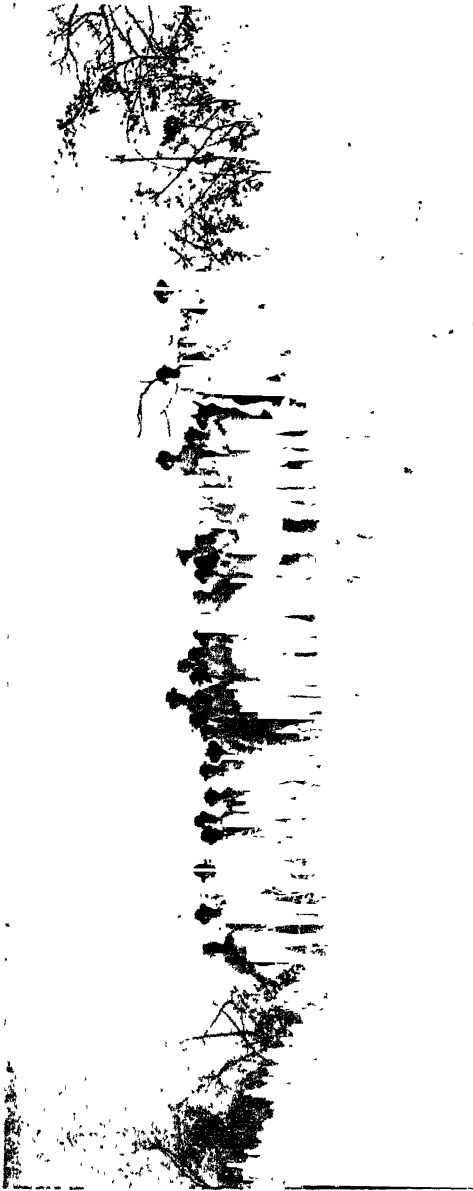


Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.



ANCIENT STONE BRIDGE AT OLD PANAMA.

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sold fruit and garden-stuff. On Carrera street, 500 paces (*pasos*) from the great plaza was the hospital, built of lime, stone, and brick; 200 yards farther on was located the convent of San Francisco; and 1.026 yards from the plaza was the convent, or monastery, of Merced. This street or road continued on to the westward, and 350 yards from la Merced it crossed a stone bridge, the remains of which are yet in a fair state of preservation and give access to the ruins of Old Panama.

In 1610, this bridge is described as being 80 paces in length, its walls of stone, and with only one arch. West of the bridge was the slaughter-house (*matadero*), also of stone.

Parallel with la Carrera ran la *Empedrada*, the Paved street, finishing at the wall of the garden of San Francisco. On the right side of this street, 132 yards from the plaza, was the convent of the *Compañía de Jesús*; and 470 yards from the plaza was the convent of nuns of la *Concepcion*.

The third street from the south beach is not named in this report, but was parallel with the two preceding, and among the dwellings on it was the house of the Bishop. These three streets west of the plaza mayor were crossed by others going from the sea on the south towards the north. The royal houses of the Presidente, *oidores*, Audiencia, and auditor were situated by the shore in the southeast corner of the city, where two short streets came together upon a rocky surface, the one street being parallel to the port on the east, the other running along the water on the south.

"The Street Of The Little Bridge" (La Calle de la Puentezuela) was a short street 240 paces in length, in the northeast section of the city. It started at the northern end of the street of the Calkers and ran westward along the margin of the mangrove swamp, crossing a little stone bridge under which flowed an *acequia* during the rainy season. This water was not good to use.

Besides the two stone bridges, there was a third one made of wood, 38 yards long, in the northern suburbs near the *ermita* of Santa Ana. The other hermitage was called San Cristóbal, situated in the northwest quarter near St. Christopher's Hill, where occurred the destruction of the Contreras faction.

The cathedral church, at this time, was called Santa Maria de la Antigua, the same as in the first settlement on the north coast.

In the city were a great number of monks and officials. Among the tribunals were the Audiencia Real, ecclesiastic tribu-

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nal, orphans court, provincial court, the cabildo, ordinary magistrates, and alcaldes of the holy brotherhood.

The royal Audience¹ was established here in 1542, but passed to Guatemala in 1548 when Pedro Ramirez de Quiñones was President. In the year 1550 took place the insurrection of the Contreras brothers, Sancho Clavijo being Governor. In 1562, under Governor D. Luis de Guzman, occurred another uprising headed by Rodrigo Mendez, a citizen of Panamá. Mendez, together with 200 of his followers, was killed by the people of Panama. Under Doctor Barros de San Millan, the Audiencia returned to Panama from Guatemala, the 15th of May, 1565.

About this time was an uprising of the *negros cimarrones*, which caused a war of considerable anxiety to the whites. In 1578, some English [Oxenham's party, 1576] ascended the river of Puertofaisanes from the North Sea and entered the Rio de Indios which flowed into the South Sea, carrying material for launches, which they put together and began to rob the sea; but the Spaniards went out and conquered them, and secured that pass. The year 1596, Francisco Draque [Francis Drake] burnt Nombre de Dios, and sent 900 soldiers to Panamá, who were opposed on the road. In 1602, Guillermo Parque [William Parker], an Englishman, sacked Puertavelo.

The governors of Panamá were for four years, and had for salary the sale of the office of alguacil mayor of the city, which for the four years usually brought 12,000 *pesos ensayados*. The city of Panamá had no custom-house, as it was not necessary, because everything came to Panamá and Puertavelo by sea and was already taxed by the registers. The estates of the city were the house of Cruces,² by Cedula of 1st of December, 1536, which usually brought in each year 10,000 prs., but which then did not exceed 2,000. The privileges of the brokerage of exchange, mines, public crier, butchering, and rent of lots, each produced a small sum annually.

¹ "La Audiencia y chancilleria real de Panamá ó de Tierra-Firme fué creada por primera vez por reales cedulas del Emperador Carlos V. de Madrid, á 30 de febrero de 1535, y de Valladolid, á 2 de marzo de 1537." For a time this jurisdiction comprehended the provinces of Castilla del Oro, Rio de la Plata and Strait of Magellan, Nicaragua, Cartagena, Carabaro (the duchy and province of Veragua), Nueva Castilla, and Nueva Toledo.

² Besides the stopping-place at Cruces, there was another *venta*, or inn, called Chagre, near the highway, and six leagues from Panamá, farther up the Chagres river. "Tiene la ciudad de Panamá por propios una aduana ó venta que llaman Casa de Cruces, donde llegan las mercaderias por el rio de Chagre arriba, la cual está cinco leguas de la dicha ciudad, de muy mal camino y de pasos muy traba-

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The city of Panamá was located between two small rivers without names. The one to the north, with the wooden bridge, had its origin a league and a half away, and rose with the tide. The other river to the west, spanned by the stone bridge, took birth nearer, and did not run in summer. East of the city was a small port, where for forty years had entered ships of 5,000 *arrobas* [60 tons] half laden. The river north of town emptied into the port, and with the wash from the streets was filling it up, so that barges could scarcely come in. However, two leagues to the south were the islands Nao, Perico, and Flamen-cos, where were shelter and good anchorage, serving as a port.

Eastward of Old Panama were the rivers Juan Diaz, Pacora, rio de Francisca, Chico, rio Ballano [now spelled Bayano] with the island Chépillo in its mouth, Mamoni, Paciga, rio de Legartos, Chiman, Maestre, Luis de Torres, Congo, and Buenavista. Half a league west of the city was the Rio de Cárdenas; at two leagues the Rio Grande; at three, Rio de las Lazas; seven, the Caimiso; and at ten leagues, the Perequete.

The districts about Panamá formerly had many *pueblos* of Indians, but only three remained. That of Chepo was eight leagues to the east, between two rivers, the one half a league from the other. The one, called Baltano, was more than 40 leagues long, and its mouth a league wide, up which the tide went 8 leagues without salting the water. The other river, called Mamoni, passed near the town, who drank from it. Both rivers had few fish, but many alligators. Chepo had 40 Indian inhabitants, ruled by their own governor, constable, and two *mandadores*.

On *Isla del Rey* [King's Island] to the east, 18 leagues from Panamá and 6 leagues from Tierra Firme, was another pueblo which usually contained 500 Indians, but then only 12. The third village of natives was on *Isla Taboya* [Taboga], 4 leagues south of the city, with but 12 inhabitants, who were very poor like those of del Rey. None of these Indians paid tribute, and all spoke the Spanish language, having entirely forgotten their own.

josos, principalmente cuando llueve mucho, que se adereza á costa de la ciudad, en sitio muy húmedo y enfermo aunque proveído de caza en verano. Tiene la casa cuarenta y siete cámaras, en que se encierran todas las mercaderías en poder de un Alcaide, que la ciudad tiene puesto allí con cuatrocientos pesos de plata de salario y buenas fianzas, al cual se entregan las mercaderías y él las vuelve á sus dueños por cuenta y razón, y se asienta en un libro que para ello tiene; así mismo tiene por propios otra venta que llaman de Chagre, que está junto á el camino de Panamá al Nombre de Dios, seis leguas de Panamá y doce del Nombre de Dios, y cuatro de la Quebrada, y tres del rio Pequeño."

Velasco, pp. 344-5.

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The climate (*temperamento*) of Panamá was calid, and the temperature always hot. From the middle of December to the end of April was summer, when the *brisas* blew, tempering the heat. The rest of the year was winter, with continuous rains and hot southerly winds. The region was sickly, the most frequent diseases being fevers, the most dangerous of which were child-bed fevers and spasms, which there were called colds.

The people planted corn, rice, and beans (*frisoles*); harvesting 50,000 bushels of the first. The maiz was planted with the first rains of May; and the second year it was planted in the same ground, not producing as in the first year, this being called *maiz de rastroy* [stubble-corn], returning a hundred for one. The rice was planted on the edge of marshes and gave a greater return. They did not sow wheat or barley because they had no grain. Nearly all the vegetables and fruits of Spain were raised, and they did well.

"The best fruit of the land is the plantain, of which there is plenty. It is eaten raw, roasted, boiled and fricassee, and a drink is made of it. It is a large plant, though its stalk only lasts one year." Guayavas, añones, aguacates, and mameyes abounded.

The edible roots were, "yucas, ñame, oto, gengibre" [ginger].

From Perú were brought flour, sugar, cane-syrup, conserves, chick-peas, the large beans which in Perú were called pallares, starch, olive-oil, jarcia, alpargates, and soap. From Buena-ventura came sugar, though not so good as the Peruvian, conserves and pita.^a

^a At this time in Panamá, the prices were as follows:

Flour.....	10-20 reales per arroba (25 lbs.)
Sugar.....	4 pesos per arroba
Salt.....	4 reales per arroba
Soap.....	4 pesos per arroba
Beef.....	2½ reales per arroba
Veal.....	5 reales per arroba
Maiz.....	10-20 reales per fanega (bushel)
Chick-peas.....	8 pesos per fanega
Beans.....	6 pesos per fanega
Cane-syrup.....	3 pesos per botija (jar)
Starch.....	4 pesos per botija
Olive-oil.....	4 pesos per botija
Wine.....	12 pesos per botija
Conserves.....	3 reales per libra (pound)
Pita.....	8 pesos per libra
Jarcia.....	25 pesos per quintal (100 lbs.)
Alpargates.....	3 pesos per docena (dozen)
Bread.....	½ real per 12 ounces
Plantains.....	1 real per ten
Guayavas.....	1 real per twenty
Añones.....	1 real per four
Aguacates and mameyes.....	1 real per two or three

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There were plenty of cattle, and beef and veal were cut up from Pascua to San Juan [Easter to June 24th]. In Lent only the veal was eaten, when it rose to 8 reales the arroba. A cow *en partida* was worth 20 reales; while a *lechón* brought from 8 to 12 pesos. Many calves died from a maggot in the navel. The people raised no sheep nor goats, because the temperature would not admit. They had horses, mares, and some mules from Natá and Pueblo Nuevo.

Bread sold for different prices, according to the value of flour; usually 12 ounces for half a real. Corn brought from 10 to 20 reales a fanega. No sugar was manufactured, but there were three mills (*trapiches de miel*) which produced as much as 12,000 jars of syrup a year. Two kinds of cotton-trees were found, the small and large. There was much hunting. The roe-deer and fallow-deer were like those of Spain, and the flesh good; rabbits somewhat different from those of Spain. In the jungle were found the tapir (*vaca de monte*), and wild pigs of two kinds, *puercos de manada* which went in droves, and *puercos hahinos* that traveled singly.

No vineyards were planted, except some on walls, as the ants destroyed them. No wine was brought from Peru because it was discovered to be unhealthy. The wine and other things came from Spain. A jar of wine sold for 12 pesos. Five species of vipers were encountered, and all poisonous. They possessed six reflected fangs, and the head resembled a *granada*. When bitten, the remedy was the juice of the root and leaves of *hinojo macho* [male fennel] drunken, and the bruised herb applied to the bite. In the country were spiders as large as the palm of the hand. For the poison, the wound was scarified and cupped, and the previous remedy used.

In the province of Panamá were gold mines, but they were not worked, as the expense was greater than the returns. In Veragua and in Coclé some gold was mined.*

Another description of the Isthmus, issued sixty years after the settlement of Darien, expresses ignorance of the location of Acla,^b one of the first towns founded by Spaniards on the north coast.

*The Spaniards soon robbed the natives of all their gold; and after the destruction of the Indians, Africans were imported to work the mines, which were neither plentiful nor productive. As early as 1533, the new governor of Castilla del Oro, Francisco de Barrionuevo, wrote to the Emperor,—“que no coge ombre oro en todo esta Tierra, salvo Doña Catalina, muger de Pedro de los Rios, que coge oro con siete ó ocho yndios.”

^b“En algunas cartas de geographicas está descrita la poblacion de Acla, en la costa de la mar del Norte y entrada del Golfo de Urana [Urabá], en frente de la Isla de Pinos, de que al presente no ay memoria.”

Col. de Doc. Iued., tomo XV. pag. 474.

“En las cartas de Santa Cruz se halla un pueblo que parece haber

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The city of Concepcion on the north coast of Veragua was 40 leagues west of Nombre de Dios. *La Villa de Trinidad* was 6 leagues east of Concepcion by way of the sea (for one could not go by land), and 3 leagues from the sea, near the *rio de Belen*. It contained 30 Spaniards, who were miners. To the south of Concepcion, 12 leagues, was the city of Santa Fé, with 30 inhabitants and a smelter. Close to the coast of the South Sea, 40 or 50 leagues from Santa Fé, to the west, was *La Ciudad de Carlos*, a city of 25 or 30 Spaniards.

The Bay of Zarabaco, or San Hierónimo, was on the coast of the North Sea and the boundaries of Veragua; to the east of which were the rivers of Trinidad, Concepcion, and Belen, in front of which was the island Escudo. Farther on was the rio de Chagre, to the east of which one league was el Portete.

The next place on the east was Puertos de Langostas, 12 leagues from Nombre de Dios; then Gallinas, 9 leagues from Nombre de Dios; and Buena Ventura, 6 leagues from Nombre de Dios. Puerto Belo, 5 leagues from Nombre de Dios, had in front of it the islands called Miras [*islas de las Miras*—the Lookouts, or Pointers]. Then the islands Bastimentos; and passing Nombre de Dios, 2 leagues east, was the rio de Sardinilla; and at 4 leagues, the river of Sardinias. Eastward were the rivers Maiz, Culebras, and Francisco at 8 leagues.

At the entrance of the Gulf of Urana [Urabá] was the point and island of Catina, in front of the mountains of Sant Blas, and the island of Comagre and the island of Pinos farther inward. Within the gulf was Puerto de Nilcos near the mouth of rio del Darien, which separated the Audiencia of Panama from the government of Cartagena.

Juan Lopez de Velasco, *Cosmógrafo-cronista de Indias*, writing about 1574, describes Veragua as containing four *pueblos*, three *ciudades*, one *villa*, and a mining camp (*asiento*); in all, 190 to 200 Spaniards, all settlers, merchants and traders, because there were no Indians in *repartimiento*, and the few remaining in the land were rebellious and warlike.

All that region was ballasted with fine gold, which was found

sido de españoles, en la costa del Nombre de Dios, que se llama Acla, del cual no se sabe más."

Velasco, *pag.* 347.

About the time Oviedo left the Isthmus, Acla was the largest settlement of Europeans in Castilla del Oro. From there went Balboa by land to look for the South Sea. "Acla era mayor pueblo que ningun de los ques dicho, e despues se ha disminuyendo, y el puerto no es muy bueno; pero hay ancones é isletas de seguros puertos. É desde alli fué por tierra á descubrir la mar del Sur el adelando Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, quando la descubrió."—*Cap.* XXVII., *Lib.* XXIX.

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wherever the ground was dug up, as well as in the rivers, and gullies.⁶ On the north coast the *Rio de Cocle*, or *Lagartos*,⁷ 7 leagues west of the Belen, separated Veragua from the province of Nombre de Dios; and the *Rio de la Estrella*, which flowed into the *archipiélago* or gulf of Carabaro, from Costa-Rica on the west. On the South Sea, the *rio de Gatú*, 8 leagues west of Natan [Natá], divided the provinces of Panamá and Veragua. The boundary⁸ with Costa-Rica on the south was uncertain, but somewhere beyond the city of Carios, 40 to 50 leagues west of the said river of Gatú. Velasco says the *rio Chagre* was 18 leagues from Nombre de Dios. *El Portete* was 17 leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 4 leagues west of Puerto de Langostas. He states there were four Indian villages in the district of Natá, and names *Cubita*, *Parela*, and *Puerto de Caldera*.

The city of the Conception, on the north coast of Veragua, was founded by Francisco Vazquez, citizen of Natá, in 1557 or 8, being governor of that province. The houses were constructed of boards and split trees, covered with palm leaves. There was no port other than the bar of the river. In a plain by the seashore, near the river Conception, was a *tiro de arcabuz*. At Conception resided the Governor and other officials, as well as a Cura and Vicario assigned there by the Bishop. Canoes and sloops could go up the Conception (or *rio de Veragua*) river two leagues and no more.

Trinidad, on the Rio Belen, 3 leagues east of Conception, was settled by Alonso de Contreras, *alcalde mayor* of Veragua, by commission of the Audiencia of Panama, in the year 1566 (*año de 66*); so named because on that day he began the settle-

⁶ "Es la tierra toda lastrada de oro, que se halla en cualquiera parte della que se cave hasta un estado, y cada negro saca por lo menos un peso cada día; y en todos los rios y quebradas se hallan buenas minas y nacimientos dello, y el oro llega á la ley, sino es en la Trinidad, y el rio de Belén, que está sobre plata y es algo mas baxo."

⁷ At this period, at least, the Chagres was not called the river of Alligators.

⁸ The boundary between Panama and Costa Rica has been in dispute by the white men since the first settlement by Christians. The last agreement, so-called, was in 1907, as stated at the end of Chapter I. This year, 1910, the controversy has been reopened, and by protocol signed at Washington, the question has been referred for arbitration to Chief Justice M. W. Fuller, U. S. Supreme Court.

At one time, Costa Rica claimed that her territory extended eastward to a straight line running from the eastern point of the island Escudo to Punta Burica on the south. Fernandez gives many papers bearing upon this boundary.

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ment. In the nearby streams was much gold ("*hay mucho oro junto á ella en rios y quebradas*").

The location of the Concepcion mines ("*El asiento de Minas de la Concepcion*") was 3 leagues up the Concepcion, or Veragua, river, where the Spanish residents of the city of Concepcion worked their slaves, each negro mining not less than one peso each day. Between the mines and Santa Fé were two very high mountains, the one called Don Baltasar and the other Bejuco, each having five leagues of ascent and descent.

The city of Santa Fé, 12 leagues from Concepcion and 12 leagues from Nata, was founded by the governor, Francisco Vazquez. At that time it contained 30 citizens, and the houses were made of mud and adobe.

The city of Carlos on the south coast had been established by Alonso Vazquez, son of the governor, who called it Carlos in devotion to Don Carlos, Prince of Castile. It was a hot place, but possessed 25 or 30 inhabitants, as there was much gold thereabouts, though but little was collected on account of the poverty of the Spaniards.

In the Archives of the Indies are found numerous accounts of Veragua and Panamá* by the president and officials of the royal Audiencia, the bishop of Panama, and by missionary friars.

Francisco Vazquez, first governor of Veragua under the Crown, was succeeded at his death by Don Rafael de Figueroa. In 1574, Pedro Godines Osorio was governor of the province of Veragua; and in 1595, Yñigo de Aransa. In 1603, Captain Juan Lopez de Sigueyra was governor and captain-general of Veragua, Coclé, Duy, and Guaymi. Near the river

* One of these accounts, written when Don Alonso de Sotomayor was Governor and Captain General of Tierra Firme and President of the Audiencia Real, relates that the officials of the city of Panama met and petitioned the king, that whereas, the intemperateness of the heat and humidity were well known, people resided there with risk, and many had departed to live elsewhere. They mention many grave diseases which lately had arisen, such as *esquirrencia*, small-pox, measles, pains in the side, abscesses, *granos*, burning fevers, all acute diseases of which a great number of persons had died. The doctors sought the cause of these new diseases and found them due almost always to the wine brought from Peru. So the Peruvian wine was prohibited, as it also caused "*muchas calenturas ardientes y podridas, muchos dolores de costado, camaras de sangre, romadicos, y otras yndisposiciones de calor y humedad, por ser esta tierra muy caliente y humeda, por el discurso todo el año, y por serlo tambien el bino del Peru muy caliente y humedo.*" They ended by praying His Majesty to send them some wine from Spain.

Colec. de Doc. Ind. tomo XXI., pag. 65.

OF VERAGUA AND PANAMA

Guaymi was the city of *Artieda del Nuevo Reyno de Navarra*. We are told that the town of Philipina was settled by Alonso Vaca, governor of Veragua.

In 1605, the bishop of Panama describes four Spanish towns in the province of Veragua: Alanje, Remedios, Montijo, and Santa Fé. Santiago del Alhange, which for another name was called *Chiriqui*, was situated on the confines of Nicaragua. It had been founded in the year 1591 by Captain Pedro de Montilla Afiasco, *maestre de campo*, whom all feared. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, called *Pueblo Nuevo*, was settled in 1589. San Pedro del Montijo was founded by Pedro Fernandez Cortes under commission from Goncalo Gómez de la Cámara, who was governor of that province.

The Indians about these settlements were reduced to submission, located conveniently in villages, and divided among the Spanish *encomenderos*. In the limits of Nata were the native settlements *Penonomé* and *Ola*. Near Santos was *Paria*. *La Atalaya* was a pueblo of free Indians alongside Montijo. Under charge of Remedios were two villages of natives, San Felix and Santiago (or Guavala).

A memorial on Chiriqui states that Presidente D. Francisco Valverde y Mercado of the Audiencia sent P. Presentado F. Melchor Hernandez, in July 1606, to reduce to subjection some indigines in the vicinity of Santiago de Alange, in Veragua. With the aid of Cristóbal Cacho Santillana, the Padre rounded up 626 Indians of all sexes (*de todos sexos*), placing them in two towns which he founded, San Pablo del Plantanar and San Pedro de Aspatara, the one 2 and the other 6 leagues from Alange. He found six distinct tongues among these natives, and started in to make a vocabulary of the most common, when interrupted by a pestilence of measles. After 350 had perished, the remaining Indians thought they had enough of the Christians, and took to the hills. The cleric was not discouraged, however. He would save their eternal souls if it took the lives of all the redskins on the Isthmus; so begged license to go in the cordillera of Chiriqui, where were the following tribes—Cothos, Borisques, Dorasques, Utelaes, Bugabaes, Zunes, Dolegas, Zaribas, Dures, and others.

Another account, dated 1607, mentions but one Indian village near Alanje, that of *San Pablo del Platanal*. A report, in 1620, locates a Spanish city, called *Nuestra Señora de las Palmas*, 18 leagues from "Concepcion de Veragua la antigua." The Indians about Chiriqui were the Doraces, Suries, Querebalos, Dolegas, and Sagiras. "These Doraces are opponents of

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the Guaymies and of almost all the other Indians named, with whom they border upon and carry on war."

The city of *Nueva Lisboa*, in the province of Coclé was founded by the governor of Veragua, Juan Lopez de Heguera.

A report, dated 1607, states that the city of San Felipe de Puertovelo was founded the 20th of March, 1597, by D. Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, factor of New Spain [Mexico] and one of the *comisarios*. The population was moved from Nombre de Dios, five leagues distant. Puertobelo possessed the title of city by provision of Valladolid, 23rd of November, 1537, given to Nombre de Dios when first established. The coat of arms of Nombre de Dios, granted 7th of December, 1537, was a castle and ship, bordered with this inscription: "*Tierra Firme, breñas de oro.*" The causes of the poverty of Puertovelo were three: The burning of Nombre de Dios, 13th of August, 1596, by the English; the change of the populace; the sack of Puertovelo, 16th of February, 1601, by the Englishman, Guillermo Parque [William Parker]. According to the writer of this report, Porto Bello was first discovered and named by Diego de Nicuesa, in 1509; and in 1518, Diego de Albites attempted a settlement here.

Puertovelo was built in the form of a half-moon, with the points to the east and west, and the bulk of the town between the sea and the skirt of a mountain. From the castle of Santiago, two streets ran to the middle of the city and the first square, called the Plaza de la Mar. From this plaza ran a street over a bridge to another plaza, a distance of 100 paces; and from the second plaza the street went out of the city, being crossed by others from side to side; so that the entire city was included within 500 geometric paces. From the bridge, over a creek of water descending from the mountain, ran two side-walks with houses up the gully; and at the end commenced the *barrio*, or district of the town, called Guinea, where lived the free negroes (*negros horros*). There were in all 50 houses, without counting the suburbs, a cathedral (*iglesia mayor*), the convent of mercy, a hospital, the king's houses on the plaza and quay, and the houses of the city government (*cabildo*) on the other plaza. Most of the houses were constructed of wood, their pillars on bases of stone, and the partitions and walls of boards. Some were of two-stories, with many windows, and roofs of tile; besides ware-houses. A few were of stone and brick, and these were held to be more healthy than the wooden ones.

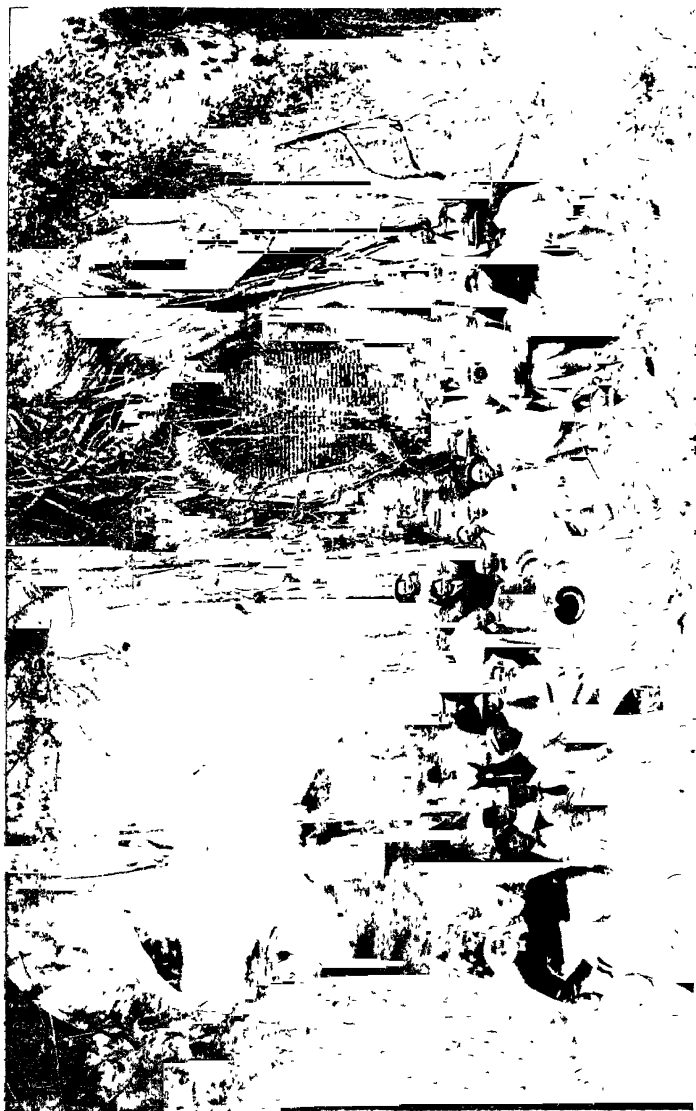


Photo by Isthmian Canal Commission.

INTERIOR OF RUINED CHURCH, OLD PANAMA.

OF VERAGUA AND PANAMA

Puertovelo had four suburbs: the first called Triana, where lived the slaves of the King and poor Spaniards; second, that of Merced; third, Guinea; and fourth, the section by the Shambles. These contained 30 or 40 houses made of straw, with walls of canes (*cañas bravas*), covered with palm. In the suburbs were two *acequias*, and another in the centre of the town. There were some small gardens and plantations. The city was entirely inclosed by woods green all the year. From the brokers the city received yearly 2,000 ducats; and two reales for each head of cattle killed in the Shambles; besides two pesos for each negro brought in, which amounted to 1500 pesos, which was expended in cutting brush and repairing highways and roads.

Puertovelo bordered with the sea on the north, Cartagena on the east, and on the west with the provinces of Coclé and Veragua. Its jurisdiction extended 50 leagues east to the hostile Indians of Uraba, south for 9 leagues, and west 12 leagues to the mouth of the Chagre, where it joined with Nueva Lisboa in the province of Coclé. Half the distance to Panama, 9 leagues, was unsettled, save some *buhios*. To Cartagena by sea was 80 leagues, and 150 by land, which no one ever traveled. "The temperature is hot. The winds, from January to San Juan, *brisas* somewhat fresh, but unhealthy on account of being moist. From San Juan to January, strong southwest winds drier, hotter, but more healthy. It is very humid because it rains almost all the year, and for this reason is a land very sickly with quartan and tertian fevers, and hemorrhages of labor which are of greater risk."

A thousand paces from the city emptied the Puertovelo river, a small stream which could be ascended a league in canoes. Another river, called Dominica, arose in the same valley and discharged in the port. There were twenty-four other rivers on the coast, none navigable but the Chagre, which in winter could be ascended to within 6 leagues of Panama. There were no farms nor cattle-ranches, except three: one on an islet they called Juan Salguero, half a league to the west of the port; another two leagues east in an island called Bastimentos; and another two leagues up the Chagre, "in Tierra Firme."

About Porto Bello were a few goats, which did well. Among the wild animals and birds were the *oropéndolas*, which made their nests with remarkable craft suspended from the branches of the trees, to protect their young from the monkeys and snakes. There were *puercos cahinos*, which always travel male and female; and *puercos de manada*, which go in num-

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bers under a captain, which is the leanest of them all. Then, there was that interesting creature, the sloth. "He who eats the flesh of the perico ligero, dies of it; because it is so phlegmatic." The lassitude of this animal was believed to be due to heart-disease, which it attempted to cure by scratching over the region of the heart with the claw of the left hand, "and thus this claw is the approved remedy against this evil."

Among poisonous herbs was the *manzanilla*, "which is like little apples, and he who eats them dies without remedy: the vine makes a milk which produces sores when touched, and if drunken, it kills."

Porto Bello was considered the best harbour in all the Indies ("*El puerto es el mejor, mas limpio, capaz y seguro de todas las Indias*"). From east to west, it furnished an anchoring-place 3000 yards in extent, its entrance and width being from 1500 to 1800 yards. The depth of water in front of the first castle (Santiago) was 17 fathoms; and before the second $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, which was where the armadas and fleets anchored; the frigates and barks going farther in, near the city. The bottom was bad, there being many borers (*broma*). The port would contain 300 galleons and 1000 small vessels, besides room for 2,000 ships outside the forts.

The place was protected by the natural formation of the land, and by two castles. San Felipe was at the foot of a very high hill, a projection of which terminated at the castle. Farther out was the castle called Santiago del Principe, at the end of a ridge coming down from a hill prolonged along the port. For the ramparts, it was found that the best stone was the reef-rock,¹⁹ found under the water all along the coast, because it was soft to work and almost as light as pumice-stone. After being fashioned and placed, the sun, wind, and water in a short time hardened it much, but left the stone of such quality that no ball, however large it might be, made any effect on it, because it checked the missile without splitting or chipping. This stone was bound and joined with a reddish clay and lime, which made a mixture as strong as the stone itself. The castle of Santiago was constructed entirely of the stone from the reefs.

¹⁹ The old Spanish masonry still attests the excellence of this stone and their method of working it. After Admiral Vernon had captured Puerto Bello, in 1739, he had great difficulty in demolishing the castles, especially the Iron Fort, which was built on a rock. "The Walls of the Lower Battery, consisting of 22 Guns, were nine foot thick, and of a hard Stone, cemented with such fine Mortar, that it was a long Work to make any Impression in it to come to Mine at all, so that the blowing up took in all sixteen or eighteen Days."

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Half a league from Puertovelo was a shallow lagoon of clear water, full of fish, which opened into the sea a quarter of a league from the port. They crossed this *laguna* in canoes and small vessels to get to a settlement on the other side, called Santiago del Principe, where were located the pacified *negros cimarrones*. Some years before, the runaway slaves from Nombre de Dios and Panamá gathered in Ballano, from whence they sallied out to rob the *camino real*. The inhabitants of Panamá took up arms against the blacks, and carried on a war which cost many lives and much money. The King of Spain, by cedula of 21st of June, 1574, declared the fugitives should be free if they ceased warring against the Spaniards. A few years later, by the capitulation of Panamá, the 20th of September, 1579, the Cimarrones agreed to become peaceful, and to reduce to subjection any other negroes who should take to a wild life. The Cimarrones then gathered in a settlement, two leagues from the city of Old Panamá; afterwards they were ordered to a site near Nombre de Dios, and when that city was moved to Puertovelo, these blacks, 200 in number, were again changed to Santiago del Principe.

Forty vessels were engaged in the ordinary commerce of Puertovelo, and a fleet of thirty barges in the navigation of the Chagre. The fort of San Lorenzo²² is in the mouth of the river of Chagre, on the left-hand bank as you enter the river, where breaks the sea at the foot of a high and commanding cliff.

²² "El fuerte de San Lorenzo está en la boca del rio de Chagre, á su entrada, á mano izquierda, orilla del rio, al embate de la mar, al pie de un morro que le es eminente y padrasto." The original is given as a sample of errors which might arise from a too literal translation of the old Spanish by one unfamiliar with the region.

"Jamás ha habido en Costa-Rica ciudad alguna con el nombre de Estrella. La primera poblacion de Españoles, fundada en 1537 por Felipe Gutierrez, en territorio que entonces se llamaba Veragua y despues Costa-Rica, fué la ciudad de la Concepcion, probablemente á orillas del rio que más tarde se llamó Estrella, que hoy se conoce con el nombre de Changuenola y Tilorio [V. la nota a p. 152, Tomo I.] La segunda poblacion fué la que, en el año de 1545, Diego Gutierrez fundó á orillas del rio Suerre, hoy Reventazon, con el nombre de Nueva-Cartago y Costa-Rica, en territorio tambien entonces de Veragua y hoy de Costa-Rica [V. la misma nota]. La tercera fué la villa de Landecho, despues llamada ciudad del Espiritu Santo y Esparza, fundada en 1560 por el conquistador Licdo. Juan Cavallon [V. la nota a p. 181, Tomo I.]. La cuarta fué la villa del Castillo de Garci-Muñoz, despues ciudad de Cartago, fundada en el mismo año por el mismo Cavallon. La quinta poblacion fué la villa del Castillo de Austria, fundada en el mismo año por el Clerigo Juan de Estrada, á nombre del conquistador Caval-

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Ion, en la bahia de San Gerónimo [bahia del Almirante y tambien bahia de Zorobaro], no léjos de las bocas del Drago [a. p. 181, Tomo 1.] La sesta fué la ciudad de Aranjuez, á orillas del rio del mismo nombre entre los años 1562 y 1563 [Tomo 1. p. 192]. La setima fué la ciudad del Nombre de Jesus, fundada hácia 1570 por el gobernador Perafan de Ribera, en el valle del Guaimie, entre la costa de la bahia del Almirante y el rio Estrella [Changuenola y Tilorio]. La octava fué la ciudad de Artieda, fundada á fines de 1577 por el gobernador Diego de Artieda Cherinos, á orillas del rio Guaimie, dentro y en la costa de la bahia del Almirante y no léjos de las bocas del Drago. La novena fué la ciudad de Santiago de Talamanca, fundada hácia 1604, por el gobernador Don Juan de Ocon y Trillo, á orillas del rio Tarire, llamado hoy Sixaula.

No hubo, pues, ciudad, villa, ni poblacion alguna en Costa-Rica que se llamára Estrella. Este nombre fué dado por Don Juan Vasquez de Coronado á un rio, y no á poblacion alguna."

Doc. para la Hist. de Costa Rica, tomo 11, pag. 28, por El Lic. Don Leon Fernandez.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SEARCH FOR A STRAIT AND EARLY EFFORTS FOR A CANAL.

"Westward they steered their tiny bark,
Westward through weary weeks they sped,
Till the cold gray strand of a stranger-land
Loomed through the mist ahead.
League after league they hugged the coast,
And their Captain never left his post.
'O Pilot, see you yet the strait that leads
to the Eastern Sea?
'I see but the rocks and the barren shore;
No strait is there,' quoth he."

Burton Egbert Stevenson.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed from Spain to find a route to the East by steering to the west. Having discovered, as he thought, the out-lying islands and part of the continent of Asia, Columbus started out on his fourth and last voyage with the particular object of finding a strait through or around Tierra Firme, which should lead him to the Spice Islands, and the domains of the Grand Khan of Tartary. While discovering southward along Central America, the natives informed him of another sea, and when he appeared to be approaching a passage to it, in the region of Punta Mosquitos, the worm-eaten condition of his two remaining vessels compelled the old Admiral¹ to turn from the Isthmus and sail towards Hispaniola. Columbus died without realizing that he had come upon a great continent distinct from Asia, and separated from it by another immense ocean.

The followers of Columbus, like himself, believed that a

¹ "He had been in pursuit of a chimera of a splendid imagination and a penetrating judgment. If he was disappointed in his expectation of finding a strait through the Isthmus of Darien, it was because nature herself was disappointed. For she appears to have attempted to make one, but to have attempted in vain."—*Washington Irving*.

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strait must exist. Juan de la Cosa explored the Gulf of Urabá; and Vicente Yañez Pinzon looked for it in vain from the Amazon to Florida. Juan de Solis was seeking a strait, in 1514, when killed by natives in the Rio de la Plata.² The Cabots tried to beat the Spaniards to China and India by searching, in 1497, for an opening farther north, from Newfoundland to Florida. In 1500, the Cortereal brothers followed in this region, losing their lives in the vain quest for a strait. By 1504, Basque, Breton, and Norman fishermen sailed to New-Found-Land, and caught fish called, in the Basque tongue, *baccalaos* (cod).

The narrow strip of land, between the two oceans, at Panama seemed to indicate that a passage undoubtedly existed in that region. A few of the very early charts, as the mappemonde of Waldseemüller in 1507, the John Ruysch map in 1508, Schöner's map of 1515, and the Lenox globe, actually depict the so-called "Straits of Panama." A few years later, some maps show a passage at the isthmus of Tehuantepec.

In the year 1524, Giovanni de Verrazanno, a Florentine, under the patronage of Francis I. sailed in the ship *Dauphine* to attempt to pass through America into the Eastern ocean of India, and reach Cathay on the extreme shore of Asia. He sailed southward, and then turned north along the American coast. One night, Verrazanno passed the entrance to Chesapeake Bay without seeing it; but the next day he made a landing, and marching inland, discovered a large body of salt water, which he believed to be the Indian ocean. Returning to his ship, Verrazanno sought northward for an opening into the other sea he had found. For a time, the Chesapeake Bay was known as the Mare de Verrazano. Hakluyt says that the strip of land (the Eastern Shore of Maryland) crossed by Verrazanno is "much like the streyte necke or isthmus of Dariena."

Estévan Gómez—he who had deserted Magellan in the strait in 1520, and returned to Spain in one of that commander's vessels—sailed in a caravel from Coruña, Spain, in 1525, to

² Solis sailed into the broad estuary of the Plata, and, finding the water fresh, called it the Mar Dulce. With seven of his men, Solis made a landing; when they were attacked by a multitude of natives, and beaten to death. The Indians then cut up the bodies, in view of the ships, and prepared to eat them. "Their companions being stricken with fear through this example, durst not come fourth of their shippes or devise how to revenge the deaths of their Captayne and companions. They departed therefore from the unfortunate coastes, and by the way lading their shippes with Brasell, returned home agayne with loss, and havie cheare."

FOR A STRAIT

hunt in Terranova, or land of the Baccalaos, for a passage which would permit a shorter route to the Spiceries. Like all his predecessors, Gómez found no strait, so kidnapped all the Indians his vessel would hold, said to have been in violation of the law and wish of the king, and within ten months was back in Coruña. A citizen hearing that the pilot had returned with his ship full of *esclavos* (slaves), misunderstood the report, and hurried off to the court with the news that Gómez had brought back a cargo of *clavos* (cloves), and that consequently the strait had been found. Instead of the expected reward, the too eager informant received nothing but a laugh.

In 1534, King Francis sent out Jacques Cartier on his first voyage, who went to the land of Cortereal, and looked for a passage in the St. Lawrence river. Later on, Cartier made a voyage under Sieur de Roberval; and was followed by Saintonge, Thevet, Jean Ribaut, René de Laudonniere, and others; who confined their explorations to the north, as the Spaniards already possessed the territory to the south.

In 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, for the Muscovy Company, attempted an eastern passage to Asia by the north of Europe, losing their lives on the voyage. The English then abandoned the northeast passage, and followed the French *voyageurs* to the northwest—Master Robert Thorne and Roger Barlow in 1526; Sir Martin Frobisher, in 1576; Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583; Captain John Davis, in 1585.

The quest for a strait continued into the seventeenth century. The Virginia colonists, of 1607, were directed to seek a communication with the Pacific ocean by following up some stream which flowed from the northwest; and it is claimed that Captain John Smith was on this mission when he ascended the Chickahominy river, and was captured by the Indians. Henry Hudson explored to the north, east, and west; and was looking for a strait when, in 1609, he sailed into the river which now bears his name. Captain Hudson, too, lost his life in the frozen north, but in 1612, we find James Hall and William Baffin entering the list of strait-seekers.

It is true that Ferdinand Magellan, as early as 1520, found a passage at the southern extremity of the continent, which carried him into the South Sea; but his strait was so near the south pole that everybody continued to believe there must be an opening near the middle of the New World. The configuration of Central America,* with numerous indentations

* Considered in a larger sense, geographically, geologically, politically, and to an extent ethnologically, the Isthmus of America comprises all

THE SEARCH

and narrow places; and great rivers, having their headwaters in common, emptying into both North and South seas; seemed to indicate that there, beyond a doubt, must be the long-sought strait. Soon after the region was conquered and settled by the Spaniards, they heard vague rumors of certain places where the Indians crossed in canoes from sea to sea during the rainy seasons. Even today in Central America, similar tales are occasionally narrated.

In 1771, some bronze cannon in the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, Vera Cruz, were found to have been cast in the city of Manila, many years before. Research disclosed that they had been transported from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Chimalapa and Coatzacoalcos rivers. This incident revived great interest in the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Alexander von Humboldt,* writing in 1808, gives credence to the story of the Raspadura canal, made, in 1788, by the Cura, or parish priest of Novita, between the headwaters of the Atrato and San Juan rivers. In 1852, the eminent engineer, J. L. Trautwine, proved this so-called canal to be a hill, over which the Indians dragged their canoes in the wet season.

In 1820, a six-oared boat of the Chilean war vessel *Andes* was haled from the Pacific to a navigable point on the Rio Napipi, in ten hours, whence it carried Colonel Caucino and his party to Quibdó or Citerá, near the mouth of the Atrato

of Central America, and extends from the valley of the Coatzacoalcos (Isthmus of Tehuantepec) to the Gulf of Urabá and the Atrato river.

"The American isthmus, in the most extensive meaning, is about 1,400 miles long, extending from the seventy-seventh to the ninety-fifth meridian of longitude, and from the eighth to eighteenth parallel of latitude. It embraces that portion of the Republic of Colombia which lies west of the Atrato River in South America, the whole of the five republics which are grouped together as Central America, and so much of Mexico as lies east of Tehuantepec. The general direction of the isthmus is from southeast to northwest. For the eastern 600 miles the width of this isthmus is comparatively small, varying from a minimum of barely 30 miles to a maximum of 120 miles. It then widens to 300 miles near the boundary between Nicaragua and Honduras, narrows to about 120 miles opposite the Bay of Honduras, widens again into the great peninsula of Yucatan, and finally narrows to 120 miles at Tehuantepec. A glance at a map indicates that the only possible routes for an interoceanic canal must be at Tehuantepec, at the Bay of Honduras, or within the eastern 600 miles."

Report Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901, p. 49.

* Many great minds have concerned themselves with projects for a canal through the continent of America. Between the years 1799 and 1804, Baron Humboldt visited Colombia, Central America, and New Spain, and considered nine interoceanic routes:

1. Missouri-Mississippi and Peace-Columbia rivers.
2. Rio Bravo (Rio Grande del Norte) and the Rio Colorado.

FOR A STRAIT

river. In 1824, this boat was seen by Cochrane, while examining the Darien region for a canal route, who reported the obstacles almost insurmountable. Captain Charles Friend, R. N., in 1827, crossed from the Atrato to Cupica Bay in four days. A little later, Major Alvarez, a Colombian officer, also explored this land for an easy pass. Monsieur De Puydt, in 1865, purported to have explored the headwaters of the Rio Tanela, which empties into the gulf of Urabá, and found the height of the pass but 47 meters above the sea. It is asserted that, at an early date, the Atrato route was recommended to the king of Spain as the proper site for a canal by a Biscayan pilot, Gogueneche by name.

Domingo Lopez, a Colombian gentleman, early in the nineteenth century, traced a line for a canal between Portobelo and Panama. The great liberator of South America, Simon Bolivar, was much interested in the project of a canal. Mr. Lloyd of his staff, with Capt. Falckmar, a Swede, made a reconnaissance of the Isthmus, and declared, in 1829, that a railway, if not a canal, was feasible between Chagres and Panama. Falckmar reported a difference of three feet between the tides of the two oceans.

The grandiose scheme of William Paterson, in 1698, to establish a colony of Scots on Caledonia Bay, and control the trade of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, is presented in full in the last chapter of this book.

During the past seventy-five years, so many surveys have been made of Darien, Panama, and Chiriqui, by different parties—notably by the United States—that they cannot be considered within the limits of this chapter. The reports of Capt. C. H. Davis, 1867, and of Capt. T. O. Selfridge, 1874, both of the U. S. Navy, well cover this period to their respective dates.

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3. Tehuantepec-Coatzacoalcos river.
 4. San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua.
 5. Chagres River and from Cruces to Panama.
 6. Atrato and Napipi rivers.
 7. Ravine of Raspadura.
 8. Rio Callaga in Peru and headwaters of the Amazon.
 9. From the Gulf of St. George across Patagonia.

Miranda's remarkable proposition, in 1797, for the independence of the Spanish-American colonies, contained a provision for a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific, both at Panama and Nicaragua.

Humboldt's writings on America inspired Goethe to predict, in 1827, that the young United States would spread westward to the Pacific coast, where important commercial cities would arise for the trade with China and the East Indies. "In such a case, it would be not only desirable but almost necessary that a more rapid communication should

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Dr. Edward Cullen, as late as 1853, affirmed the existence of a ravine through the Divide back of Caledonia Bay.⁵ This natural passage, through which the Indians transported their canoes, was but three leagues in length, and its highest elevations did not exceed 150 feet. These absurd statements were endorsed by Lionel Gisborne, and were largely responsible for the deaths and suffering, in the following year, among the expeditions sent to explore this region by the United States, England, France, and Nueva Granada.

be maintained between the Eastern and Western shores of North America, both by merchant ships and men-of-war, than has hitherto been possible with the tedious, disagreeable and expensive voyage around Cape Horn."

When Thomas Jefferson was in Paris, in 1788, he wrote in a letter—"With respect to the Isthmus of Panama, I am assured by Burgoine that a survey was made, and a canal appeared very practicable; but the idea was suppressed for reasons altogether political. He has seen and minutely examined the report. This report is to me a vast desideratum, for reasons political and philosophical."

The question of a canal through the American Isthmus has been considered in several Presidential Messages, and during many sessions of our Congress. U. S. Grant, then a captain in the 4th U. S. Infantry, crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1852, at which time the regiment suffered with Asiatic cholera. In 1869, President Grant, in his first message, recommended that an American canal be constructed on American soil.

⁵In later years, canal projectors returned to the old Darien-San Miguel route, first traversed by Balboa. Dr. Cullen affirms that he repeatedly crossed and recrossed this region during the years 1849, '50, and '51! always alone, and always during the rainy season. When he entered the gulf of San Miguel and found the Rio Savana flowing from the north, he immediately determined that this was the place for the canal, which he pictures in his book as stretching straight to the north coast through a level country. Back of Caledonia Bay was a plain, two miles wide; then a low divide, two miles in width; after which came an immense plain extending thirteen miles to Cañasas, a point about twenty miles above the mouth of the Savana river.

In 1860, A. Airiau made the same erroneous announcement concerning the Darien-San Miguel route. "With regard to the Cordillera, in proportion as it advances, proceeding from the base of the isthmus it descends a good deal, and is only, so to speak, a range of hills or isolated peaks, the bases of which are intersected by ravines which point out to the engineer the true route of the canal. The Indians in the neighborhood of Caledonia Bay make use of these passages. One of them is elevated about fifty metres [164 feet] and is covered with a luxuriant growth of mahogany, palm, ebony, and other trees."

Of this passage, Dampier wrote: "The Indians can do it in a day and a half by which you may see how easy for a party of Men to travel over." Yet it took Dampier, with the other buccaneers, a week or longer to pass from the Caribbean to the Gulf of San Miguel.

West of the Caledonia-San Miguel pass, closely approximating the 79th meridian, is the San Blas, or Mandinga Bay—Rio Chepo route. Of this region, Lieut. Sullivan says: "It is the narrowest part of the

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In 1519, Captain Diego de Albitas, acting under authority granted by the cabildo⁶ at Antigua, resettled the deserted site of Nombre de Dios. The Spaniards on the north coast deserted Antigua and Acla, and moved to Nombre de Dios, which became enduringly established as the northern port of the Isthmus, exactly opposite Panama. The first desideratum was to improve the trail leading to the South Sea, or find a better and easier route over to Panama.

It is commonly, but erroneously, stated that Charles V., in 1520, ordered two Flemish engineers to survey the Isthmus of Panama for a canal between the two seas. The survey by the Flemings took place about fifty years later, during the reign of Philip, son of Charles V. In 1520, only one year after the establishment of Panama and Nombre de Dios, the young emperor, as well as everybody else, was seeking to discover the secret of the strait⁷—*el secreto del estrecho*—or natural waterway through Tierra Firme, which was to give the Spaniards a short route by the west to Cathay and the wonderful Spice Islands, barred to them on the east by the claims of Portugal. That such a passage or passages⁸ existed no one doubted. This belief is graphically pictured in the hazy maps

American Isthmus, being only 30 miles from ocean to ocean. From the Atlantic to the head of Pacific tide the distance is only 195 miles." F. M. Kelley, of New York, after giving up the Atrato river route, advised a canal at this place, which required a tunnel, however.

In 1784, the viceroy of Nueva Granada ordered that forts be established at Caiman, Concepcion, Mandinga, and Calidonia Bay. The latter was also called Ft. Carolina. The next year, Lt. Col. D. Andrés de Ariza, Governor of Darien, built another fort at El Principe, garrisoned with 200 men. Ariza opened a road from here to the mouth of the Sucubti on the Chucunaque river, where he desired to found the city of Betanzo, as a central station for this region. By this same way, in 1788, Manuel Milla, adjutant of the post at Agla, was conducted by Capitan Suspani, a Sucubti chief. In 1790, by treaty between D. Bernardo de Estata and the Darien Indians, the Spaniards abandoned these forts, and the white man again retired from the eastern section of the Isthmus.

⁶ Not by order of Pedrarias, as stated by Andagoya. At this time the old governor had just moved over to Panama; he was not in accord with the cabildo at Antigua, and did not look favorably upon the settlement of another town which might rival Panama.

⁷ "The discovery of a strait into the Indian Ocean was the burden of every order from the government. The discovery of an Indian passage is the true key to the maritime movements of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries."—W. H. Prescott.

⁸ In the year 1486, Bartolomeu Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope; 1492, Christopher Columbus crossed the Atlantic and found the West Indies (America); 1497, the Cabots reached North America, and the next year Columbus arrived at South America; 1498, Vasco da Gama rounded Cape of Good Hope and traversed the Indian Ocean

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of that time, and for years afterwards. Indeed, that same year, 1520, Fernão de Magalhães, a Portuguese pilot in the service of Spain, did succeed in passing through the barrier of land in the West Indies, traversing the Pacific Ocean, and arriving at the Philippine Islands; whence the remnants of his party succeeded in reaching Spain, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the globe."

In this same year, 1520, Hernando Cortés, conqueror of Mexico, on information and a map furnished by Montezuma, explored the isthmus of Tehuantepec for a passage to the South Sea. In 1523, the energetic and progressive Charles V. ordered his governors in the Indies to hunt for the strait, or some water communication between the two seas. Cortés sent forty Spanish artisans to Zacatula,¹⁰ on the South Sea, there to construct two caravels and two brigantines, in which to search the Pacific coast for the strait.¹¹ In 1524, when about completed, the cables, rigging, sails, pitch, and oakum, which had been laboriously transported overland from the gulf of Mexico, were consumed by fire; so Cortés had to send over new materials which he had procured in Castile. At

to Calicut; 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa took possession of the Pacific; 1520, Magellan passed through his strait and reached the Philippine Islands; 1616, Le Maire and Van Schouten doubled Cape Horn, on the sixth circumnavigation of the world; 1851, Robert McClure discovered the north-west passage, going from Bering Sea to Baffin Bay; 1855, the Panama Railroad was finished; 1869, the Pacific Railway was completed, and the Suez Canal opened to traffic; 1879, Nordenskiöld made the north-east passage, 326 years after Willoughby's attempt; 1906, Capt. Roald Amundsen sailed in his own vessel from Lancaster Strait to Bering Strait; April 6th, 1909, Capt. Robert E. Peary, U. S. Navy, reached the North Pole.

⁹ After Magellan was killed by the Filipinos—April 27th, 1521—Juan Sebastian del Cano, who commanded one of the five vessels, succeeded the deposed Carabello as chief of the expedition. He reached the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, crossed the Indian ocean, doubled Cape Good Hope, and arrived back in Spain, Sept. 6th, 1522, with one ship, the famous *Victoria*. Del Cano was rewarded by the emperor, and granted a coat-of-arms with this motto—*primus circumdedisti me*. In 1525, he sailed with Loaísa as second in command, and died of disease on August 4th, 1526, while in the Pacific ocean.

¹⁰ A small insecure port north of Acapulco.

¹¹ "To these ships I attach an importance I am unable to express; for I consider it certain that by means of them, if it please God our Lord, your imperial Majesty will become lord of more realms and states in these parts than there exists any knowledge of in our nation to the present time; and that if it please God to guide your Majesty to the attainment of this great object, I believe nothing more will be wanting to make your Highness monarch of the world."—Hernando Cortés, 4th Letter to Charles V.

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the same time this indomitable conqueror fitted out a naval armament, under the command of Cristobal Dolid (de Olid), to invade Hibueras (Honduras), and examine the Bay of Ascension¹² for a strait; and still another fleet to explore the Atlantic coast from Florida north to the Bacallaos,¹³ "because it is considered certain that there is a strait on that coast which leads into the South Sea."

In 1522, Gil Gonzalez Dávila, who followed Balboa in the South Sea, looked for the western opening of the strait. He discovered Lake Nicaragua, and finding that it emptied itself towards the North Sea, he believed that he had found a passage. Gil Gonzalez returned to Hispaniola, and, in 1524, sailed from Santo Domingo to hunt for the eastern outlet of the waters of Lake Nicaragua. The currents carried him north to Honduras, where he encountered Cristobal de Olid, also looking for the elusive strait. In 1529, while Pedrarias Davila was governor of Nicaragua, Martin Estete and Gabriel de Rojas explored down the valley of the Rio San Juan, and then marched up to Cape Gracias á Dios. It is affirmed that they recommended a canal around the falls of the San Juan, and another canal from the lake to the Pacific. In 1539, Governor Rodrigo de Contreras licensed Captain Diego Machuca and Captain Alonso Calero to examine, at their own cost, the same river. Machuca went by land on the left bank of the river, meeting with much opposition. He was compelled to eat all his horses, and returned to Nicaragua with the loss of many men ("*con mucha falta de gente*"). One of the rapids in the San Juan river yet bears the name of Machuca. Calero got through the rapids,¹⁴ passed out into the Caribbean, and sailed down the coast to Nombre de Dios; where the party was arrested by Doctor Robles, governor of Castilla del Oro. Robles appreciated the value of this discovery, and fearing that isthmian traffic would be diverted from Panama, he sent Gonzales de Badajoz with a force to hold possession of the San Juan. The emperor, however, made him retire from that region.

¹² Bay of Honduras.

¹³ New Foundland, where European fishermen now went to catch codfish (*baccalaos*).

¹⁴ During the next century, we read of small sea-going craft ascending and descending the San Juan river. They were probably haled over the rapids during favorable stages of the water. Seismic disturbances may have changed conditions in the river since that period.

Upon reaching the Caribbean, Calero said—"Brothers, I know that we are in the sea of the North, and where better we shall be able

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In 1526, Pedro de los Rios relieved Pedrarias as governor of Castilla del Oro. One of his first acts, in compliance with royal command, dated at Sevilla, 3rd of May, 1526, was to direct Captain Hernando de la Serna and a pilot named Corzo to explore the Rio de los Lagartos (Chagres River), the river of Panama, and the intermediate divide, with the object of fixing upon a better route for trans-isthmian travel. In 1527, they reported the Chagres²⁸ navigable for ships for a distance of twelve leagues inward from the sea of the north, and for canoes and flat-bottomed boats throughout the rest of its extent. The same Serna made another examination of the country between Panama and the river, with two councilmen of the city, and they judged that a good cart-road could be made over the nine leagues of land intervening between the South Sea and the place on the Chagres where the boats would load and discharge their cargoes.

Under Governor Gama, who succeeded Rios in 1529, the Spaniards in Castilla del Oro continued to seek an easier way to pass from one sea to the other, and tending to settle on the Chagres river route. By royal cedula, dated at Medina del Campo the 12th of March, 1532, and attested by the Empress, La Gama was directed to clear obstructions from the Chagres, and render it navigable to the point nearest to the city of Panama; to open a road, passable for carts, from the city to the river; and on the two banks of the Chagres, to construct warehouses for the loading, unloading, and custody of the commodities in transit. The emperor Charles confirmed this cedula in Toledo, 20th of February, 1534, and also despatched another to the governor of Panama, in which he was commanded to have experienced persons make careful examination of the land between the Rio Chagre and the coast of the South Sea. He was to report the result, and propose the best and most opportune ways to effectuate communication between that sea and the limit of navigation in the Chagres, explaining the difficulties which presented themselves on account of the difference of the tides, as well as the inequality of the land;

to travel, for in order to be able to save ourselves we have to go to Nombre de Dios, as I find that we are not eighty leagues from it; because in order to return by the Nicaragua [San Juan] river there are no arms which can row; to go by land, there are no feet that can walk." The narrative says that the Christians, and attendant Indians, arrived at Nombre de Dios "más muertos que vivos."

²⁸"Así lo practicaron en una canoa, resultando que era navegable para navios hasta doce leguas adentro desde el mar del norte, y en lo restante para canoas y barcas chatas."—Navarrete, *tomo IV*.

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computing also the cost of the work in people and money, and the time required until its conclusion.

This order by Charles V., in 1534, appears to have been the first definite attempt towards a canal on the Isthmus of Panama. Pascual de Andagoya—one of the first *regidores* of Panama, and afterwards adelantado of Nueva Castilla—had charge of the survey, perhaps as acting governor. In a letter from the port of Nombre de Dios, 22nd of October, 1534, Andagoya replied to the king, saying, among other things, that this project could only be advised by a man of scanty intellect, and who was totally ignorant of that country. He stated that he should do as His Majesty commanded, and have the surveys made during the next summer, as it was not possible to make them in the winter season; and affirmed that there was no prince in the world, however powerful he might be, capable of accomplishing the union of the two seas, or able to pay the cost of opening that passage as far as the river. As for making and repairing the highways from Nombre de Dios to Panama, and opening the Rio Chagres as far as the point where the boats would unload, five leagues from the city of Panama, it would be necessary for His Majesty to transport from Cape Verde fifty negroes with their women, since only with their labor could the enterprise be accomplished and maintained with little cost.

As might be imagined, the Licentiate Espinosa was interested in this undertaking. In a letter from Panama, the 10th of October, 1533, Espinosa tells the king that the Chagres route is a very good one, and that the river can be made navigable at very little cost, as he would see by the report. Espinosa advised building a town, or arsenals for goods, at the mouth of the Rio de Chagre, which he considered one of the best and most beautiful rivers in the world. It is worthy of note that Espinosa called the head of navigation in the river, *Astruzes*, probably the site of the Cruces of later days.

After this period, a number of surveys of this region were made, the tides measured and their different altitudes computed, with the idea of effecting the union of the two seas; but all these attempts were fruitless.

Under date of December 23rd, 1533, the new governor, Captain Barrionuevo, wrote that the *camino* from Nombre de Dios to Panama was so bad that there was nothing in all Christendom with which to compare it.

On the 22nd of February, 1535, Fray Tomás de Berlanga, bishop of Panama, wrote a letter²⁸ to His Majesty, in which

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he pictures the Isthmus to be the top of the world; because looking to the north you see one-half of it, and looking to the south you behold the other half; but this summit is so difficult to mount that it costs much wealth and many lives of men. The highway was very difficult, and there was want of beasts of burden and of subsistence; moreover the country was very unhealthy. It appears that the good bishop was imposed upon by the traders and carriers at Nombre de Dios, and calls the place a den of thieves and graveyard of travelers; and says that the town should be moved to the mouth of the Rio de Chagre, where was a good port in which ships of two hundred tons could anchor, discharge half the cargo into barges, and then enter and ascend the river to within five leagues of Panama. He also recommends that a highway be made from the mouth of the Chagre to the place where the boats were unloaded. The unloading-place (*desembarcadero*) should not be where it then was, but three leagues below, because it was in this stretch of the river that occurred all the trouble during the low water of summer and the floods of winter. At this point, advised by the bishop, must be a town, to which should be moved the citizens of Acla, who were very discontented in being off the line of travel and trade to Peru. This town would become as great as Santo Domingo, and there must be located the cathedral church.

"If this pass, in the manner aforesaid, is remedied, there is no more necessity to seek another strait, because Your Majesty will be lord of so great a World as in this Sea of the South is discovered, and waits to be discovered, and hold it all as under key, and go in and out of it for a counting-house; since doing what I have said, there remains but one day's journey by land."

The towns were not changed, as recommended by the bishop. Acla rapidly declined until even the memory of it was lost,

* * * * *

¹⁸ "E es, queste paso ymagino yo ques la cumbre del Mundo, porque puesto en él, mirando a la parte del Norte, se vée la mitad dél; e mirando al sur se vée la otra mitad; pero esta cumbre es tan dyficultosa de encumbrar, que cuesta muchas haziendas e muchas vidas de ombres.

Está la dyficultad en el camino, ser en si muy dyficultoso, en concurrir muchas e diversas gentes, en aber mucha falta de cabalgaduras, e en obrar la falta de mantenymientos e sobra de poca salud. Yo, Sacra Magestad, me e desvelado, despues que aqui vine, en pensar el rremedio de todos estos ynconvenientes; e teniendo confianza en Nuestro Señor, questando aqui un año pensava de dar mucho rremedio a los ynconvenientes dichos, pero por no salir de su Real mandado, que con toda brevedad pase a la dicha Provyncia del Perú, no pude fazer

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and Nombre de Dios, ultimately, had to be translated to Puerto Bello. Travel and trade sought the easier route by the Chagres river, necessitating warehouses and dwellings at its mouth, and in time, defenses.

As a result of these examinations and reports, the Chagres river gradually came into use for the transportation of goods between the North and South Seas. Fallen trees and other obstructions were removed from the river, and buildings erected at its mouth, and at the point most convenient to Panama, which became known as the *venta* (or inn) of Cruces. As the Spanish colonies and their trade developed, the Chagres river came to be used almost altogether for carrying bulky merchandise over the Isthmus, particularly during the rainy season, about eight months in duration, when there were no shallows in the river, and during which time the over-land trails were often impassable for the mule-trains.

On the Pacific slope, no water-route was found available, so between Cruces and the city of Panama the carriage was entirely by land. This became the best road on the Isthmus,

mas describir a Vuestra Magestad mi parescer, para quen ello mande lo que fuere de su Real servycio, E asi :

Conviene que Vuestra Magestad mande quel pueblo del *Nombre de Dios*, ques cueva de ladrones e sepultura de peregrinos, porque certifico a Vuestra Magestad ques grima ver las estorciones e ynjusticias que alli se hazen, e los que las abian de rremediar son los prncipales, porquellos tienen las recias e no las quieren dar hasta que los dueños de las haziendas las venden; e como no ay quien las trayga sino los que tienen rrequas, ponen las dichas haziendas en tan baxos precios en el *Nombre de Dios*, que los que las trahen quedan perdidos, e despues de traídas a este pueblo de *Panamá*, pónenlas en tan altos precios, que los que tienen algo quedan pobres, e los pobres, mueren de hambre; e unos no pueden valer a otros. Digo, Señor, queste pueblo del *Nombre de Dios* se abia de pasar a la boca del *Rio de Chagre*, porques rio muy al propósito; e despues que yo estoy aqui, a entrado en él navio de setenta toneles cargado de caballos e otras mercaderías, e pueden entrar navios de cien toneles desta manera.

Que junto a la boca dél está un ancon e puerto donde pueden entrar e surgir navios de doscientos toneles, e con barcos descargar la mitad de la carga, e despues entrarse por el rio arriba hasta cinco leguas; e hazyéndose camino por tierra desde la boca del dicho *Rio de Chagre* hasta el desembarcadero de los barcos, el qual a de ser, no a donde agora lo tienen, pero tres leguas mas abaxo, porquen aquellas tres leguas está toda la dyficultad del dicho *Rio de Chagre*, porquen verano hay poca aqua e en ynvierno ay mucha e furiosa. Alli en aquel desembarcadero a de aber otro pueblo, el qual a destar a una jornada desta Cibdad de *Panamá*, e el pueblo que abia de aber en el desembarcadero a una jornada deste abia de ser *Acla*, porquen ella están muy descontentos, porquestán apartados del comercio e contratacion deste *Perú* e piensan que sin ella todo es nada; pero pasados

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paved in places, and over which carts could travel." The all-land route, which crossed the Chagres river far above Cruces, also became much improved as the years went by, and was likewise paved in part; but it is unlikely that carts ever passed over this road, except south of the Chagres. Early in the year 1535, when Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman passed overland from Nombre de Dios to Panama, there were three inns on the road, the first called Capira, the second La Junta, and the third La Venta de Chagres.

After Puerto Bello became the northern terminus, and the roads well-established, the over-land Camino Real started from Panama, passed through a little settlement called *Maria*

alli, con los yndios que tienen harian mucha labranza e comida en toda aquella ribera de *Chagre*, porques la mas aparejada para ella. En el *Nombre de Dios* no ay tierras de labranzas ni pastos para ganados, e acá tienen lo uno e lo otro; e estos dos pueblos hechos por la manera susodicha, proveerian de pastos e comidas e caminos por el rio e por la tierra, que se harian muy buenos con ayundarles Vuestra Magestad; con hasta tres o quatro mill pesos; quedaba el camino facil e proveido e muy mas sano, porque ya ay muchos, ansi en la boca como en el desembarcadero, aunque no a de ser adonde agora está, sino adonde tengo dicho, que son tres leguas mas abajo del rio, e en todo este trato están muy sanos los quen él andan, porque la dysposicion de la Tierra e del rio lo requyriese sano, como el *Nombre de Dios*, es necesario ser enfermo. No se si me sé dar a entender; pero sé que quanto mas presto esto se hiciere, se haria con menos dyficultad e se veria mas el provecho, e abria mas recabdo en la hazienda de Vuestra Sacra Magestad. Bien sé quen esta Tierra ay pocos deste parecer porque les parece que perderia mucho de su ynterese; porque yo lo e querido platicar e no salen a ello, porque dizen que a donde digo que se abia de pasar *Acla*, dizen ques termino desta Cíbdad: e paréceme quen una cosa como esta, Vuestra Magestad lo abia de mandar hazer absolutamente, porques el bien de toda esta Tierra; e allí se se haria un pueblo que fuese tan bueno o mejor que *Santo Domingo*, e aun digo que alli abia destar la Yglesia Catedral.

Si este paso, por la manera susodicha, se remedia, no ay mas necesidad de buscar otro estrecho, porque Vuestra Magestad será señor de un tan gran Mundo como el quen esta *Mar del Sur* se descubre, e espera se descubrirá, e tenerlo todo como debajo de llave, e entren e salgan por contadero; pues hecho lo que dicho tengo, no queda sino una jornada por tierra

* * * * *

De *Panamá*, veinte e dos de Hebrero de mill quynientos e treinta e cinco años.—De Vuestra Sacra Cathólica Cesárea Magestad, siervo e perpetuo Capellan que sus Reales pies e manos besa.—Fray Tomás episcopus locastelli aurii."

(Archivo de Indias.—Patronato.—Est. 2º.—Caj. 2º.—Leg. 2º. *Coleccion de Doc. Ined.*, tomo *XXI*, *pag.* 532-538).

¹¹ The reader should not confuse the Cruces-Panama road with the all-land road between Nombre de Dios or Portobelo, on the north, and the city of Panama. Both these roads were *caminos*, or high-ways, and we find each frequently designated as the *camino real*.

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Enrique, then through *Venta de Camalilla* (also called *Canutillo*) to *Venta de Chagre*, above Dos Bocas. Crossing the Rio Chagre at this point, the road continued northward to the pueblo of *San Juan*, on the Rio de San Juan (now called Rio Pequeni). Keeping on the eastern side of this river, the road passed through *Pueblo de Indios* to the town of *Pequeni*, on the bank of the same river, and to *Boqueron*. North of this settlement, the road made several crossings of the river still called San Juan, after which it passed over the hills to the Rio Cascajal, near *El Bujio*; and then followed down that river in a northwesterly direction to Puerto Bello, the Cascajal emptying into the bay just east and north of the city. Descriptions of the old highway vary at different periods, and doubtless slight diversions were made as the years went by.

Midway the Panama-Cruces road, was a place named *Limarrette*, and between Limarrette and Cruces the road divided, the main branch going on to Cruces, the other to a point on the Chagres called *Santa Cruz*, about the location of the present Gamboa. Santa Cruz may have been a place for discharging boats during low stages of the river. When the Chagres was very shallow, in the summer time, the king's treasure was sometimes packed from Panama to a loading-place on the Rio de la Trinidad, called *Embarcadero*, whence it was transported by boats to enter the Chagres near Gatun. Embarcadero was on a line west from Vaila Monos. This same map also shows Matachin, Gorgona, Barbacoa, and El Gatun, located as at present.

While the idea of a canal¹⁸ through the Isthmus began to take shape at a very early period, still most of the efforts made were in search of another strait, in addition to the passage found by Magellan, or for a better route over the land. About the gulf of Mexico and northward, the coasts had been scanned by Cordoba, Grijalva, Francisco de Garay, Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, Lucas Vazquez de Aillon, and Juan Ponce de Leon, but no opening had been discovered.

¹⁸ "How majestic and fair was Spain in the sixteenth century. Never had the world seen such energy, activity, or good fortune. Hers was a will that regarded no obstacles. Neither rivers, deserts, nor mountains, far higher than those in Europe, arrested her people. They built grand cities; they drew their fleets, as in a twinkling of an eye, from the very forests. A handful of men conquered empires. They seemed a race of giants or demi-gods. One would have supposed that all the work necessary to bind together climates and oceans would have been done at the word of the Spaniards, as by enchantment, and since nature had not left a passage through the center of America, so much the better for the glory of the human race; they would make up the loss by artificial openings."—Chevalier, *L'Isthme de Panama*.

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Juan de Ayola was looking for a strait, when, in 1535, with two hundred followers, he went up the Paraguay river and crossed over to Peru.

The Isthmus of Panama, however, continued to remain the chief portal of the South Sea, over which droves of Spaniards passed on their way to or from Peru, the Philippine Islands, or other colonies of Spain. So unhealthful were Nombre de Dios¹⁹ and the city of Panama,²⁰ and so difficult the transit of the Isthmus, that within less than thirty years after its settlement by the Spaniards, more than 40,000 persons had perished. In addition to the extreme insalubrity of the climate, the Spaniards had to contend with the *Cimarrones*,²¹ who waylaid them on the Camino Real, and even attacked Nombre de Dios. Nombre de Dios was a poor harbor, and the men had to wade into the sea to unload the ships. For these reasons, Spain sought farther north for a general highway to the Pacific.

¹⁹ Nombre de Dios was so unhealthy, we are told, that Indian women living there became barren, and even the native fruits refused to grow. Strong men did not live out the usual span of life, and all Spanish children died in infancy. Spanish mothers went to Cruces for their accouchement, and if the children were reared there for five or six years, they would live to arrive at maturity.

Of Nombre de Dios, Alcedo says: "It is of bad temperature, moist, and rainy; for which reasons, and also because the port of Portobelo was preferable, the city was removed to this last mentioned place, by order of Philip II. in 1585, by Don Iñigo de la Mota, when the former city became reduced to a miserable village, its port being frequented by foreign vessels, which carried on a contraband trade. The English pirate Francis Drake sacked the city in 1598 [1596]. The chief of squadron Don Francisco Cornejo had off the coast a combat with two Dutch frigates, in 1724; and the Count de Clavijo, who was commander of the Guarda costas, had also two other engagements in the following years of 1725 and 1726. The English Admiral Hosier blockaded in this port, for a whole year, some galleons under the command of Lieutenant General Don Blas de Legó, in 1538 [1728]. It is five leagues from Portobelo."

²⁰ On account of the complaint of the citizens, several attempts were made to move Panama to a more salubrious site. In 1531, Governor Gama endeavored to have this done. A royal cédula directed the people to meet and discuss the proposition, when the question was decided in the negative. Pascual de Andagoya opposed the change, as he affirms that God himself had selected the site, and that Panama was the only port in the South Sea where vessels could anchor alongside the street.

²¹ By the middle of the sixteenth century there were hundreds of runaway negro slaves, who mingled with the Indians and formed settlements of their own. About 1554, the new viceroy Mendoza, on his way to Peru, stopped at Nombre de Dios and directed Pedro de Ursua to subjugate these outlaws, who were commanded by one of

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In 1539, Francisco de Montejo, governor of Honduras, addressed a letter to the emperor urging the construction of a road between Puerto de Caballos and Golfo de Fonseca. Those ports were the best on either coast, the climate was healthy, the Indians pacific, provisions more easily procured, and gold was so abundant in that region that the caballeros could dig it out of the ground with their stirrup irons. In furtherance of his scheme, Montejo directed Captain Alonso Cáceres to start a town midway the two seas; and that same year, 1539, Cáceres founded Valladolid, afterwards called Comayagua, the capital of Honduras. In 1554, the king commissioned Juan Garcia de Hermosillo to inquire into the merits of the respective routes; and in 1556, he presented two memorials²² to the king advocating the change to Honduras, and recommended that the ships sailing from Pánuco, Golfo Dulce, and Vera Cruz stop at Puerto Caballos. Oviédo, the historian, Luis Gutierrez, the cosmographer, and even Juan de Barbosa, then governor of Tierra Firme, all supported the move.

The matter dragged on; but in 1565, Felipe de Aniñon, an old resident of the Indies, revived the project in another memorial to the king, in which he advocated the Honduran route, claiming, in addition to the grounds already given, that it would furnish better protection from the attacks of freebooters and corsairs who now frequented the Caribbean. In 1578, still another memorial was presented by the Licenciado Diego Garcia de Palacios, Auditor of the Kingdom of Guatemala. Though the distance across Honduras was fifty-two leagues, while the Panama route was only eighteen, yet the cost of a single mule over the former route was only nine pesos, as compared with thirty pesos charged for a trip by the shorter road.

As French, Dutch, and English sea-rovers increased among the West Indies, the large and accessible harbor of Puerto Caballos became a disadvantage, and we find Dr. Alonzo

their number named Bayano, whom they recognized as king. After two years warfare, the *cimarrones* were defeated, and Bayano captured and sent a prisoner to Spain. A treaty of peace was then concluded, in which the Spaniards declared the renegade negroes to be free. It was not long, however, before these people broke out again; and in a few more years they received aid and encouragement from the French, Dutch, and English privateers who began to frequent the Isthmus. It was the *cimarrones* who founded, in 1570, the town of Santiago del Principe.

²² E. G. Squier, *Central America*.

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Criado de Castilla recommending the port of Santo Tomás, nearer Guatemala, because the rascally pirates could not enter the narrow and intricate channel without the aid of expert pilots.

The people of Castilla del Oro, Mexico, and the other provinces opposed any plan to remove trade from their territories, and the gateway to the Pacific remained at Panama. The celebrated Italian engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli, who built so many fortresses in the Spanish Indies, was sent out, in 1586, to examine the Caribbean ports. At this time, Puerto Bello was but a little settlement of not more than ten houses. When Antonelli noted the excellent port, and how admirably it was adapted for defensive works, he wrote to King Philip: "If it might please your Majesty it were good that the city of Nombre de Dios be brought and builded in this harbour." Accordingly, Felipe II. ordered the change to be made, and Portobello became the northern port of entry. The official transfer occurred on the 20th of March, 1597,²² under the factor Francisco de Valverde y Mercado. Doubtless, the general populace were several years in moving westward to the new town. Forts were built at Portobello, the Castle of San Lorenzo was constructed at the mouth of the Rio Chagre, and even Cruces was fortified.

Near the close of the year 1599—three years after the visit of Francis Drake, and two years subsequent to the change from Nombre de Dios—Samuel de Champlain arrived at Puerto Bello in the flota of Don Francisco Colombe. Champlain calls the place the most evil and pitiful residence in the world. "Nevertheless, the said harbour of Porto-bello is very good; there are two castles at the entrance, which are tolerably strong, where there are three hundred soldiers in garrison. Adjoining the said port, where the fortresses are, there is another, which is not at all commanded by them, and where an enemy might land safely." He says that Drac [Drake] died of disappointment in failing to take Porto-bello, and that he ordered his body to be put in a lead coffin and thrown in the sea; which was done, "between an island and the said Porto-bello." Champlain, apparently, did not pass over the Isthmus, yet of the Panama-Cruces barrier, he writes—"One may judge that, if the four leagues of land which there are from Panama to this river [Chagres] were cut through, one might pass from the South sea to the ocean on the other side,

²² Erroneously given as 1584 by most writers, and sometimes 1585 and 1587.

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and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues; and from Panama to the Straits of Magellan would be an island, and from Panama to the New-found-lands would be another island, so that the whole of America would be in two islands."

In 1616, the year the Dutchmen found a way around Cape Horn, the Spanish king, in his instructions to Don Diego Fernandez de Velasco, recently appointed governor of Castilla del Oro, declares that it is held as a thing very certain that the Sea of the South communicated with the Sea of the North, and that the passage was through the creek (*ensenada*) of Acle, thirty leagues leeward of Cartagena, by the mouths of the rivers called Daciel and Damaquiel. If this way was opened, Spanish commerce could pass through, and a check (*freno*) be placed on the entrance of the enemies of Spain. In conjunction with Don Francisco de Benegas, captain-general of the flota, who would closely examine the coast in small vessels from Cartagena, Velasco was ordered to have some experienced persons, with negroes, search the Gulf of San Miguel and the River of Darien. These investigations were to be made without any expense to the royal treasury, and nothing ever came of them.

Spain sent out other expeditions in the wake of Magellan, but, with the exception of that of Loaisa, they either failed to find his strait, or to effect a passage through it; so that attempts in this direction were abandoned for more than twenty years, and the Spaniards again looked for a passage through the equatorial parts of America. Gaspar de Espinosa, in his letter of 1533, advises against trying to send ships by the Strait of Santa Maria (as he calls it), discovered by Magellan, as it would open another door to the Turk and other princes to reach the rich treasures of Peru. In time, knowledge of Magellan's strait seems to have been lost; some claiming that it was only a passage between the firm land and certain islands, while others believed that it had been closed by some convulsion of nature. This proven strait, like the alleged passes farther north, came to be called *el estrecho dudoso*—the doubtful strait. From their doubts of the existence of a strait, and their fancied security of a monopoly of the South Sea, the Spaniards were rudely awakened by the sudden appearance in the Pacific of Francis Drake; followed by Cavendish, Mahu, Noort, Spilberg, Richard Hawkins, and other enemies of Spain.

One of the first to suggest a remedy for the shortcomings

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of nature, in her abortive effort to make a strait at Panama, was Francisco Lopez de Gómara, the chaplain of Cortés, who wrote the chronicle of New Spain. About 1555, he urged Felipe II. to attempt to join the two seas by a canal; either at Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, or Panama. "It is true," said Gómara, "that mountains obstruct these passes, but if there are mountains, there are also hands. Let but the resolve be made, there will be no want of means; the Indies, to which the passage will be made, will supply them. To a King of Spain, with the wealth of the Indies at his command, what is possible is easy."

On the other hand, there were not wanting persons who affirmed that to open a canal through the seven leagues of land, between the Chagres river and the South Sea, at Panama, would inundate the country, as one sea was believed to be lower than the other. In all times past, it was held that where two seas were in close contiguity they were always of different levels. For this reason, efforts to join the Red Sea and the river Nile, in the days of King Sesostris, and afterwards under the Ottoman Empire had been abandoned.

The Jesuit father, Joseph de Acosta, who crossed the Isthmus in 1570, on his way to Peru, declares that he held as vain all pretensions to open the land, and "that no human power will suffice to demolish the most strong and impenetrable mountains and solid rocks, which God has placed between the two seas, and which sustain the fury of both oceans. And when it will be to men possible, it would, in my opinion, be very proper to fear the chastisement of Heaven for wishing to correct the works which the Creator, with greatest deliberation and foresight, ordained in the fabrication of this universe."²⁴

It was early in the reign of Felipe II. that the two Flemish engineers²⁵ were sent out to examine the Isthmus for a canal, and they pronounced the difficulties insurmountable. At this

²⁴ Who dares to affirm that Acosta was wrong in his declaration? The divine injunction, not to put asunder what God hath joined together, may apply to continents as well as to human wedlock. When we consider the enormous cost, in lives and money, of the Panama canal, the expenses of fortifications and maintenance, the troubles with slides, evaporation, and seepage, the hazards from floods and disturbances in the earth, and the international complications to which it may give rise, I am much inclined to believe that the old padre was right.

²⁵ "En tiempo de Felipe II. se proyectó corterlo, y comunicar los dos mares por medio de un canal, y á este efecto se enviaron para reconocerlo dos Ingenieros Flamencos, pero encontraron dificultades

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time, Spain held the Pacific inviolate, and the Council of the Indies represented the disadvantage which would ensue to the monarchy should an easy waterway be opened to the South Sea. Philip, who ascended the throne of Spain in 1555, unlike his father, Charles V., was not inclined to be progressive; so he readily accepted these opinions, and suppressed all efforts to improve transit from sea to sea.

Spain became suspicious of the other nations of Europe, and feared they would seize some of her widely extended provinces in the New World. Trade was restricted to a few favored Spanish merchants, and the number of American ports was limited—New Spain (Mexico) being allowed only Vera Cruz on the Gulf, and Acapulco on the Pacific; while Castilla del Oro had Puerto Bello²⁶ on the Caribbean, and Old Panama²⁷ on the South Sea. Spain tried to conceal both the richness²⁸ and weakness of her colonies in the New World, and isolated them from all intercourse with the other powers. It was held that the opening of an artificial passage through the Isthmus would be in opposition to the will and intent of the Creator, and incur the divine displeasure, and all further plans for a canal were interdicted "on pain of death." As the Atrato river²⁹ seemed to promise a communication with the South Sea, the navigation of that stream was forbidden under like penalty.

insuperables, y el consejo de Indias represento los perjuicios que de ello se seguirian á la monarquia, por cuya razon mandó aquel Monarca que nadie propusiese ó tratase de ello en adelante, pena de la vida. Eugenio Raymondi lo llama estrecho de San Miguel impropriadamente, pues no tiene comunicacion de un mar con otro."—Alcedo, *Dic. Geog-Hist. de las Indias*, tomo II, p. 464.

²⁶ Most of the traffic between Spain and her American colonies was carried on by a large fleet of galleons and carracks, heavily armed, which made the voyage out and back yearly. Upon reaching the Lesser Antilles from Spain, the ships divided; one division, called the *Flota*, going on to Vera Cruz with the goods for Mexico. The other fleet, called the *Galeones*, with supplies for Tierra Firme, Castilla del Oro, and Peru, continued westward along the north coast of South America, on its way to Puerto Bello. On account of the unhealthfulness of Puerto Bello, and the high cost of living at that port, this fleet first stopped at Cartagena, where the Admiral waited for news of the arrival at Panama of the plate fleet from Peru. While stopping at Cartagena, there was held what was known as the "little fair," during which the ships traded with merchants who came from the inland provinces of Santa Fe, Popoyan, and Quito. After a time, this preliminary traffic at Cartagena was prohibited on the complaints of the merchants of Lima, who suffered from carrying European goods from Quito to Peru.

When the ships from Peru reached Panama, an express was sent to inform the fleet at Cartagena. At the same time, the chests of

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gold and ingots of silver were packed upon mules, and carried to Puerto Bello in *recuas*, or trains, of 100 mules each, by the overland road. The bulky merchandise from the Pacific coast was carted to Venta de Cruces, where it was placed on barges, and shipped down the Chagres river and by sea to Puerto Bello. When the galleons anchored in the port, and the merchants from Panama, Peru, and other parts had arrived at Puerto Bello, the President (or Governor) of Panama, and deputies from the two trading parties, held a conference and regulated the prices of all articles, which remained fixed throughout the 60 days of the fair.

On the plaza by the landing, opposite the Aduana, or custom-house, the seamen erected booths or tents, made of sails, to which the bales of merchandise landed from the ships were drawn on sledges, and where most of the trading was conducted. During the fair, a house rented for 5000 or 6000 pesos, and an ordinary room and alcove for 1000. Thomas Gage, about 1637, waited in Portobello for the arrival of the galleons from Spain, under the Admiral Don Carlos de Ybarra. When the fleet arrived, the town overflowed with the 4000 or 5000 soldiers guarding the ships, besides merchants from Peru, Spain, and elsewhere. Lodging became so dear that Gage had to give fourscore crowns for a mouse-hole of a room, and a merchant paid 1000 crowns rent for a shop for fifteen days. In one day, Gage saw 200 mules arrive from Panama, laden with wedges of silver, which were piled up in the market-place like heaps of stones, without any fear or suspicion of being lost. Within ten days came the fleet, consisting of eight galleons and ten merchant ships. Much sickness prevailed and the mortality was high. The cleric further adds that about 500 soldiers, merchants, and mariners died of fevers and fluxes the year that he was there, "so that they found the town to be to them not *Porto bello*, but *Porto malo*."

"Again," says Alcedo, "the spectator who had just before been considering Portobello in a poor, unpeopled state, without a ship in the port, and breathing nothing but misery and wretchedness, would remain thunderstruck at beholding the strange alteration which takes place at the time of this fair. Now he would see the houses crowded with people, the square and the streets crammed with chests of gold and silver, and the port covered with vessels; some of these having brought by the river Chagre from Panamá the effects of Peru, such as cacao, bark [quina], vicuña wool, bezoar stone, and other productions of these provinces. He would see others bringing provisions from Cartagena: and he would reflect that, however detestable might be its climate, this city was the emporium of the riches of the two worlds, and the most considerable commercial depot that was ever known."

Whilst the *Asiento* of negroes subsisted, either with France or England, one of their principal factories was located at Portobello, and was of considerable advantage to its commerce, as being the channel by which not only Panama was supplied with slaves, but from whence they were sent all over the kingdom of Peru; on which account the agents of the contract were allowed to bring with them sufficient provisions both for themselves and their negroes of both sexes.

Under the *Asiento* to the treaty of Utrecht, the English were permitted to yearly send an armed ship, called *Navio de Permiso*, to trade at Portobello. This ship touched first at Jamaica, and was loaded down with goods, and scarcely any water or food. Besides being a



Photo by *Isthmian Canal Commission*.

PORTOBELLO, IN 1910.

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The selfish and exclusive policy towards the Spanish-American colonies instituted by Philip II. continued for two centuries after the death of that monarch.²⁹ Even so late as 1775, the king of Spain rebuked the people of the Mexican state of Oaxaca for petitioning that the Tehuantepec³⁰ route

very large vessel (over 500 Spanish tons, says Ulloa), it was accompanied by five or six tenders, loaded also with merchandise, which, when near Portobello, was crowded on the big ship; "by which artifice the single ship was made to carry more than five or six of the largest galleons. This nation having a free trade, and selling cheaper than the Spaniards, that indulgence was of infinite detriment to the commerce of Spain."

²⁹ "The king was constantly defrauded of his revenues by contraband trading which prevailed throughout the provinces, but nowhere to such an extent as in Panamá. In the year 1624 the amount of merchandise registered as passing through the casa de Cruces was 1,446,346 pesos, while goods to the amount of 7,597,559 pesos were reported by the factor Cristóbal de Balba to have been smuggled through. No punishment was inflicted for these frauds, though his Majesty thus suffered a loss of 1,370,656 pesos, and the matter was compounded by the payment of 200,000 pesos into the treasury, the factor having received a bribe of 6,000 pesos. Smuggling was practised to such an extent that it threatened the very existence of legitimate commerce. For this condition of affairs Spain had but herself to blame. The merchants of Seville, who still enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with the provinces, despatched only a small squadron twice a year to supply the wants of the colonists. They regulated no less the supply of European goods in America than of American goods in Europe, and took care that both should be shipped in quantities so small as to ensure enormous profits. All kinds of devices were resorted to by contraband traders, both Spaniards and foreigners, to secure a portion of the rich traffic of the Isthmus, and the government finding its revenues constantly decreasing, finally declared smuggling to be a mortal sin, and made those who engaged in it liable to be tried by the inquisition."—Bancroft, *Central America*, II., p. 473.

²⁸ "A second reason is, and it is the principal, that if we truly consider the greatness of Spain, it consisteth chiefly in their treasure, and their treasure in their Indies, and their Indies, both of them, is but an accession to such as are masters by sea; so as this axle-tree, whereupon their greatness turns, is soon cut a-two by any that shall be stronger than they at sea."—Lord Bacon's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 201.

²⁹ This is one of the causes which kept that region unknown, unconquered, and unsettled by whites.

³⁰ So poor was the transcontinental transit that, towards the close of the eighteenth century, ships for the western coast of America sailed from Spain via the Cape of Good Hope and Manila. After over three centuries of discussion and scheming, there was still no easy way over the Isthmus or continents of America, till the ceaseless and irresistible strife for gold, discovered in California in 1848, quickly called into being the Panama Railroad and the Pacific Railway.

³¹ Capt. R. W. Shufeldt, U. S. Navy, writing in 1871, regarded a canal through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec not as *international* in character and necessity, but as distinctly *American* and local in its

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be improved. The proposition for a canal, however, would not down; and, finally, the Spanish Cortes, in 1814, decreed the construction of a canal to join the two oceans. This tardy effort to conciliate the restless colonists came too late, and the project was never even attempted. At this time, the provinces were beginning to declare their independence, and in a few years more, Spain ceased to possess a single colony on the continent of the New World.

For nearly four centuries, the White Man has been planning and striving to sever the Isthmus of America, and unite the waters of the Atlantic to the waters of the Pacific. This dream of the ages will be realized, within a few years, at Panama, and the portal to the Sea of the South will stand ajar. *We must constantly bear in mind that this door opens in both directions, and it behooves us to see that it is well guarded.*

main object. "A canal through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is an extension of the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. It converts the Gulf of Mexico into an American lake. In time of war it closes that Gulf to all enemies. It is the only route which our government can control. So to speak, it renders our own territory circumnavigable. It brings New Orleans 1,400 nautical miles nearer to San Francisco than a canal via Darien, and such is the character of the intervening waters, that it permits a canal-boat to load in Saint Louis and discharge her freight in California with but little more than the risk of inland navigation. As a matter of political economy, therefore, as well as of commercial necessity, a canal here assumes the gravest proportions. It may be that the future of our country lies hidden in this problem—whether, in the demonstration of which, our principles of government, and our commerce under the flag which represents them, are to go hand in hand to further development, until are reached and taught the remotest corners of the East and the rudest barbarians of the Pacific Isles, or whether, resisting the struggles and checking the aspirations of the American heart for space and freedom, we are to live in disregard of natural law, and leave to another nation a glorious mission unfulfilled."



Photo by *Isthmian Canal Commission.*

CULEBRA CUT, IN 1910, LOOKING SOUTH. CONTRACTORS' HILL ON THE RIGHT, GOLD HILL ON THE LEFT.

FOR A STRAIT

Proposed routes for canals and roads, after Malte-Brun, from Davis' Report, 1867 :

CANALS.

- | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|-----------------------|
| I. | | 1. Tehuantepec, by the Coatzacoalcos and Chicapa. | | |
| II. | | 2. Honduras. | | |
| III. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> River San Juan de Nicaragua. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Lake Nicaragua. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Lake Managua. </div> </div> </div> | 3. R. San Carlos, G. de Nicoya. | | |
| | | 4. R. Niño, Tempisque, G. de Nicoya. | | |
| | | 5. R. Sapoá, B. Salinas. | | |
| | | 6. San Juan del Sur. | | |
| | | 7 Brito. | | |
| | | 8. R. Tamarinda. | | |
| | | 9 P. Realejo. | | |
| | | 10. B. Fonseca | | |
| | | IV. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Panama. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> River Charges. </div> </div> | 11. Gorgona, Panama. |
| | | | | 12 Trinidad, Caymito. |
| 13. Navy Bay, R. Chagres, R. Bonito, R. Bernardo. | | | | |
| 14. San Blas, R. Chepo. | | | | |
| V. | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Darien. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> River Atrato </div> </div> | 15. B. Caledonia, G. San Miguel. | | |
| | | 16. Rs. Arguía, Paya, Tuyra, G. San Miguel. | | |
| | | 17. R. Napipi, Cupica. | | |
| | | 18. R. Truando, Kelley's I. | | |
| | | 19. R. Tuyra, G. Urabá, or R. Atrato. | | |

ROADS.

- | | |
|----|---|
| A. | Coatzacoalcos, Tehuantepec. |
| B. | Honduras to G. of Fonseca. |
| C. | R. San Juan, Nicaragua, Managua, G. of Fonseca. |
| D. | Port Limon to Caldera, Costa Rica. |
| E. | Chiriqui Inlet to Golfo Dulce. |
| F. | Aspinwall, Panama (railroad finished). |
| G. | Gorgon B., Realejo. |
| H. | Gorgon B., San Juan del Sur. } Nicaragua. |

CHAPTER XIX.

ABORIGINES OF THE ISTHMUS.

"Let them live in their seclusion,
Let them keep their fair possessions,
Let them rule themselves unaided,
O ye nations of the earth!
Let them practice their religion,
And observe their rights and customs
O ye pushing missionaries
Of accepted creed and sect!
Trouble not this gentle people—
Leave them to their peace and quiet—
Nor disturb this tropic Eden
Of the red men of San Blas!"

James Stanley Gilbert.



WHEN the Spaniards settled Antigua in the eastern end of the Isthmus, early in 1510, the Indians, whose village they seized, were called *Darien*. From that day to this, the eastern part of the Isthmus, on both coasts, has been known as *Darien*; and the native Indians today often receive the same designation. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the *Dariens*, unlike the natives east of the Atrato river, did not use poisoned arrows, and the white invaders were able to beat them back, and establish themselves on the Isthmus.

As band after band was subjugated, the Spaniards called the Indians after the name of the ruling chief; as *Careta*, *Comagre*, *Tubanama*, *Paris*. The native term for chief was *tiba*, or *quebi*, and when Columbus attempted to start a colony in *Veragua*, the head chief was called *quibian*. The Spaniards introduced the title *cacique* from *Española*, and designated the principal ruler as king. The native tribes or clans lived in villages, often surrounded with palisades, the houses being constructed of wooden frames, covered with canes, palm-leaves, and grass. They built no masonry, and left neither temples nor monuments. The cultivation of maize was universal, and they possessed the mandioc, yam, bananas, cocoanuts, and other vegetable products, in addition to fish and game. Deer and wild-hogs, with pheasants and other birds,

ABORIGINES OF

and an occasional tapir, furnished meat. The Indians raised and spun cotton, which was made into scant garments for the women, and robes of ceremony for the men. At the time of the discovery, they mined gold in small quantities, mostly from placers, which was hammered and worked into images of animals, plates or mirrors, bracelets, and diadems. They made baskets, and twisted silk-grass and maho-bark into cordage for fish-nets and hammocks.

The warriors painted their bodies in red, yellow, blue, and black, with figures of beasts and birds. They usually went naked, and were armed with bow and arrows, spear, and shield. Instead of the Adamic fig-leaf they wore a receptacle made of gold, silver or bone. The men wore the hair long, and plucked out the beard. The Isthmian Indians believed in a Supreme Being; in evil spirits; and in places of reward and punishment after death. They possessed totems or animal tutelars, and held religious feasts and other ceremonies. Their priests, or medicine-men—called *lele* and *parwaras*—claimed to be magicians, and could foretell events. A class of sorcerers, in the mountains of Veragua, were called by the Spaniards *chupadores*, or suckers; from their practice of sucking the blood of the person operated upon. Special ceremonies attended the arrival of the period of puberty in both sexes. Before a marriage, the entire band turned out to build a house, and start a plantation for the young couple; and at the bridal-feast, most of the men got drunk on *chicha*, or other fermented drink, first laying aside their weapons.

The ethnographic division between North and South America is situated south of Lake Nicaragua, along the northern limits of Costa Rica. The Panama Indians show linguistic and other affinities with the natives of the southern continent, especially with the *Chibchas*, whose home was in the valleys of Bogota and Tunja, on the headwaters of the Magdalena river. The chief characteristic of their language is the frequent repetition of the syllables *chi*, *chu*, and *cha*.

The great valleys of Colombia, with a trend towards the Isthmus, determined the growth and migration of these people in that direction.¹ The tribe inhabiting the eastern half of

¹ Apparently, this does not accord with the theory of the unity of the American race (Amerinds), and the generally accepted belief that the Western Hemisphere was peopled from Asia, by way of Bering Sea, or the "miocene bridge" formed by the elevation of the bottom of that sea. If we consider South America as peopled from North America, then it occurred at such an early period that the reflux of tribes over the Isthmus showed little relation to the stocks of the northern continent. The submergence, and subsequent uprising of most of the Isthmus is obvious to the veriest tyro in geology.



Courtesy of the *Pan American Union*.
GOLDEN FIGURES FROM THE GUACAS OF CHIRIQUI.

THE ISTHMUS

the Itshmus is the *Cunas*, called also *Cuna-cunas*, *Dariens*, *Tules*, *Cuevas*, *Paparos*, *Irriacos*, or *Tucutis*. They call themselves *Tules*, which in their language signifies men, or *the men*. They believe themselves of Carib stock, and their independent bearing, as well as their location and language, indicate considerable admixture with that race. The Caribs² were a sea-roaming people from the region of the Orinoco river, who drove the Arawaks from the Lesser Antilles, traded and warred as far as the Gulf of Mexico, and left their impress along the shores of the Caribbean.

The *Cunas* extend from the valley of the Atrato, where they join with the *Chocos* on the right bank of that river, as far west as the Canal Zone and Chagres river, which separates them from the region of the *Guaimis*, who inhabit the western half of the Isthmus. The *Cunas* are slightly undersized (about 1.50) but symmetrical and vigorous. Their color is light, and individuals with chestnut or reddish hair and gray eyes have always been noted among them, and they have erroneously³ been supposed to be albinos. Their skulls are markedly brachycephalic (88), and their foreheads broad. In spite of the severe measures of the Spaniards, they have never been thoroughly subdued, and still manifest an unconquerable love of freedom and a wild life.⁴

Nowadays, the *Cunas* are designated San Blas, Manzanillos, Mandingas, Bayanos, Chucunacos, etc., according to the region or river valley they inhabit. Those I have seen would average a little over five feet in height, shapely and well muscled; with small hands and feet, but the stubby, spreading toes we find among primitive people who go barefooted and carry burdens. They have light brown, or coppery, skins, with round heads

² Carib, from *Karina*, is said to mean Cannibal, and that tribe has generally been accused of man-eating.

³ Dr. D. G. Brinton.

⁴ In 1908, when a certain high official of the Canal Commission was looking for a sand deposit along the San Blas coast, the chief of that region, who answered to the name of Henry Clay, informed the officer that "God had put the sand there, and there it would stay. Go away and don't come back." The chief also warned the pilot of the tug that, if he brought any more white men to his domain, he would kill him. This is the almost universal regard in which we are held by the Indians, and is a sad commentary on our four centuries of Christian domination.

⁵ "Entre ellos los albinos no son raros, y algunos hombres de piel casi blanca y cabello rojo, dan testimonio del paso frecuente y larga permanencia de los piratas por aquellos lugares."—Ramon M. Valdés.

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and faces, black hair and eyes. I believe that genuine albinos⁵ exist among them,⁶ and that gray eyes are not uncommon.

Lionel Wafer, who lived among these Indians (whom he called Dariens) for four months, during the year 1681, describes the men as being from five to six feet tall, and generally having gray eyes. "The size of the men is usually about 5 or 6 foot. They are straight and clean-limbed, big-boned, full-breasted, and handsomely shaped. I never saw among them a crooked or deformed person. They are very nimble and active, running very well. But the women are short and thick, and not so lively as the men. The young women are very plump and fat, well-shaped; and have a brisk eye. The elder women are very ordinary; their bellies and breasts being penile and wrinkled. Both men and women are of a round visage, with short bottle noses, their eyes large, generally grey, yet lively and sparkling when young. They have a high forehead, white even teeth, thin lips, and mouth moderately large. Their cheeks and chin are well proportioned; and in general they are handsomely featured, but the men more than the women. Both sexes have straight, long, black hair, lank, coarse and strong. The men wear it loose down the back, the women tying theirs together with a string just behind the head."

Among the Dariens, Doctor Wafer encountered numerous albinos, with milk-white skins covered with short white down. The Buccaneers called these individuals "moon-eyed," because they could see best in the moonlight, when they ran skipping about like wild bucks. These Indians then lived in houses with mud-daubed walls, covered with thatch. Each member of a family slept in a hammock. Cooking was done in earthen pots, and over barbecues.⁷ The Dariens made a simple nutrient beverage of corn-meal mixed with water, which they called *Chicha*; another drink of bruised corn fermented with

⁵ In a dispatch dated at La Villa de la Frontera, New Spain, the 30th of October, 1520, describing one of Montezuma's palaces to the emperor Charles V., Hernando Cortés says: "There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women, and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows and eyelashes are white from their birth."

⁷ When they wish to preserve meat, says Wafer, "they erect four forked sticks 8 or 9 Foot asunder, on which they lay two parallel staves that shall be above a Foot from the ground, and so make a Barbecue. Across these staves they lay the pieces of the Beasts or Birds; and spread underneath a few live coals, to make which they burn a parcel of Wood on purpose; and turn the same pieces, and renew this small Fire for three or four Days, or a Week, till the Meat be as dry as a chip, or like our smoked Beef."

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chewed maize, forming a liquor or beer called *Chicha Copah*; and a third drink, called *Mislatu*, made either of fresh or barbecued plantains.

The men wore nose-plates of gold or silver, which were of an oval shape, large enough to cover the mouth, with a piece cut out of the rim, allowing the points to pinch and hang from the bridle (septum) of the nose. When at war, or on the chase, they used a smaller plate. Instead of plates, the women wore rings, which went through the bridle of the nose, and differed in size according to rank and occasion, like the plates of the warriors. These ornaments were generally removed when eating, though sometimes simply raised up. The chiefs wore diadems of gold and small canes. Men, women, and children wore chains about the neck, made up of teeth, shells, and beads. These necklaces often weighed fifteen or twenty pounds.

When a woman was confined, the female attendant took the woman on her back, and the child in her arms, and went into the river to bathe. According to Ariza, mother and child are then taken to the *lelé*, or medicine-man, to be fumigated with tobacco smoke. According to the same authority each Cuna village has its *ina* or chief, and *lelé*, who is at the same time priest, doctor, and magician. In time of war, the strongest and most valiant man of the tribe becomes the *urunia*, or war-chief. Another very important official is the *camoturo*, musical director and master of ceremonies. In their favorite dance, called the *guayacán*, the *camoturo* plays upon the *camó*, which is a kind of flute, made of a piece of caña-brava. The men and women form a ring about the player, beat the floor twice with the foot, and advance two steps; when they break the chain, and the couples come together and revolve rapidly in time with the music.

In Wafer's time, the Dariens raised tobacco, and looked upon it as possessing many virtues. They used it principally upon occasions of ceremony, when a boy blew through an immense lighted cigar, driving the smoke into the face of each member of the assembly, the warrior forming a funnel with his hands, and inhaling the fumes with avidity. Dr. Wafer described these Indians as being cleanly and modest.

West of the mouth of the Chagres river, we come upon the home of the *Guaimi* Indians, called also Coclés, who now inhabit the remote and most inaccessible regions of the provinces of Veraguas, Chiriqui, and Bocas del Toro. The *Guaimis*, like the *Talamanecas* of Costa Rica who join them, are descended from the Chibchas, or Muyscas. The *Guaimis*

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were known formerly also as Dorasques, Terevis, Napas, and Changuenes. The missionary, Melchor Hernandez, who visited Chiriqui Lagoon in 1606, found six distinct languages spoken in that region by tribes which he names as follows: Cothos, Borisques, Dorasques, Utelas, Bugabaes, Zunes, Dolegas, Chagres, Zaribas, and Dures.

The people we call the Guaimis, or tribes of their ancestors known as Bugabas, Dolegas, Dorasques (Dorachos), etc., buried their dead in the graves we still call *guacas*. Further south, as in Peru, they spell it *huacas*; said to be derived from an old Quichua word, meaning sacred. This method of burial extended up into Costa Rica,⁸ in the lands of the Terrabas and Talamancas. The *guacas* occur in groups or cemeteries, called *guacales*, the best known of which are those of Bugaba and Bugabita, two old Indian pueblos, about twenty miles west of David, in Chiriqui province. In 1850, a *guaca* was accidentally opened in the Bugaba district, and among the pottery and other objects was found a golden ornament. Soon, everybody was hunting for and robbing the old Indian graves. At this time, a fine collection of objects from the *guacas* was secured for the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington.*

The writer has seen *guacas* all over Chiriqui, from near the seashore, up to the pretty little valley of Boquete, at an elevation of 4000 feet. Graves are occasionally opened nowadays, but few contain as much gold as those first discovered at Bugaba. These old graves were dug from five to fifteen feet in depth, and the lower part lined with water-worn stones from the river. The corpse, or skeleton, was placed therein, and surrounded with various household objects and jewelry, which he used during life, and might need again. Pottery constitutes the greatest number of these objects, from the plain, unglazed cooking-pots and water-jars, to finely made vases, glazed and painted with figures. Other articles found in the *guacas* are *metates*, or millstones of volcanic scoriae, idols, tigers, and bears carved in basalt, celts of polished tufa, and odd triangular arrow-heads.

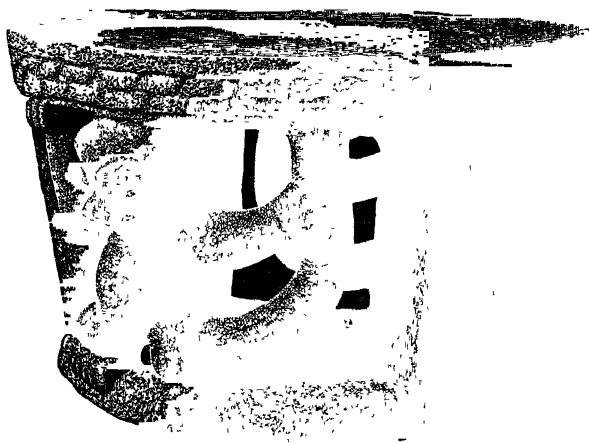
⁸ Properly speaking, the name of the old *guacal* Indians in Costa Rica was *Guetares*. Graves have been opened at Chirripo, Paramina near Cartago, and many other places.

^{*} Described by W. H. Holmes in the Sixth Annual Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 1884-85. Since then, Professor Holmes has modified his opinion on the fabrication of these golden ornaments. Recently, he informed me that, while many were cast, and some hammered out of sheet gold on forms or molds, the complex objects, composed of numerous sections, were made by a process as yet unknown to us.



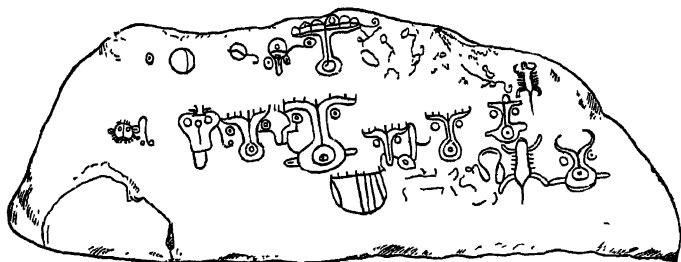
Courtesy of the Pan American Union

GROUP OF INDIANS.



Bureau of American Ethnology

BASALT STOOL.



Bureau of American Ethnology.

PIEDRA PINTADA

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The golden ornaments comprise figures of eagles, frogs, alligators, tigers, and human beings; or simply plates of gold. Some are of a fine quality of the precious metal, while others are made of a union of gold and copper, called *tumbaga*, said to occur as a natural alloy in certain mines. Objects of pure copper are found, some of which they plated with gold. These golden figures look as if they were made by moulding, or hammering, or both. Sometimes a few pearls are found, and rarely a specimen in jade or obsidian.

Above and about the corpse were placed flat stones, which protected the friable objects, as well as the dead, from the earth and stones filled in above. Occasionally, the Indians would use special care to guard a delicate piece of pottery from being crushed. On account of the rainfall in this region, scarcely a vestige of the skeletons can be found.

This method of interment must have continued after the arrival of the white man, as I have seen a few Spanish swords, iron hatchets, and horse-shoes; as well as native copies of European objects, that were taken from guacas, apparently the same as graves undoubtedly more ancient.

These old graves are the chief souvenirs of primitive tribes, as there are no remains of dwellings or other buildings. There is nothing above ground to indicate the site of a *guacal*, and many are covered with jungle and large forest trees. In Chiriqui, we find also a few rocks engraved with figures and symbols. The most famous of these is the *piedra pintada*, near the town of Caldera. In Veraguas, Chiriqui, and Bocas del Toro, north of the cordillera, the ground is so completely covered with forest and jungle—excepting the banana plantations about Chiriqui Lagoon—that evidences of pre-Columbian habitation are seldom discovered. Northwest of Almirante Bay empties the Changuinola, or river of a tribe called the Changuines; the termination being derived from *aula*, the word for river in the Mosquito language.

At the present time in western Panama, they speak of three tribes of Indians; the *Guaimis*, proper, the *Valientes*, and the *Cricamolas*. Besides the pure breeds, we find on the Pacific side, mixture of Spanish and Indian, or *Cholos*; and on the north coast, mingling of Indian with negro, who are really *Zambos*. Most of the full-blooded Guaimis live in the elevated

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valley of Miranda, amid the mountains of Veraguas, where they jealously guard their retreat from intrusion by whites or blacks. Like the Cunas, they do a little trading with the settlements, exchanging coffee, chocolate, rubber, and skins for cloth, arms, musical instruments, and gew-gaws. The Cricamolas occupy the region drained by the Cricamola river, which empties into the Laguna de Chiriqui. The Valiente branch of the Guaimis are so called from their bravery in fighting the Spaniards, and on account of the bloody duels in which they engaged on the slightest provocation. Formerly it was rare to see a Valiente whose body was not covered with cicatrices.

The Guaimis, like most of the Indians from Arizona to Argentine, are smaller than the white man, but very muscular and strong. They are tireless on the trail, and can pack heavy loads, or carry a person, on their backs over the high mountains of western Panama. Their principal festival, called the *balceria* by the Spaniards, marks the beginning of summer. After a general bath, the women occupy several hours in painting the bodies of the men red and blue, and decorating their faces with the bizarre figures found on their ancient vessels. A loin garment of bark, and the skin of an animal complete the aboriginal costume. Then follows the dance of the men and the play with the *balza*, a piece of light wood which the dancers fling in succession, sometimes causing grave wounds.

When they believe one of their number about to die, the kindred carry the sick man to the forest, and there leave him with a few bananas and a gourd of water. After death, they extend the cadaver upon a wooden shed, and a year afterwards gather the remains and clean the bones, which they make into a bundle and inter in the family burying ground.

In the fastnesses of the mountains live the Guaimi chieftains, one of whom calls himself Montezuma, and claims descent from the great emperor of Mexico to support his sovereign right to the soil.

According to Valdes, the Guaimis number about 6000; and the Cunas not less than 14,000. In 1873, a law was passed compelling the Indians to adopt the usages of civilized life, which they observe when visiting the towns.

One of the very first, as we know, to settle in Darien, was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who, in one of his letters to the king, writes the following,—

“Most Christian and most puissant Lord.

* * * * *

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"That which is to be found down this coast to the westward is the province called Careta, which is twenty leagues distant. * * * Further down the coast, at a distance of forty leagues from this city, and twelve leagues inland, there is a cacique named Comogre, and another named Pocorosa; who are at equal distances from the sea. They have many wars with each other. They each have a town inland, and another on the sea-coast, by which the interior is supplied with fish. The Indians assured me that there were very rich rivers of gold near the houses of these caciques. At the distance of a day's journey from the cacique Pocorosa's houses there are the most beautiful mountains that have ever been seen in these parts. They are clear of forests, except some groves of trees along the banks of mountain streams.

"In these mountains there are certain caciques who have great quantities of gold in their houses. It is said that these caciques store their gold in *barbacoas* like maize, because it is so abundant that they do not care to keep it in baskets; that all the rivers of these mountains contain gold; and that they have very large lumps in great abundance. * * *

"From the town of Santa Maria del Antigua, in the province of Darien, in the gulf of Uraba, today this Thursday the 25th of January in the year 1513. The making and creation of your Highness, who kisses your most royal hands and feet, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tomo III.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés came to Darien with Pedrarias in 1514, and for years was a royal and provincial official. He was the first great historian of the Indies, and describes the natives of Castilla del Oro as greatly resembling those of Española and the other islands; larger in stature, but of the same color ("de color loros claros"). In different parts, the chief was called *quevi*, *tiva*, *cacique*, or *guajiro*. In Cueva they called a woman *ira*, and a man *chui*. In the province of Cueva, next to the *cacique* in authority came the *saco*, and then the *cabra* or land-holder. The wife of a native lord was called *espave*, or lady. Some of these Indians dwelt on the sea-coast, others along the rivers and *quebradas de agua*, where were plenty of fish, their principal food, which they caught in nets. Wild hogs and deer also furnished sustenance. The chiefs took as many wives as they wished. When the eldest son had no male heir the inheritance went to the eldest daughter, who married her principal vassal. Immediately after child-birth, the mother went to the river and bathed, and in a few days was strong again. The women avoided pregnancy because it made the breasts flaccid; firm out-standing breasts

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being considered a mark of beauty. The fine ladies of the Isthmian tribes raised their pendent members with a golden support, a palm and a half in length, and beautifully worked, suspended by cotton cords passing over the shoulders and under the arms, valued at over 200 castellanos.

The men were without beards, and both sexes had little hair on the body except on their heads. Males and females wore the hair half way down the back, where it was clipped off equally, and above the eye-brows in front. The chiefs painted the arms and breast, but not the face, as did the slaves. The Carib arrow-Indians (*los caribes frecheros*) of the coast about Cartagena took no slaves, and ate all they killed in battle. When some of the Indians of *Tierra Firme*, especially the Caribs, went to war, they carried large shells which they sounded frequently as trumpets, and beat drums. At this time the warriors wished to appear to the best advantage, so wore the hair in tufts on the head, and adorned their bodies with gold, jewels, and feathers. Some wives went with their lords to battle, and when a woman was at the head of a band, she would lead and command her people. A caciquess was called *espave* (*que quiere decir señora*).

In many provinces both sexes went entirely naked. In other parts the women wore a mantle extending from the waist to the knees, "*y los hombres traen un cañuto de oro los principales, y los otros hombres sendos caracoles, en que traen metido el miembro viril, y lo demás descubierto, porque los testigos próximos a tal lugar les parece á los indios que son cosa de que no se deben avergonzar.*"

The Isthmian tribes lived in divers kinds of houses. The ordinary hut was the *bohio*; when built in a rounded form like a pavilion it was called *caney*; both being constructed of wood, canes, and vines, and roofed with grass or large leaves. A third style of house in *Castilla del Oro* was found in the province of *Abrayme*, where the land was inundated during the wet season. The people built their houses on the trees, which they ascended by means of steps made with *bejucos*, and where they dwelt secure from their enemies. These Indians went in canoes to the cleared elevated lands where were their *maisales* or corn-fields, and where they also planted *yuca*, *batatas*, *ajes*, and other vegetables. These people used no arrows, but fought with wooden spears or rods (*varas*). There was yet a fourth kind of habitation, especially in the great river of *Sant Juan* (*Atrato*), built upon the palm trees. Though adjoining *Urabá*, these dwellers were not arrow-Indians, but likewise defended their tree-top homes with sharpened rods. Never-

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theless they inflicted considerable loss upon Vasco Nuñez and others who went against them.

The aborigines of Castilla del Oro slept in *hamacas*, "que son unas mantas de algodón muy bien tejidas y de buenas y lindas telas;" the women as well as the men were great swimmers, passing much time in the water. For excess of blood the Indians scarified the arms and calves of the legs with delicate flints kept for that purpose.

For leaders in war, in the chase, and in their games, the Indians of Castilla del Oro possessed *tequinas*, or masters in each pursuit. The *tequina* could talk with the devil, who told the master what to do and what was going to happen in the future. When God disposed of events, says Oviedo, contrary to the predictions of the demon, the *tequina* told the people the devil was angry and had changed his mind, or some other lie. The *demonio*, or devil, was called by the Indians, *tuyra*; and in some parts the Christians, in honor and praise, were called *tuyras*, which, according to Oviedo, was a fitting name for some of the Spaniards, who behaved not as men, but as dragons and infidels, with no fear of justice human or divine. To the *tuyra* were offered aromatic incense, diabolical rites, and in some parts, blood and human beings.

When the Indians of Tierra Firme, as did those of Española, gathered for an *areito*, they selected a *tequina* who lead the singing in praise of some dead chieftain, or in memory of the victories of the tribe. The rest joined hands, danced forward and back, and responded in concert to the intonations of their leader. At the same time, attendants plied the dancers with *chicha*; the festival being kept up for hours, and many becoming drunk.

Oviedo states that the skull of an Indian is four times as thick as that of a Spaniard, so when killing the Indians, the Christians were careful not to deliver the blow on the head for fear of breaking the sword. Probably for this reason, Father Valverde cried to Pizarro's men in Peru to use the point of the sword—"La Punta!"

The principal chief always deputed a dozen of his stoutest men, either slaves or *naborias*, to carry him when on the road. The cacique rested in a hamaca swung from a long, light pole, borne upon the shoulders of two Indians, who trotted over the hills with their burden. When tired, these Indians were relieved by two others; and, without stopping, the pace was kept up, often traveling fifteen or twenty leagues in one day.

When a great lord died, his women and servants killed themselves and were interred with the chief, some maize and

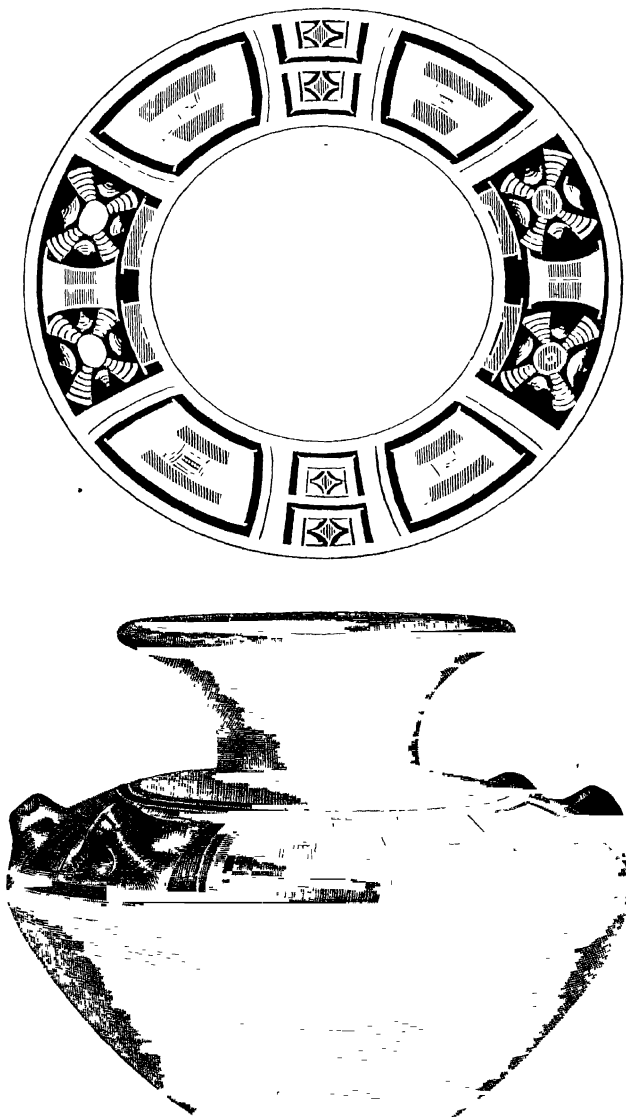
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a small macana being put in the grave. The tuyra accompanied the soul of the dead to heaven. In other parts, they placed the body of the dead chieftain near a great fire, until all the fat and moisture were driven out, when the desiccated remains were stored next to those of his father in a special apartment of his house. The number of dried bodies showed how many lords had been in that state, and the order in which they had ruled.

In the province of Parise (Paris) the chief and principal men ate no meat, like friars; hence plenty of deer in that country. Pedro Godines Osorio, governor of Veragua, states that the Indians of the Guaymi valley used a drink, and got drunk, from *mazamorra*, made from yuca and pine-apples.

Of the natives across the gulf of Darien, in the province of Urabá, Pedro Cieza de Leon writes: "The lords or caciques are obeyed and feared by the Indians, and their women are the prettiest and most lovable of any that I have seen in the Indies. They are clean in their eating, and have none of the dirty habits of other nations. These Indians have small villages, and their houses are like long sheds. They sleep in hammocks and use no other sort of bed. Their land is fertile and abundantly supplied with provisions, such as well tasted roots. There are also herds of small pigs [peccaries] which are good eating, and many great tapirs, said by some to be of the shape and form of zebras; abundance of turkeys and other birds, plenty of fish in the rivers, and tigers, which kill the Indians and commit havoc amongst their beasts. There are also very large serpents and other creatures in the dense forests, the names of which we know not. Among them are the creatures which we call *Pericos ligeros* [sloths], and it is a marvel to see their fierce looks, and the torpid lazy way in which they move along.

"When the Spaniards occupied the villages of these Indians, they found a great quantity of gold in some small baskets, in the form of rich ornaments. There were also many other ornaments and chains of fine gold, and much cotton cloth. The women wore mantles, which covered them from the waist to the feet, and other mantles over their bosoms. They are very pretty, and always go about decently dressed and combed. The men go naked and barefooted, without other covering than what nature has given them; but they have shells or other ornaments, either of bone or of very fine gold, suspended by a thread in front of their privates. Some of these that I saw, weighed forty to fifty *pesos* each, some more and some less."



Bureau of American Ethnology

**DECORATED VASE FROM INDIAN GRAVES WITH COLORED ORNAMENTA-
TION AS VIEWED FROM ABOVE.**

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These Indians wore quilted cotton for defensive armor, a practice soon imitated by the Spaniards, who found the climate unsuitable for cuirasses. They used a bow made of the wood of the black palm, a *brasa*, or fathom, in length; and long sharp arrows anointed with a juice that was so evil and pestilential "that no man who is wounded with it so as to draw blood, can live, although it should not be as much as would flow from the prick of a pin. Thus few if any who have been wounded with this juice, fail to die." Cieza de Leon tells us that he learned from a cacique named Macavin the principal ingredients of the arrow-poison. They consisted of the roots of the pestiferous *manzanillo* tree, giant ants and spiders, certain hairy worms, the wings of a bat, the head and tail of a very poisonous fish; adding toads, tails of serpents, certain small apples, and other roots and herbs. All these were mixed together and brewed in pots over a great fire in a place far from their houses. The process was conducted by a slave girl of little value, as the fumes killed the person making the decoction. "With this evil juice the Indians anoint the points of their arrows, and they are so dextrous in the use of these arrows, and draw their bows with such force, that it has often happened that they have transfixd a horse, or the knight who is riding, the arrow entering on one side and coming out on the other."

Pascual de Andagoya, who arrived at Darien in 1514, in the train of Pedrarias, writes as follows:

"About thirty leagues from Darien [Antigua] there was a province called Careta, and another, at a distance of five leagues from it, called Acla. * * * These people were more civilized than those of the coast of Santa Martha; for the women were very well dressed, in embroidered cotton mantles which extended from the waist downwards, and they slept on beds of the same material. These dresses of the women reached down so as to cover the feet, but the arms and bosom were uncovered. The men went about with their private parts covered with a bright coloured sea shell very well carved, which was secured round the loins by cords. In this way they were able to run and walk with great freedom. These shells were used as articles of barter with the inner lands, for they were not found anywhere except on the sea coast. The land is covered with forest, like that of Darien, though it is more healthy, and there are gold mines in many parts of it. * * *

"The first province to the westward of Acla is Comogre, where the country begins to be flat and open. From this

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point forward the country was populous, though the chiefs were of small account, being from a league to two leagues apart from each other. In this country there is a province called Peruqueta, extending from one sea to the other, and including the Pearl Islands and the gulf of San Miguel. And another province, which was called the land of confusion, because there was no chief in it, is also called Cueva. The people are all one, speaking one language, and are dressed like those of Acla. From this province of Peruqueta to Adechame, a distance of forty leagues still in a westerly direction, the country is called Coiba, and the language is the same as that of Cueva, only more polished, and the people have more self-assertion. They differ also in the men not wearing the shells, like those of Cueva, for they go quite naked, without any covering. The women are adorned like those of Acla and Cueva. From these provinces most of the Indians were taken, who were brought to Darien, for as they were the nearest and most populous, no sooner had one captain returned from them, than another set out. * * *

"In these provinces there were no large villages, but each chief had three or four houses or more on his land. These were close together, and each man built his house in the place where he sowed his crop. The chiefs in these provinces were of small account, because there were many of them, and they had great disputes concerning their fishing and hunting grounds, in which many were killed. The chiefs, in their language, are called *Tiba*, and the principal men of the family of a chief are called *Piraraylos*. The brave men renowned in war, who had killed an adversary, or had come wounded from the battle, received the name *Cabra*, as their title. The people lived according to natural laws of justice, without any ceremonies or worship. The chiefs, in these provinces, settled disputes in person, and there were no other judges or officers, except those who apprehended prisoners. Their manner of judging was this: The parties appeared, and each stated the facts of the case. Then, without evidence from witnesses, and holding it for certain that the parties would speak the truth (for he who lied to a chief was put to death), the suit was determined, and there was no further dispute respecting it."

Andagoya further tells us that the chiefs exacted no tribute from their subjects, receiving only personal service. They married one wife, when there was much drinking; and the chiefs took other women without any ceremony. The Indians had chosen men, called *Tecuria*, who were said to converse

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with the devil, whom they called *Turia*. These conversations took place in a small hut with neither door nor roof. There were also sorcerers and witches, furnished by the devil with salves, with which they anointed those whom they bewitched.

These Indians believed there was a God in heaven, whom they called *Chipiripa*, and that He sent down rain and other things. They knew of the flood of Noah, and said that he escaped in a canoe with his wife and sons, and that they peopled the earth. When a chief died, he was either buried, along with his favorite women, or else his body was dried and hung up in his palace. The next year, on the anniversary of the day that he died, his desiccated remains were burnt to ashes, the smoke ascending to heaven, where his soul was.

The Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya, who was a virtuous hidalgo and a man of education, closes his description of the character of the Darien Indians in words which would do credit to any so-called civilized people.

"They have no ceremony or worship in this land, but they live by the laws of nature, keeping the laws not to kill, not to steal, and not to take another's wife. They know not what evidence is, but they hold it to be a very evil thing to lie. They also refrain from taking their father's principal wives, their sisters, or daughters for wives, because they hold it to be wrong."—*Relacion*, Navarrete, tomo III.

And these are the people whom the Spaniards cruelly enslaved, roasted in the fires, or gave to the dogs to eat!

Under the caption of this chapter may properly be included a few quaint, but accurate, descriptions of the animals of the Isthmus.

"Concerning the Beasts of this Country, there is a great variety. Here are to be found many wild Hogs, and Deer in the woods, many Monkeys, Marmosets and Baboons; here are also Tygers; here is a beast called an Ant-Bear, because it feeds altogether upon Ants, which it doth, by shooting forth its long tongue upon an Ant hill. and when the Ants have crept in full number upon it, this creature pulls in its tongue covered with Ants, and so it lives. Here also is a remarkable creature called by the English a Sloath, and by the Spaniards Pigrity; so named justly from the dull sluggish nature of it, being of a very slow motion; it is somewhat shaped like a cat, but of a larger body, and hath very long claws; it is a great sleeper, and even when it moves, looks drowsy-like, as if it were half-sleeping. Here are also a great number of troublesome insects, especially the country is full of Ants, Wood-lice and Munketas, all of which are common through the West Indies."—Francis Borland, p. 15 (1700).

Oviedo, the king's *veedor* in Darien, writes that the first Christians, on beholding the sloth, fixed upon the name *Perico Ligero*, or Nimble Peter, for the same reason that in Spain the negro was called John White. "*Perico ligero es un animal el mas torpe que se puede ver en el mundo, y tan pesadísimo y tan espacioso en su movimiento, que parar andar el espacio que tomarán cincuenta pasos, ha menester un*

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dia entero. Los primeros cristianos que este animal vieron, acordándose que en España suelen llamar al negro Juan Blanco porque se entienda al revés, así como toparon este animal le pusieron el nombre al revés de su ser, pues seyendo espaciosísimo, le llamaron ligero."

The historian goes on to say that the sloth kept quiet during the day in the topmost branches of some tree, but at night made a sound different from that of all other animals, beginning with a high note and descending for six points, *ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah*; from which the old chronicler infers that the said perico ligero gave a hint to the first inventor of music to create his *la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut*.—*Sumario, cap. XXIII.*

"The Country has of its own a kind of Hog, which is called *Pecary*, not much unlike a Virginia Hog. 'Tis black, and has little short Legs, yet is pretty nimble. It has one thing very strange, that the Navel is not upon the Belly, but the Back: And what is more still, if upon killing a *Pecary* the Navel be not cut away from the Carcass within three or four Hours after fartheft, 'twill so taint all the Fleish, as not only to render it unfit to be eaten, but make it stink insufferably. Else 'twill keep fresh several Days, and is very good wholesome Meat, nourishing and well-tasted. The *Indians* barbecue it, when they would keep any of it longer:"

* * * * *

"The *Warree* is another kind of Wild-Hog they have, which is also very good Meat. It has little Ears, but very great Tusks; and the Hair or Bristles 'tis covered with, are long, strong and thickset, like a coarse Furr all over its Body. The *Warree* is fierce, and fights with the *Pecary*, or any other Creature that comes in his way. The *Indians* hunt these also as the other, and manage their Fleish the same way, except only as to what concerns the Naval; the singularity of which is peculiar to the *Pecary*."—Lionel Wafer, 1699.

Neither Wafer nor Borland mention that peculiar animal the tapir, or danta (*vaca de monte*), called beori by the Dariens, according to Oviedo. The following description of the tapir is by Herrera, as translated by Stevens:

"The biggest Beast is the *Danta*, like a Calf, but thicker, the Loins, Legs, and Knees low, as the Elephant, towards the Feet; having five Claws on the fore Feet, three before, and the other two behind, and only four on the hind Feet: the Head long, the Forehead narrow as it were dented; the Eyes small, the upper Chop hanging down a handful over the Mouth, which it lifts up when provoked; showing the Teeth and Tusks, being like those of a Boar; the Ears standing upright; the Neck close to the Shoulders; the Tail short, with few Bristles; the Skin six Fingers thick, and being double about the Loins, can scarce be grasped with the Hand, being proof against any Weapon when dry'd. It feeds on Grass, the *Indians* eat its Fleish, which is sweet, of whom they say Men learnt to let Blood, because when overburden'd therewith, it rubs the inside of the Legs against the sharp Reeds, and bleeds as much as it requirte."—Herrera, *vol. 4, p. 197.*

Don Antonio de Ulloa, one of the members of a scientific commission, traversed the Isthmus in the year 1735, and has left us valuable and interesting accounts of what he saw and heard. Among the fishes, he describes the manatee as follows—

"Another remarkable fish here is the *Pexe Buey* or *Baca Marina* [sea-cow], so called from its resembling the land quadruped of that name. This is one of the largest species known in the river, being generally three or four yards in length, and of a proportional thick-

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nefs: the flesh is very palatable, and, according to some, has pretty much the taste of beef. It feeds on the herbage growing along the shore, but the structure of its body does not admit of its coming out of the water. The female has dug for suckling its young, and whatever some may have said of any farther resemblance to the terrestrial species of that name, it has neither horns nor legs. It has indeed two fins, which serve equally for swimming, and supporting itself on the banks whilst feeding."—*Lib. VI, cap. V., pag 513.*

While going up the Chagres, Ulloa observed the caymans, or alligators, in the river, and numerous monkeys in the trees overhanging that stream. Of the *Monos*, or monkeys, he writes,—“They are of various colors, as black, brown, reddish and striated; there is also the same diversity in their size; some being a yard long, others about half a yard, and others scarce one third. The flesh of all these different kinds is highly valued by the negroes, especially that of the red; but however delicate the meat may be, the sight of them is, I think, enough to make the appetite abhor them; for when dead, they are scalded in order to take off the hair, whence the skin is contracted by the heat, and when thoroughly cleaned, looks perfectly white, and very greatly resembles a child of about two or three years of age, when crying. This resemblance is shocking to humanity, yet the scarcity of other food in many parts of America renders the flesh of these creatures valuable; and not only the negroes, but the Creoles and Europeans themselves, make no scruple of eating it.”

The first white men in tropical America were horrified to see the natives eat the flesh of a four-footed serpent, or dragon, which they called *Iguana*. In a very short time all the Europeans succumbed to the temptation to eat of it, and pronounced the meat to be as tasteful and delicate as that of chicken. Oviedo calls this lizard the *Yu-ana*, and notes that it tastes better than it looks. “*Yu-ana es una manera de sierpe de cuatro piés, muy espantosa de ver y muy buena de comer.*” * * * “*Que ni gime ni grita ni suena.*” More than a century later, when Ulloa arrived at Panama, he found the people frequently eating the flesh of a creature called the *Iguana*.

“It is amphibious, living equally on the land and in the water. It resembles a lizard in shape, but is something larger, being generally about a yard in length; some are considerably bigger, others less. It is of a yellowish green color, but of a brighter yellow on the belly than on the back, where the green predominates. It has four legs like a lizard, but its claws are much longer in proportion; they are joined by a web, which covers them, and is of the same form as those of ducks, except that the talons at the end of the toes are much longer, and project entirely out of the web or membrane. Its skin is covered with a thin scale adhering to it, which renders it rough and hard; and, from the crown of its head to the beginning of its tail, which is generally about half a yard, runs a line of vertical scales, each scale being from one to two lines in breadth, and three or four in length, separated so as to represent a kind of saw. But from the end of the neck to the root of the tail, the scales gradually lessen, so as, at the latter part, to be scarce visible. Its belly is, in largeness, very disproportioned to its body; and its teeth separated, and very sharp pointed. On the water it rather walks than swims, being supported by the webs of its feet; and on that element its swiftness is such, as to be out of sight in an instant; whereas on the land, though far from moving heavily, its celerity is greatly less. When pregnant, its belly swells to an enormous size; and, indeed, they often lay sixty

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eggs at a time, each of which is as large as those of a pigeon. These are reckoned a great dainty, not only at Panama, but in other parts where this creature is found. These eggs are all inclosed in a long, fine membrane, and form a kind of string. The flesh of this animal is exceedingly white, and universally admired by all ranks. I tasted both the flesh and the eggs, but the latter are viscid in the mouth, and of a very disagreeable taste: when dressed, their colour is the same with that of the yolk of a hen's egg. The taste of the flesh is something better: but though sweet, has a nauseous smell. The inhabitants, however, compared it to that of chicken, though I could not perceive the least similarity. These people, who, by being accustomed to see them, forget the natural horror attending the sight of a lizard, delight in this food, to which the Europeans at first can hardly reconcile themselves."—*Lib. III., cap. IV., pag. 166.*

In the city of Panamá, Ulloa heard of the wonderful *Dos Cabezas*, or two-headed snake; and also of the miraculous healing herb called *Yerva del Gallo*, or cock's-herb;—

"It is constantly asserted in this city, that its neighborhood produces a snake having a head at each extremity; and that from the bite of each a poison is conveyed equal in activity to that of the coral, or rattle-snake; we could not have the satisfaction of seeing one of this strange species, though we used all the means in our power to gratify our curiosity: according to report, its usual length is about half a yard, in figure perfectly resembling an earth-worm. Its diameter is about six or eight lines, and its head different from that of other snakes; being of the same dimensions with its body. It is, however, very probable that the creature has only one head, and, from its resembling a tail, has been imagined to have two. The motion of it is very slow, and its color variegated with spots of a paler tint.

"The herb called *Del Gallo*, or *del Pollo*, is so highly valued here, that they affirm, if an incision be made round the neck of that fowl, provided the vertebra be not injured, on the application of this herb, the wound immediately heals. Whatever construction we put upon this pretended cure, it can only be considered as a mere vulgar notion; and I mention it here with no other intention, than to satisfy the world that we were not ignorant of it. During our stay at Panamá, we were very urgent with those who related this story to procure us some of the herb, that we might make the experiment; but in this we were as unfortunate as in the matter of the two-headed snake, none being to be had."—*Ulloa, lib. III., cap. IV., pag. 168.*

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From Harris' Voyages, vol. 1.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

CHAPTER XX.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Circumnavigator and Admiral. "The Master Thiefe of the Unknowne Worlde."

"Sir Francis Drake, and he was TWO
And Devon was heaven to him.
He loved in his heart the waters blue
And hated the Don as the Devil's limb—
Hated him up to the brim!
At Cadiz he sunged the King's black beard,
The Armada met him and fled afeard,
Great Philip's golden fleece he sheared,
Oregon knew him, and all that coast,
For he was one of America's host—
And now there is nothing but English speech,
For leagues and leagues, and reach on reach,
From California away to the Pole;
While the billows beat and the oceans roll,
On the Three Americas."

WALLACE RICE.



FRANCIS DRAKE¹ was born about 1540 in Devonshire, at Crowndale, near Tavistock. The place of his birth has been questioned; but Tavistock, in 1883, erected to his memory a colossal statue,² a replica of which was put up at Plymouth in the following year. Francis was the eldest son of Edward or Edmund (or Robert) Drake, a small county squire, who favored the Reformation. Sir Francis Russell (afterward Earl of Bedford) stood godfather for our hero, and gave him his Christian name, according to the custom of the time.

¹ "From among all moderns Drake's name stands out as the one that has been associated with almost as many legends as that of Arthur or Charlemagne."—L. K. Laughton, in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

² "In the town of Offenburg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, is a statue of a man standing on the deck of a vessel and leaning on an anchor, his right hand grasping a map of America, his left a cluster of bulbous roots, the meaning of which might puzzle the observer until he reads on the pedestal the inscription: 'Sir Francis Drake, the introducer of potatoes into Europe, in the year of our Lord, 1586.'" Bancroft's *Works*, vol. vii., p. 404.

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Later, the father of Francis became a lay-reader to the sailors of the fleet, and went "to inhabit in the hull of a shippe," on the Medway, off Chatham, "wherein many of his younger³ sonnes were born; hee had twelve in all, and as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them dyed at sea." It seems that when Mary became Queen, Edward Drake lost his post; but the accession of Elizabeth secured for him the vicarship of Upchurch. By reason of his poverty, the poor churchman apprenticed Francis, at an early age, to the master of a small craft, part pilot, trading to the Dutch and French ports. The boy had rather a hard life of it, but it made him an able seaman, the foundation of his future greatness. "The youth," says Camden, "being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament."

Young Drake continued the business for a short time, but, about 1565, he sold the bark, and went with Captain John Lovell to Guinea and the Spanish Main. Drake must have lost money on this voyage, as he speaks of the wrong he suffered at Rio de la Hacha, presumably perpetrated by the Spanish authorities.

Spain at this time was the greatest power in Europe. She possessed most of the three Americas, and prohibited other nations from entering the Caribbean Sea or the Pacific Ocean. Captain John Hawkins, another famous man of Devon, cousin⁴ to Drake, is generally credited with being the first English slaver to invade the Caribbean. Previous to this time, he had made two voyages to Guinea for negroes, selling them to Spaniards in the West Indies. This trade was carried on under a treaty, still subsisting, between Henry VIII. and Charles V., and was promoted by Elizabeth.

In 1567, John Hawkins got up a third expedition, and took his kinsman, Francis Drake, with him. The squadron consisted of the "*Jesus of Lubeck*," a large ship of 700 tons (loaned by the Queen), commanded by Hawkins; the "*Minion*" of 100

³ The Spaniards understood that Francis also was born on a ship, to which occurrence they ascribed his skill and daring as a navigator. "Su madre le habia parido en un navio."—*Colec. de Doc. Ined.*, tomo 8. p. 45.

⁴ The exact relationship is uncertain. This John Hawkins was the son of "Olde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisdom, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of King Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea Captaines in the West partes of England in his time." (Hakluyt.)

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tons (loaned by the Queen), Captain John Hampton; the "*William and John*," Captain Thomas Bolton; the "*Judith*" of 50 tons, Captain Francis Drake; and two very small vessels, the "*Angel*" and the "*Swallow*." On the 2nd of October, they sailed from Plymouth; and off Cape Finisterre encountered a gale which disabled the *Jesus*, and carried away the boats of all the ships. At Cape de Verde the General—as the commander of an expedition in those days was called—landed one hundred and fifty men,⁵ and captured a few negroes. Farther down the African coast about two hundred more were obtained; and at St. Jorge da Mina, with the help of a native king, the Englishmen raided a town of eight thousand inhabitants, securing two hundred and fifty men, women, and children.

The fleet then steered for the Caribbean, sighted Dominica on the 27th of March, 1568, and coasted the northern shore of South America from Margarita to Cabo de la Vela, disposing of his cargo of slaves. At Rio Hacha, Hawkins was not permitted to trade; and deeming this an infraction of the treaty (and to settle old scores), the commander landed two hundred men and took the town, with the loss of two of his party. The Spaniards soon returned, and Hawkins was allowed to sell two hundred negroes secretly and by night. The inhabitants were glad and willing to trade in this way, thereby escaping the large import tax on negroes charged by the Spanish crown.

Near Cartagena, wherè they were not permitted to enter, the vessels ran into a four days storm, which so battered the *Jesus* that her upper works were cut down. The fleet followed the current northward, around Cape Antonio and east to the Cape of Florida. Here they met a hurricane and were driven back in the Gulf of Mexico, and headed for San Juan de Ulloa,⁶ the port of Nueva España (Mexico). In searching for this harbor (the present Vera Cruz), the Englishmen captured three ships, carrying passengers to the number of one hundred.

The Spaniards at Ulloa mistook the English ships for a fleet daily expected from Spain; and Hawkins, in September, 1568, entered the port without resistance. The officials came aboard and were much dismayed when they discovered the nationality

⁵ Some of his men were wounded with poisoned arrows, and developed tetanus, as seven or eight "died in strange sort, with their mouths shutte some tenne days before they died, and after their wounds were whole." Hawkins had one of the greatest wounds, but lived; probably because the wound was large enough for the infection to escape.

⁶ Sometimes written Ulua, and even Lua.

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of the visitors. "I found in this port," writes Hawkins, "twelve ships, which had in them, by report, 200,000 pounds in gold and silver; all which being in my possession, with the King's Island, and also the passengers, before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty without taking from them the weight of a groat." Hawkins assured the Spaniards he meant no harm, and sent a message to the Viceroy, up in Mexico City, that he had put in here by stress of weather, and requested victuals for his money, in accordance with the friendship existing between the English Queen and King Philip.

The next day, a fleet of thirteen armed Spanish ships appeared off the harbor, commanded by Alvarez de Bazan. Captain Hawkins was in a quandary, but landed men on the island, and mounted guns to command the entrance. "I began to bewail that which after followed," says Hawkins, "for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleet from entering the port, the which with God's help I was able to do, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, where they may have opportunitie to compass it by any means." A northerly wind was prevailing, and Hawkins feared the Spanish fleet would be wrecked on the coast, involving a loss of six million dollars, which would involve his country in war. He decided not to provoke a quarrel between England and Spain by resisting the entry of the Spaniards, but to hazard trust in their promises.

Accordingly, Captain Hawkins sent an envoy to the General of the fleet, advising him of his presence in that haven, and giving the Spaniard to understand that he could not enter until an agreement was arranged to guarantee the Englishmen from attack. On board the fleet was the new Viceroy for Mexico, Don Martin Enriquez, who, after some demur, gave a writing under his own hand and seal assuring the safety of Hawkins and his men, and their right to trade and buy provisions. For the keeping of the stipulations, ten hostages from each side were exchanged, and on the third day the fleet came in, passing salutes with the English.

Bazan soon discovered that this was the very fleet of English ships he had been sent out to capture, and his forces were placed to the best advantage. On the second day, Hawkins, who suspected treachery, dispatched the master of the *Jesus*, Robert Barrett, who spoke Spanish, to inquire of the Viceroy the meaning of the suspicious movement of troops. Immediately the master was seized, a trumpet sounded, and the Spanish ships

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opened fire on the English. At the same time, Augustin de Villa Nueva, a Spanish gentleman who was sitting at dinner with Hawkins, attempted to kill the General with a poignard which he had concealed in his sleeve. The Spaniards boarded the *Minion*, but Hawkins and his men from the *Jesus* went to the rescue, and beat them off. The fight continued until night, when the Spaniards captured the battery on the island, and turned the guns on the English ships lying close by. The Spanish Admiral (or chief ship) was disabled, the Vice-Admiral burnt, and others of their fleet so much damaged that they could not do much harm; but the captured battery cruelly beat the English with their own ordnance. Hawkins ordered the *Minion* under the lee of the *Jesus* to protect her masts from the fire of the battery; and the *Judith* came alongside and took some men from the *Minion* during the night. The Spaniards then fired two of their ships, which they caused to drift upon the *Jesus*, when Hawkins and the survivors took to their boats and went aboard the *Minion*. The *William* and *John*, having her mainmast carried away by a chain-shot from the shore, was fired by her captain; and the little *Angel* was sunk, and the *Swallow* captured by the Spaniards. The *Minion* and *Judith* took advantage of the land breeze, escaped the shots from the battery, and got out of the harbor in safety.

The two vessels became separated the same night, and the over-crowded *Minion*, on which was Hawkins and most of the men, suffered greatly for food. Hides, cats, and rats were reckoned good food, and parrots and monkeys were dainties. Of the two hundred men, one hundred¹ were set ashore, with their own consent, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Mexico. The remaining hundred took on fresh water, and on the 16th of October set sail for home. After great dangers, much suffering, and many deaths, Captain Hawkins arrived on the 25th of January, 1569, in Mount's Bay, Cornwall, and reported to Sir Wm. Cecil, Secretary to the Queen.

The report of the Spanish treachery at San Juan de Ulloa, and the harsh treatment of English traders in the West Indies, roused a flame of indignation throughout Great Britain, more especially among the mariners of Plymouth and other ports.

¹ These men suffered from starvation, Indian attacks, and Spanish cruelty. Twenty-three of the party were accounted for later. When the Inquisition came to Mexico the survivors were tortured and put to death for being heretics. Miles Philips managed to get back to England in 1582, and Job Hortop in 1590; and their narratives have been preserved.

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Philip of Spain was using all his subtle and powerful influence to aid the Papists in England, and overthrow the Protestants; and these two nations were inevitably drifting to war. England's naval and military forces were too weak to openly battle with Spain; but her privateers and adventurous seamen were encouraged to invade the Spanish colonies, and secure a share of her rich commerce.

Francis Drake, in the little *Judith*, got back to England a few days ahead of his commander. To the wrongs he had suffered at Rio de la Hacha were now added the perfidy and damages inflicted by the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa. Drake wanted recompense for his losses, and planned to take it where the loss was sustained. The disaster at San Juan de Ulloa was probably due to the weakness of Hawkins in telling of his voyages when dining at the palace. De Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, questioned John Hawkins, and with information received from other sources, informed his government of the intended expedition. De Bazan was sent to the Indies to catch Hawkins; with the result we have recounted. Every student of history knows how Sir John Hawkins got square with Spain in his fight with her great Armada.

Drake resolved to seek his vengeance secretly and alone. In 1570, he sailed in two vessels, the *Dragon* and *Swan*, to the West Indies and the Spanish Main. In 1571, Drake made another voyage in the *Swan* alone. As we shall see later, he visited the coast of Darien, and is said to have lived in Nombre de Dios in disguise. On these two voyages, Francis Drake studied the coasts and ports, and learned the route of the gold trains across the Isthmus. Of course, Drake traded with the inhabitants; and the business must have been profitable, for the Spanish Ambassador entered complaints with the Queen. Elizabeth replied that Drake was a private adventurer trading at his own risk, for whom she was not responsible.

We now come to what Drake himself calls his *third* voyage, meaning thereby the third voyage he had made to the Spanish Main as an independent commander.* Counting the first venture with Captain John Lovell, and the second with Captain John Hawkins, this was really Drake's *fifth* visit to the Caribbean.

* Captain Drake may have been commissioned a privateer by the Prince of Orange, with whom Spain was at war; otherwise he was simply a sea rover, trading, or robbing Spain as the occasion arose.

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"On Whitson Eve, being the 24th of May in the yeare 1572, Capitaine Drake in the *Pascha* of Plymouth of 70 Tonnes, his Admirall, with the *Swanne* of the same Porte of 25 Tonnes, his Vice-Admirall, in which his brother John Drake was Capitaine, having in both of them, in men, and boyes, 73: all voluntarilie assembled, of which the eldest man was 50: all the rest under 30: so divided that there were 47 in one ship and 26 in the other, both richlie furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole yeare: and no lesse heedefully provided of all manner of Munition, Artillery, stuffe and tooles that were requisite for such a man of Warre, in such an attempte, but especially having three daintie Pinnaces made in Plimouth, taken asonder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up (as occasion served) set saile from out of the Sound of Plymouth with intent to land at Nombre de Dios."

With Drake went also another brother, named Charles, and John Oxenham of Plymouth. The expedition stopped three days at Dominica for fresh water and a run ashore, and then headed for the Main (Tierra Firme). On July 6th, Drake sighted the high land about Santa Marta, and a few days later anchored in a little port on the western shore of the Gulf of Darien; probably the Puerto Escondido of the maps. Drake had found this hidden port on a former voyage and named it Port Pheasant "by reason of the great store of those goodlie foules which hee and his companie did then dailie kill and feede on in that place." He saw smoke ascending, and on landing found evidence of recent occupation by Captain Garrett of Plymouth, who had been conducted thither by some English sailors who had formerly been with Drake. On a tree—so large that four men joining hands could not reach around it—was fastened a plate of lead, with this message engraven thereon:

"Captain Drake, If you fortune to come into this port make haste away; for the Spaniards which you had with you here last year have betrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed hence this present 7th July, 1572.

Your very loving friend,

JOHN GARRET.

Notwithstanding this warning, Captain Drake decided to remain; and started in to put together the three pinnaces, which were finished in seven days. It seemed everybody knew of the little harbor, for the very next day three vessels came sailing into Drake's hiding place.

¹ *Sir Francis Drake Revived.*

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"The next day after we had arrived, there came also into that Bay an English Barque of the Isle of Wight, of Sir Edward Horsey's, wherein James Rause was Captaine and John Overy Maister, with 30 men, of which some had bin with our Captaine in this same place the year before. They brought in with them a Spanish Carvell of Seville which he had taken the daie before, also one shallop with oares which he had taken at Cape Blanche. This Captaine Rause, understanding our Captaine's purpose, was desirous to joyne in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them."

At Port Pheasant, Drake cleared three-quarters of an acre of ground by felling the great trees, which he drew together with pulleys and hawsers in the form of a pentagon, forming a fortification of trunks and boughs thirty feet high, leaving only one gate near the water side, which was barricaded every night by drawing a great tree athwart it.¹⁰

Drake did not tarry here long, and on the 20th of July, the entire party sailed westward in the direction of Nombre de Dios, and on the 22nd arrived at the Isle of Pines (Isla de Piños). Here they found some black men, called Simerons, loading two Spanish ships with lumber for Nombre de Dios. These slaves told Drake that their people, the *Cimarrones*,¹¹ were threatening to attack Nombre de Dios, and that Spanish reinforcements were coming from Panama. This news made it necessary for Drake to get there before the garrison was strengthened by the additional troops.

Captain Drake carried the slaves to the mainland, and put them ashore far enough from Nombre de Dios, so that they could not, by chance, communicate with the inhabitants; "for he was loth to put the town to too much charge in providing beforehand for his entertainment." Leaving Captain Rause with thirty men at the isle of Piños to guard the ships, Drake set out in the three pinnaces and the shallop, with fifty-three of his own men, and twenty of Rause's, "to atchieve what he intended." The seventy-three free-booters were armed with "6 Targets; 6 Fire Pikes; 12 Pikes; 24 Muskets and Callivers; 16 Bowes and 6 Partizans; 2 Drums and 2 Trumpets."

In the afternoon of the 28th, Drake reached the mouth of

¹⁰ I fail to see for what purpose Drake built this fort, especially in the rainy season, and for such short occupancy. Drake could defend himself better on shipboard than on land in the enemy's country.

¹¹ These *Cimarrones*, or hill-men, were the descendants of African slaves, who ran away from their Spanish masters and intermarried with the Indians.

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the Rio Francisco, five leagues east of Nombre de Dios. The party rested a few hours at Cativaas, and started out again at night; intending to make the attack at daybreak. Drake made a speech, telling his followers the Treasure of the World was before them, the garrison of the place weak and unsuspecting of their presence.

At 3 o'clock the next morning, July 29th, 1572, the four little vessels were in the harbor of Nombre de Dios. At that hour the moon arose, and disclosed them to a Spanish ship of sixty tons, loaded with Canary wines, which had just arrived, and had not yet furled her sprit-sail. The Spaniard immediately sent a boat to the town to give warning of their presence; perceiving which, Drake cut in ahead of the boat and forced it to go to the other side of the bay. At the landing or platform was a sentry, who fled; and "the Towne took Alarum (being verie ready thereto by reason of their often disquieting by their neare neighbours the Symerons), as we perceived not onlie by the noise and cryes of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and drums runninge up and down the towne."

Captain Drake left twelve of his followers to guard the pin-naces, dismounted from their carriages the six great brass guns comprising the seaward battery, and then went to view the Mount, on the east side of the town, where he was informed, the year before, the Spaniards had an intent to plant ordnance, which might scour the place. Leaving half his company to make a stand, if necessary, at its base, Drake hurried up the hill with the other half of his men, finding no guns, but only a very fit place prepared for their use. Descending the Mount with all celerity, the Captain ordered his brother and John Oxnam (Oxenham) with sixteen other of his men, to go about behind the King's Treasure-house and enter the plaza from the east, Drake with the rest marching up the broad street, with trumpets sounding and drums beating; the fire-pikes of both parties frightening the populace, and giving light to the English. The Spaniards speedily gathered in the plaza and saluted the invaders with a "jolly hot volley of shot," and Captain Drake returned their greetings with a flight of arrows (the best ancient English Compliments, says Prince). There was a sharp hand-to-hand fight; when the Spaniards broke and ran out the Panama gate, "which had been built for a bar to keep out the Cimaroons, but now served for a gap for the Spaniards to fly at."

Several prisoners were taken, and Drake made one of the

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Spaniards conduct him to the Governor's house, where was stored the silver brought over from Panama on the mule-trains. He found the door open, and saw a fine Spanish gennet, ready saddled. A lighted candle on the stairway disclosed, on the ground floor, a stack of silver, judged to be seventy feet long, ten feet broad, and twelve feet high; each bar weighing from thirty-five to forty pounds, of the value of a million pounds sterling. Drake knew they could not get away with much of the silver, so sought the gold, pearls, and jewels, which he learned were kept in the King's Treasure-House ("a house very strongly built of lime and stone"), by the waterside. Upon arriving there, Drake told his men "That he had now brought them to the mouth of the Treasury of the World; which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed."

Drake then commanded his brother and Oxenham, with their company, to break open the door; the remainder to follow him to the market-place to ward off attack; but as he stepped forward, his strength, and sight, and speech failed him, and he began to faint from loss of blood. During the skirmish, the Captain had received a serious wound in the thigh, which he concealed from his followers, but which now bled so freely as to spread dismay among the English; "who thought it not credible that one man should be able to lose so much blood and live." His men gave Drake a drink, and bound up his wound with a scarf, at the same time begging him to retire.¹² Drake commanded his company to stay and get the treasure, but they picked him up and retreated to the pinnaces. Many of the men grabbed some booty before leaving, else they had not been Britons. The garrison and populace were returning, the soldiers from Panama arrived at this time, and the little band of English marauders were wise to retire before the Spaniards recovered from their surprise. One Englishman, a trumpeter, was killed; and several, besides the Captain, were wounded.¹³

Drake's men boarded the Spanish ship in the harbor, took the Canary wine, and went to the Island of Victuals (Bastimentos), about a league to the west of the bay of Nombre de Dios. Here were the gardens and poultry-yards which supplied the town, and the English remained two days to tend their wounded and

¹² Another account says a sudden rainstorm wet the powder, and cords of the English cross-bows, rendering them useless.

¹³ Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, states that only one Spaniard, looking out a window, was killed. In after years, the urchins of Nombre de Dios used to frighten their parents by shouting, "Drake is coming!"

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refresh themselves. The Spaniards made no effort to go after the would-be robbers of the Treasury of the World; but an officer of the garrison, "called an Hidalgo," visited Drake at the island, and complimented him on the incredible feat he had executed with so small a force. He wished to know whether the English commander was Drake, who had been the last two years on their coast; and if the English poisoned their arrows, and how they might be cured? Drake knew the officer was only a spy, but made no secret of his name and courteously replied, "That he was the same Drake they meant; that it was never his custom to poison arrows; that their wounds might be cured with ordinary remedies; and that he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself, and his company, and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they had got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble the earth."

The gentleman then asked, "If he might without offence move such a question, what should then be the cause of our departure from that town at this time, where there was above 360 tonnes of silver ready for the Fleet, and much more gold in value resting in iron chests in the King's Treasure House? But when our Captain had showed him the true cause of his unwilling retreat on board, he acknowledged that we had no less reason in departing than courage in attempting." Drake dined the Spanish officer and dismissed him with a present, and more fine words, as was the custom of fine gentlemen in those days.

Captain Drake then returned in the pinnaces to the Isle of Piños, where he had left the ships in charge of Captain Rause. The latter thought it unsafe to remain on that coast, now that they were discovered, and took his departure for home on the 7th of August, much to the relief of Drake. From here the Captain dispatched his brother and Ellis Hixon to examine the Rio Chagre, where Drake had been the year before, to obtain further information of that river. This seems to indicate that he had some idea of getting to the interior of the Isthmus, and reaching Cruces on the Panama road, by going up the Chagres. For a sailor man, with "three daintie Pinnaces," this would be a very natural project. His brother's report must have been unfavorable; and the venture was left for Henry Morgan to accomplish, just one century later.

Drake sailed away from Piños with his two ships and three pinnaces, arriving at Cartagena on the 13th, and in the evening anchored in seven fathoms water, between the island of Caresha

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and St. Barnards. He sailed about the harbor in the pinnaces, capturing Spanish ships, one being of 240 tons. "Meanwhile the town, having intelligence hereof by their watch, took the alarm; rung out their bells, shot off about thirty pieces of great ordnance; put all their men in a readiness, horse and foot, came down on the very point of the wood, and discharged their calivers in going forth."

Cartagena was the capital of the Spanish Main, and it was now known that the English privateer, Drake—or *El Draque*, as they called him—was on the coast. It was not likely, therefore, that any ship of value would venture along the Main, from Santa Marta on the east to Nombre de Dios and Chagre on the west. The voyage had not yet been made, as the sailors say, and Captain Drake was considering another scheme whereby to secure "some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded."

This plan is said to have been suggested to Drake by a negro slave, named Diego, who ran away with the English from Nombre de Dios. It was to find out when the pack-trains started out from Panama with the silver and gold from Peru, and with the help of the Cimaroons to capture the treasure on the road between Panama and Venta Cruz, or between Panama and Nombre de Dios. It was now the month of August, the middle of the rainy season, during which time no bullion was transported, and it would be necessary to wait about five months longer before Captain Drake could execute his design.

In pursuance of this scheme, the Captain decided to scuttle one of his ships, the *Swan*, in order to give him more men in the pinnaces. Knowing the affection of the crew for their gallant little vessel, Drake, partly by persuasion and partly by command, induced the carpenter of the *Swan*, Thomas Moone, to secretly bore three holes in her bottom. The next day, August 15th, she was so low in the water that her stores were transferred to the *Pasha*, and the *Swan* was set on fire to prevent her falling into the hands of the Spaniards.

On the 16th of August, the *Pasha* and three pinnaces sailed to a remote harbor in the Sound⁴ of Darien, which the men called Port Plenty because of the fish, deer, and wild-hog, in addition to their abundant stores and wines. Here they cleared a plot of ground, as at Port Pheasant, and built huts for shelter, one being large enough for their general assembly. The natives were friendly, and assisted much in the work. The smith

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erected his forge ashore, and the Englishmen shot at butts, or played at bowls or quoits; half working one day, and the rest the next. Drake kept still for fifteen days to silence the noise of their discovery, when, leaving his brother in command, he went in two pinnaces, to the Rio Grande (Magdalena river), being careful to keep out of sight of Cartagena. Two leagues west of the river, the Captain landed on the mainland and obtained some fresh beef from the Indians. Cruising about between Cartagena and Tolon (Santiago de Tolu), "they took six frigates laden with hogs, hams, and maiz; of whom they got what intelligence they could of the preparations against them, and then discharged four of them and all the men, retaining only two well stored with good provisions."

The 20th of October, the Spaniards sent out two frigates from Cartagena, without cargoes, expecting they would be taken by Drake, and hoping he would man them and sail away; instead of which he burnt one and sunk the other, all in sight of two armed frigates which refused to engage him. To show how little he feared the Spaniards, Captain Drake sprung³⁵ on shore in the presence of the garrison, who would not come within shot of his pinnaces.

Exposure to the sun, the rains, and cool nights, caused sickness among the men on the pinnaces, and one of them, Charles Chibb, the tall quarter-master, died. On returning to their ship, November 27th, they found that John Drake and Richard Allen had been killed while attempting to board a frigate during the Captain's absence, using the other pinnace, called the *Lion*, and their only arms "a broken pointed rapier, one old fiskee, and a rusty calliver."

With the onset of the dry season in January, the company fell sick of a calenture, "occasioned by a sudden change from cold

³⁴ Generally interpreted as meaning the Gulf of Darien or Urabá, but doubtless the stretch of water within the Mulatas, generally included in the Gulf of San Blas. This will explain the easy communication with the natives, and Drake's marches by land. At least, Port Plenty was not east of Sasardi Channel and Caledonia Bay, and probably was at the island of Pines. When the Scotchmen came to Darien, as we shall see later, they communicated with a Chief Pedro, who lived in this region.

³⁵ "Our Capitaine commanding the Grapnell to be caft out of the sterne. veered the Pinnace a shoare in their fight, to declare that he durft set his foot a land, but stayed not among them; to let them know, that though he had not sufficient forces to conquer them, yet he had sufficient judgment to take heed of them."

Sir Francis Drake Revived, p. 36.

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to heat, or from salt or brackish water"; as many as thirty being ill at one time. Among the twenty-eight who died was Drake's other brother, Joseph, who died in the Captain's arms. That the cause of the disease might be discerned, Drake gave Joseph's body to be dissected by the surgeon, "who found his liver swollen, his heart as it were sodden, and his gutts all fair." The doctor concocted a remedy, trying it first on himself,¹⁸ "after which, once taken, he never spake, nor did his boy recover the health which he lost by tasting it, till he saw England." After the death of the surgeon, the sickness soon abated.

Before his death, John Drake had established communication with the Cimarrones, and they now brought word that the plate-fleet (Galeones) had arrived at Nombre de Dios from Spain, and that the mule-trains would soon leave Panama. Leaving the invalids and a few well men to guard the camp and vessels, Drake started out on the 3rd of February, 1573, being Shrove Tuesday, with only eighteen Englishmen, to go over near the city of Old Panama and attempt to rob the pack-train. He was joined by thirty Cimarrones under chief Pedro, and they took up the march as follows; four blacks in advance to mark the trail and act as scouts, the English in the center, with twelve Cimaroons forming the rear-guard. They rested during the heat of the day, from ten to two o'clock, and then marched again until four o'clock, when they generally arrived at a Cimaroon village, and rested for the night. Their native allies carried plenty of food, and wild hogs along the route supplied meat.

Pedro told Captain Drake that on one of the mountains was a large tree, which formed a look-out, and from which both seas could be seen at the same time. On the seventh day they arrived at "that goodlie and great high tree," which had steps cut in the trunk, and a bower capable of holding twelve men built in the top. Drake ascended the tree with Pedro, and saw both the North and South seas just as the chief had told him. Francis Drake was thus the first English commander to view the Pacific ocean. He was so transported by the sight that he "besought Almighty God of His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea." This was the 11th of February, 1573. "From that time forward," says Camden, "his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow." Oxenham swore, unless beaten off, he would accompany Drake in that southern sea.

¹⁸ An overbold practice which few modern physicians would venture to do.

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Two years later, in 1575, John Oxenham ("John Oxnam of Plimmouth"), that daring young seaman of Devon, departed from England in command of a ship of 120 tons burden and 70 men, bound for the coast of Darien. He entered the same port where last he had been with Drake, and communicated with the Cimarrones, or blacks, and found them still friendly. But they informed him that the Spanish treasure was now sent overland under a strong guard of soldiers; so Oxenham abandoned the scheme to rob the gold-trains, and determined upon a unique and yet more daring enterprise. He lay his vessel ashore, concealing it with boughs, buried all his guns in the ground except two small pieces of ordnance, which he took with him, and set out across the Isthmus with his entire party, under the care and guidance of the negroes.

After traveling twelve leagues, and passing the cordillera, they came to a river which ran into the South Sea. Like Balboa and Davila, Oxenham built a vessel, or pinnace, 45 feet long by the keel, and sailed down into the Gulf of San Miguel, accompanied by six of the negroes. Passing out into the Gulf of Panama, the Englishmen cruised in the direction of the Pearl Islands, and in ten days captured a bark from Quito, in Peru, in which were 60,000 pesos of gold, as well as plenty of wine and bread. A few days later, Oxenham took another prize, from Lima, containing 100,000 pesos of silver, in bars. The party then landed at an Indian village, on one of the Pearl Islands, hoping to make a rich haul of pearls, but found only a few. Leaving here, the English steered towards the mainland, dismissed the two prizes, and reentered the Gulf of San Miguel.

Oxenham blundered in making his presence known to the people on the Pearl Islands, as no sooner had he departed than they hastened off a messenger to carry the news to Panama. The Governor displayed an unusual amount of energy, as within two days, he sent out four barks with 100 soldiers and a lot of Indians, under Juan de Ortega, to search for the robbers who dared to invade the sacred precincts of the South Sea.

Going first to the Pearl Islands, the Spanish captain was there informed of the course the English had taken, and turning towards the main shore, he came across the abandoned prizes, the uninjured crews and passengers of which directed him to the Gulf of San Miguel. Within the gulf, Ortega came to a river with three mouths, and was uncertain which way to

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take, when he descried a quantity of chicken feathers¹⁷ floating down one of the branches, which he entered. The fourth day of his ascent of the river, Ortega espied the pinnacle of the Englishmen lying upon the sand, with only six men near, one of whom was killed, the others fleeing. Nothing but provisions remained in the boat, so the Spanish captain, with 80 men, followed a trail on the land, and after traveling half a league, arrived at a place covered with limbs of trees. Digging up the ground, the Spaniards recovered all the booty, which they carried back to their barks, intending to return to Panama without making any effort to search for the robbers.

In the meantime, Oxenham had been informed of the pursuit by the Spanish soldiers, and hastened back with his men and negroes to retake the treasure. With more impetuosity than judgment, he attacked the Spaniards by the river's side. Ortega disposed his men to good advantage, and drove back the British, killing eleven of them, and taking seven prisoners. Only two Spaniards were killed, and a few wounded.

It seems that Oxenham's men had demanded an immediate division of the gold and silver, before recrossing the Isthmus, which distrust offended the Captain, so that he would not suffer them to touch the treasure, and went away to get the Symérons to carry it to the north coast. This dissension caused a delay of fifteen days, and brought about the failure of the expedition, and the death of nearly all the party. Oxenham came back with the Symérons just in time to see his booty vanish.

Captain Ortega went back to Panama with the treasure and captives, very well satisfied with himself. The prisoners were compelled to disclose all they knew of the expedition, and the Governor immediately sent word to Nombre de Dios, giving information of where the English ship was concealed; and

¹⁷ "Well, sir, on the seventh day we six were down by the pinnacle clearing her out, and the little maid with us gathering flowers, and William Penberthy fishing on the bank, about a hundred yards below, when on a sudden he leaps up and runs towards us, crying, 'Here come our hens' feathers back again with a vengeance!' and so bade catch up the little maid, and run for the house, for the Spaniards were upon us.

"Which was too true; for before we could win the house, there were full eighty shot at our heels, but could not overtake us; nevertheless, some of them stopping, fixed their calivers and let fly, killing one of the Plymouth men. The rest of us escaped to the house, and catching up the lady, fled forth, not knowing whither we went, while the Spaniards, finding the house and treasure, pursued us no farther.

"For all that day and the next we wandered in great misery, the lady weeping continually, and calling for Mr. Oxenham most piteously, and the little maid likewise, till, with much ado, we found the track of our comrades, and went up that as best we might."

Charles Kingsley, *Westward HO!*

Three hundred fifty-two

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before Oxenham reached the Caribbean coast, his vessel, stores, and ordnance had been located and removed.

The remaining Englishmen lived among the natives, rapidly contracting fevers and fluxes, and slowly making canoes, without tools, in which to venture away to sea. While so engaged, they were surprised by 150 soldiers sent to capture them by order of the viceroy of Peru, and fifteen sick men were taken. Ultimately, by reason of sickness and the treachery of the negroes, all the Englishmen fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were taken to Panama.

When questioned whether he had the Queen's license or a commission from any other prince or state, Oxenham replied that he acted upon his own account and risk. He and his men were condemned to death, and most of them executed in Panama. Oxenham and his officers, with five boys, were carried to Lima, to be interviewed by the viceroy, where all, except the boys, were put to death.

Thus ended the first transit of the Isthmus, and invasion of the South Sea, by Europeans other than Spaniards. John Oxenham has been called the First Buccaneer. Had he exhibited the same energy and enterprise in a legitimate undertaking, his name would rank with those other sailor men of Devon who won so great renown in the sixteenth century.

On the 13th of February, Drake and his allies were well down the Pacific slope, marching through grassy savannas, and getting occasional views of Panama from the high points. On the 14th they could look down the great main street of Panama Viejo, running north and south from the landward gate to the waterside. To an Englishman, barred from the New World, this sight alone was worth all the toil and suffering it had cost. Drake was now looking into the very Holy of Holies of the Spanish Indies, the source of all Spain's wealth and arrogance. But what was more to his purpose, was the plate-fleet from Peru riding proudly at anchor off the city.

Captain Drake then hid in a grove, about a league from Panama, and waited for the night, when a Cimaroon went into the city to gather news. On account of the heat, it was customary for the Spaniards to start out the pack-trains by moonlight; and the native spy soon returned with the information that three trains left Panama that very night. One was to carry silver; another provisions; and the third was a special train, accompanied by the Treasurer of Lima, consisting of eight mules, seven loaded with gold, and one with jewels.

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Drake led his men back within two leagues of Venta Cruz, and divided them in two parties, placing one half on either side of the Camino Real, about fifty yards apart; so as to attack the front and rear of the mule-train simultaneously, and allow none of the treasure to escape. The English put their shirts outside their other clothes in order to recognize each other during the expected melee. The Captain ordered that everything coming from Venta Cruz should be permitted to pass; and that all must keep quiet. In about an hour a man and boy appeared from the direction of Venta Cruz, when a chuckle-headed Englishman, named Robert Pike,¹⁸ (over-zealous from imbibing too much stolen wine or native *chicha*) raised up to stop them. A Cimaron pulled him back, and the traveler was allowed to pass on. This was a mistake; for soon the Spaniard was heard galloping rapidly towards Panama, and Drake suspected that they were discovered, and that an alarm would be given.

Nevertheless, the Captain waited for a time, and soon was heard the tinkle of the bells on the lead-mare of a pack-train coming from Panama. When the mules were between the two parties, Drake gave a whistle, and the train was captured without resistance. When the packs were hastily opened, nothing but provisions were found. Captain Drake judged that he had been tricked by the Treasurer of Lima, and that the food train had been sent on ahead to develop the suspected ambush, and the soldiers would soon be coming up. With his small party, he could risk no further delay, or attempt to hold up the next train, which might be heavily guarded.

After consulting with Pedro, the Captain decided not to return to his ships by the long and secret way by which he came, but to cut a road with his sword through the enemy. Perhaps the hope of finding rich loot in the warehouses at Cruces had something to do with his decision.

Drake mounted his men on the captured mules, and English and blacks hastened to Venta Cruz. A sentinel challenged them and demanded *Que gente?* Drake replied, *Englishmen*; and the party rushed the town with strange English oaths and the

¹⁸ "One Robert Pike, having drunk too much Aqua-Vitae without water, forgetting himself, perswaded a Simeron to go into the road, and seize on the foremost Mules, and a Spanish Horse-man riding by with his Page running on his side, Pike unadvisedly started up to see who he was, though the Symeron discreetly endeavored to pull him down, and lay upon him to prevent further discovery, yet by this gentleman taking notice of one all in white, they having put their shirts over their cloths to prevent mistakes in the night, he put spurs to his horse both to secure himself, and give notice to others of the danger." Burton, *English Heroes*.

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dreaded 'Yó pehó' of the Cimaroons. The Spaniards fired a volley, lightly wounding Drake and killing John Harris. Soldiers and citizens sought refuge in the monastery, where Drake locked them up. He harmed no one, and destroyed no property. His men sought treasure about the town, but found little of value, though the Symerons got some good pillage. In Cruces at this time were three gentlewomen of Nombre de Dios, lately delivered of children, who were filled with much terror, and would not be comforted until El Draque himself assured them of his protection. In all his operations, Drake charged his men, and the Symerons also, never to hurt a woman, nor man that had not weapon in his hand to do them injury.

Captain Drake passed the remainder of the night in Venta Cruz, and the next morning, February 15th, he marched over a bridge and was conducted north-eastward through the hills by his colored allies; reaching his ships on the 23rd of the month. His camp had recently been moved from the first location, and was now nearer Nombre de Dios.

Not wishing to remain idle, especially in the dry season, Drake inquired about other places on the Isthmus, and the Symerons told him of "*Sinior Pezoro*" [Señor Pizarro], a rich miner of Veragua, who worked at least a hundred slaves in the mines. The blacks offered to conduct the English through the woods to the residence of Señor Pizarro, which was a very strong house of stone, where he kept certain great chests full of gold. The Captain did not like to weary his men by the long march; but in a few days, he captured off the *Cabezas* a frigate of Nicaragua, which had been at Veragua only eight days before, having a Genoese pilot familiar with that coast. This pilot told Drake of a vessel soon to leave Veragua, with above a million of gold aboard, and offered to conduct him to that place if the Captain would do right by him. John Oxnam had sailed to the eastward in the *Bear*, to hunt for victuals about Tolu; so Captain Drake hastened alone in the *Minion*, under sail and oars, to the harbor of Veragua, intending to capture the frigate by night, and attempt Señor Pizarro's house later on. When about to enter the port, two signal guns were heard, answered by two other reports towards the town, which was five leagues within the harbor.

The Genoese pilot judged the whole region was alarmed, as even in their beds the Spaniards lay in great and continual fear of El Draque. Being defeated of their expectation to surprise the place, and "that it was not God's will" to plunder the wealth of Veragua, the Englishmen set their sails to a westerly wind,

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and steered back to the rendezvous on the San Blas coast. Here they found Oxenham, who had captured a frigate with a great store of corn, 28 fat hogs, and 200 hens.

Soon after his return, Drake took in a party of French corsairs, numbering about seventy, under command of Captain Le Testu (Teton, the English called him). This more than doubled his force, and put him in good shape to undertake his next attempt on the plate-trains. The French brought the first news of the massacre at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day.

His friends, the Cimarrones, brought in word that three train-loads of bullion were due to arrive on the first of April at Nombre de Dios. These trains, or *recuas*, comprised one hundred and ninety mules, each loaded with three hundred pounds of the precious metal; making about thirty tons in all.

On the 30th of March, with fifteen English, twenty French, and a band of Cimarrones (Symérons), Captain Drake sailed from his headquarters to the Rio Francisco, not far eastward of Nombre de Dios. He made a landing in the pinnaces, and leaving a few men to guard the boats, struck off through the jungle. The next night, March 31st, 1573, Francis Drake placed his men by the Camino Real, about a mile from the Panama gate of Nombre de Dios. In the still night they could hear the noises in the town, and the carpenters at work on the waiting plate-fleet in the harbor. As the sky heralded the approach of day (for there is but little dawn so near the equator), the welcome sound of the bell-mules was heard approaching from Panama. The entire train of one hundred and ninety mules is said to have been in charge of forty-five men. This time, French yells mingled with the English hurrahs and the cries of the Maroons. The allied forces poured in a volley of shot and arrows, which brought the lead mules to a stop; when the others promptly laid down under their heavy loads. The guards put up a short resistance, and then broke and fled into Nombre de Dios. Captain Le Testu was badly wounded, and later was left behind and taken by the Spaniards.

Drake's party went through the packs and loaded themselves down with all the treasure they could carry. Fifteen tons of silver in bars were left behind, most of which they tried to hide in the bushes, and bury in the crab holes. It is claimed that some of the party returned afterwards and found the country dug up for a mile round about. The journey back to the boats was wearisome, and two Frenchmen, in addition to their captain, were abandoned; one of whom was recovered by John

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Oxenham. On the 3rd of April, Drake was back where he had left his pinnaces. They were not there, and looking towards the sea, Drake discerned seven Spanish shallops off the mouth of the river. The soldiers were on his trail, and doubtless armed vessels were out searching the coast, probably capturing his pinnaces.

The situation was critical, and Drake took desperate means to remedy it. He made a rude raft with drift wood, erected a pole for a mast, and used a biscuit sack for a sail. The Captain took John Smith and two Frenchmen with him, and put out to sea. After sailing and rowing for about six hours, up to their middle in water, they were lucky to view their boats beating up against the wind. The pinnaces did not see the raft, and made for the shelter of a point, at which place to anchor for the night. Perceiving their intent, Drake ran the raft ashore, crossed the point of land, and joyfully boarded the pinnaces. The next morning he took on his men and treasure in the *Rio Francisco*, and proceeded to his ships in the *Samballas*.

The voyage was made, and now for home. Captain Drake possessed a rich scimitar, given him by the unfortunate Captain *Le Testu*, to which *Pedro* took a great fancy. In parting with the *Cimaroons*, Drake presented the coveted weapon to their chief; and the latter was so transported with joy that he forced the Captain to accept from him four wedges of gold, looted from the pack-train. Drake refused the gold for himself, but threw it into the common stock, observing, "That it was only just that those who bore part of the charge with him in setting him to sea, and in sharing in all the dangers, should likewise enjoy their full proportion of the advantage at his return." An observation expressive of his generous nature, which accounted largely for the zeal with which he was followed.

The English took leave of the French in great amity, and steered a direct course for home, making the passage from Cape Florida to the Scilly Isles in the quick time of twenty-three days.¹⁹ They arrived at Plymouth on Sunday the 9th of August, 1573, during sermon time. "The news of Drake's return did so speedily pass over all the church and surpass their minds with desire and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the preacher, all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious Queen and country."

¹⁹ Navigators had learned to follow the Gulf Stream out of the Carribbean, passing around the west end of Cuba, and through the Strait of Florida; thereby avoiding the equatorial currents and northeast trades, against which the early voyagers battled on their return to Europe.

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Francis Drake did so many fine things that one is tempted to follow in detail his fascinating career. But we will merely outline the events of the intervening years, until he again invades the dominions of Spain in the New World.

Upon his return to England in 1573, Drake volunteered for service in Ireland. He fitted out three frigates with men and munitions at his own expense, and joined the forces under the Earl of Essex; "where he did excellent service both by sea and land, at the winning of divers strong forts."

In the year 1520, Fernao de Magelhaes, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Charles V. of Spain, had solved the secret of a passage in the Western Hemisphere by sailing through the Strait which ever since has borne his name. For many days he sailed to the west, showed for the first time the immensity of that South Sea (which he renamed Pacific), and then came to an untimely end at the hands of the natives on the little island of Matan in the Philippine Archipelago. By gift from the Pope, by the discovery of the South Sea by Balboa, and by the voyage of Magellan, Spain claimed this vast ocean for her very own and held it inviolate.

Ever since his view of the forbidden sea, Drake had been itching to sail an English ship thereon. He believed where a Portuguese sailor could go an Englishman might follow. After his adventures in Ireland, Drake came back and fitted out a squadron for the Mediterranean, as he announced. The Spaniards thought it meant another attack on the Treasure of the World, at Nombre de Dios. The vessels were the *Pelican*, 100 tons, Captain Drake; the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, Captain John Winter; the *Marigold*, 30 tons, Captain John Thomas; the *Swan*, flyboat, 50 tons, Captain John Chester; the *Christopher*, pinnace, 15 tons, Captain Thomas Moone; carrying 163 men in all. Drake made a final departure from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, touched at the Cape Verd islands, took the pilot, Nuno da Silva, from a Portuguese ship, and steered for Brazil and the Plate river. Drawing near the equator, Drake, being always very careful of his men's health, let every one of them blood with his own hand.

On the 20th of June, 1578,, the fleet anchored in Port St. Julian on the coast of Patagonia. The first object which met the sight of the Englishmen was a bleached skeleton, dangling from a gibbet on the main shore, opposite the island; the remains of some mutineers executed by Magellan, fifty-eight years before. While here, forty of Drake's best men tried Mr. Thomas Doughty for conspiring to overthrow Captain Drake,

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and adjudged that he deserved death. Drake partook of the Holy Communion with him, like a Christian; dined and wined him, like a gentleman; and then chopped his head off with his own hands.

Reducing his fleet to the Pelican, the Elizabeth, and the Marigold, Francis Drake entered the eastern mouth of the Strait²⁰ of Magellan on the 20th of August. To note the momentous occasion, the General (as Drake was designated) changed the name of the Pelican to *Golden Hind*, in reference to the crest of his friend and patron, Sir Christopher Hatton; and caused the ships to strike their topsails in homage to Queen Elizabeth. "Which ceremonies being ended, with a sermon and prayers of thanksgiving, they entered the narrow strait with much wind, frequent turnings, and many dangers. They observed on one side an island like Fogo,²¹ burning aloft in the air in a wonderful sort without intermission."

The passage of the Strait was made in sixteen days, Drake often going ahead in a boat to take soundings. On passing out of the Strait, as frequently happens, the vessels encountered stormy weather, and the little Marigold was swamped with all hands. On October 8th, Captain Winter, on the Elizabeth, reentered the Strait, deserted the General, and returned home, leaving Drake's ship "a Pelican alone in the wilderness." Drake was driven as far as 57 degrees south in the neighborhood of Cape Horn, but by the 25th of November, he was at the island of Macho, twenty degrees nearer the equator. Mistaking them for Spaniards, the natives killed two Englishmen, and shot the General in the face and head.

An Indian pilot, named Felipe, showed the way to Valparaiso, where the Pelican was supplied with stores, provisions and wines. From a Spanish ship lying there, Drake took the Greek pilot, Juan Griego, to show the way to Lima. In looking for water at Tarapaca, the English found a sleeping Spaniard, and nearby, a stack of silver. At another place they robbed a llama-

²⁰ The pinnace, containing eight men, was lost. These men made a landing on Tierra del Fuego, and later reached the Plate River. Four were killed by Indians, and afterwards two more died, leaving only William Pitcher and Peter Carder. The former succumbed, when suffering from thirst, from drinking too much water. Carder was adopted by some cannibal Indians, and arrived at Bahia, where he was arrested. A friendly Portuguese aided him to escape, and Carder finally reached England in 1586, when Lord Howard introduced him to Queen Elizabeth.

²¹ Meaning like the volcanic island of Fogo, one of the Cape Verd Islands, which they had passed on the voyage out.

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train, each animal being loaded with a hundred pounds of silver. At sea, barks were captured, and usually bullion was secured. And so it continued all the way up the coast.

On the 15th of February, 1579, Drake reached Callao, the port of Lima, where resided the Viceroy of Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo. About thirty Spanish vessels were in the harbor, which were plundered without resistance. Drake destroyed no property, and when he learned that the plate-ship had sailed for Panama on February 2nd, he decided to attempt to overtake her. Had Drake known that his faithful follower, John Oxenham, had been hung but a few miles away, it is likely that he would have burnt the shipping before leaving. The proper name of the treasure galleon was *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion*, but she was commonly called the "Cacafuego" (or "Spitfire," as we would say in English), and was commanded by Juan de Anton. While in pursuit of her, Drake boarded a brigantine, and took eighty pounds of gold, a golden crucifix, and some emeralds.

On March 1st, off Cape San Francisco, about a hundred and fifty leagues from Panama, the Golden Hind caught up with the Cacafuego, and Drake poured in a broadside and boarded her after dark. The next few days the treasure was transferred.²² It consisted of 26 tons of silver, 80 pounds of gold, 13 chests of money, and jewels. There was consternation along the coast when it was learned that El Draque was in the South Sea. Two armed vessels from Lima, and one from Panama came up with Drake, but declined to fight. The man who invaded the Isthmus, braved the terrors of the Strait, and stole the King's treasure at will, was not one to be idly assailed.

The Golden Hind kept on sailing northward, past the Gulf of Panama, and up the coast of Central America. On April 4th, Drake captured a ship from Acapulco, and took from her owner, Don Francisco de Carate, the celebrated "falcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the breast of it." He put in at Acapulco, the western port of New Spain (Mexico), and refitted the Golden Hind in Canoas Bay. Captain Drake had a notion of trying to find a passage to the north

²² John Drake (son of Bernard), probably a nephew of the General, was in the Hind, and won a gold chain for being the first to sight the treasure ship. When the English cast off the Cacafuego, the boy of Don Francisco, the Spanish pilot, said to Drake: "Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the *Cacafuego*, but the *Cacaplata*, and your shippe shall bee called the *Cacafuego*: which pretie speach of the pilots boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after."—*World Encompassed*.

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of America, and sailed up the California coast as far as 43 degrees north, when he abandoned the idea on account of the cold. He knew the Spaniards would be watching the Isthmus, and the Strait of Magellan; so determined to attempt to reach home by way of the Moluccas and Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Drake sailed back to a harbor in about latitude 38 degrees north, thought by some to be San Francisco Bay, but probably north of that port. The white cliffs reminded him of home, and he called the country New Albion, and took possession for the Queen. The natives were gentle and friendly, and seemed to adore the white strangers. The *Golden Hind* was refitted again, and on the 23rd of July, 1579, she sailed out of Port Albion (or Port Drake) on the long voyage home. The next day, the island of St. James (probably the Farallons) was passed; and then for sixty-eight days they saw no land. On September 30th, they fell in with islands 8 degrees north, probably Pelew islands; and the 21st of October, they got fresh water on the large island of Mindanao, in the Philippine group. Drake then sailed to the Moluccas, and exchanged courtesies with the King. He landed his men on Crab island in the Celebes, and repaired the ship.

Drake's good fortune nearly deserted him, when, on the night of the 9th of January, 1580, the good ship *Golden Hind* ran on a reef and stuck fast. When day came, all hands fell prostrate in prayer, and then threw overboard eight cannon, three tons of cloves, "and certaine meale and beanes"—but none of the heavy bullion. After being hard and fast for twenty hours, the gallant little ship fell on her side at low water, and slipped off the reef with a sound hull.²⁸ March 10th, Drake

²⁸ While the *Hind* was fast on the reef, Mr. Fletcher, their minister, made them a sermon, and all received the communion; "and then every theefe reconciled him selfe to his fello theefe." Nevertheless, shortly after they were come off the rock, Drake fastened his chaplain by one leg to a staple in the forecastle hatch, and excommunicated him with a pair of pantoffles, or slippers; at the same time binding this legend about his arm: "Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth." The company being called together, "and Drake sytting cros legged on a chest, and a peire of pantoffles in his hand, hee said Frances Fletcher, I doo heere excommunicate the out of ye Church of God, and from all the benefites and graces thereof, and I denounce the to the diuell and all his angells; and then he charged him upon payne of death not once to come before the mast, for if hee did, he sware hee should be hanged; and Drake cawsed a posy to be written and bond about Fletcher's arme, with chardge that if hee tooke it of hee should then be hanged. The poes was, Frances Fletcher, ye falsest knave that liveth."

Memorandum to World Encompassed.

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anchored at the south side of Java, and on the 26th of the same month he laid a course for the Cape of Good Hope, which was passed on the 15th of June. July 22nd, they put in at Sierra Leone for water and provisions, and then no more stops until they arrived at Plymouth, the port from which they started. Drake reached home on Monday the 26th of September, 1580, which according to his reckoning should have been the preceding Sunday.

Francis Drake was the first Englishman, and the second of any country, to circumnavigate the globe. The mayor and people of Plymouth turned out to greet their famous mariner, and the bells of St. Andrew's Church pealed a joyous welcome. In a short time Drake took his ship around to Deptford, and waited to hear from the court. England went wild in his praise, but Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, insisted that Drake be punished, and the spoils delivered to him.²⁴ The Queen kept silent for a few months, but on April 4th, 1581, after dining at Deptford, she visited the *Golden Hind*, and knighted Francis Drake on the deck of his ship. One enthusiastic Briton wished to place the ship on the top of St. Paul's; but at the Queen's desire, the *Golden Hind* was preserved in a dock at Deptford, and for many years was an object of admiration, and an eating place for merry-makers.

In 1582, Sir Francis Drake was made mayor of Plymouth; and in 1584, he was member of Parliament for Bossiney.

The successes of Drake and other English seamen, induced Elizabeth to plan reprisals to offset the insults to her subjects, and the embargo on English goods perpetrated by her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. Sir Francis was commissioned an Admiral, and ordered to gather a fleet of twenty-five ships, to sail to the Caribbean, and harass Spain in her weakest points. With Drake went Martin Frobisher as Vice-Admiral, and Francis Knollys as Rear-Admiral. This was a combined naval and military expedition of about twenty-three hundred men; the land forces being under Lieutenant-General Christopher Carleile (Carleill).

On the 14th of September, 1585, the fleet left Plymouth, and sailed down the coast of Spain to the Canaries. The English spent two weeks at St. Jago and Porta Praya in the Cape de

²⁴ "Indeed, of the treasure which Drake had amassed, some portion was actually repaid to Don Pedro Sebura, who acted as agent for the parties interested; but who, nevertheless, it is said by Camden, never himself gave it back to the rightful owners." W. S. W. Vaux, *Introduction to World Encompassed*, Hakluyt Society.

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Verd islands, where the only thing they got was a pestilence, from which two or three hundred men died. At Dominica, which was reached in eighteen days, the Caribs assisted in watering the ships. The English passed Christmas at St. Christopher's (St. Kitts), which they found uninhabited.

The expedition then proceeded to Hispaniola, being allured thither by the glorious fame of the city of St. Domingo, being the ancientest and chief inhabited place in all the tract of country thereabouts. New Year's Day, 1586, General Carlile, with twelve hundred men, landed at a convenient place about ten miles from the city, and marched on St. Domingo. About one hundred and fifty horsemen came out to oppose them, but hastily retired. Carlile placed half his force under Captain Powell, and the two divisions stormed the two sea-ward gates at the same time and gained the plaza. The English troops did not take the citadel, but held the town for a month, demanding ransom. The Spaniards being very slow in coming to terms, two hundred sailors spent several days in trying to burn the houses, finding "no small travail to ruin them, being very magnificently built of stone, with high lofts." It is said that Drake spared the cathedral because it held the ashes of Admiral Christopher Columbus.

Admiral Drake was particularly incensed at a haughty painting and motto which he saw in the Governor's house, wherein "there is described and painted in a very large Scutcheon the arms of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutcheon, there is described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth whereupon is a horse standing on his hindes part within the Globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, *Non sufficit orbis*; which is as much as to say, as the world sufficeth not." The English would point out this device to the Spanish officials sent to negotiate with them, and sarcastically inquire what it meant; "at which they would shake their heads and turn aside their faces, in some smiling sort, without answering anything, as if ashamed thereof."

Drake finally accepted 25,000 ducats, in addition to their loot; and stood over to the mainland, keeping along the coast till he came to Cartagena. The ships entered the harbor about three miles westward of the city. Carlile landed and drove back two squadrons of Spanish horse, and then attacked the gateway, barricadoed with wine butts filled with earth, at the end of the causeway. An entrance was effected and the town taken; the

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Lieutenant-General, with his own hands, slaying the chief ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought manfully to his life's end. It is like old times to read that the Indians, who aided the Spaniards, made use of poisoned arrows, the least scratch of which caused death, "unless it were by great marvell."

The Governor, the Bishop, and many other gentlemen of the better sort, visited Admiral Drake and General Carlile, and there was feasting and divers courtesies. The English demanded 110,000 ducats ransom, but after remaining six weeks, and their sickness not abating, they accepted 30,000 ducats and sailed away.

It was Drake's intent when he left England to take Nombre de Dios, and then proceed overland to Panama, "where we should have striken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompense of our tediousse travailes." But he lost so many men from calenture—"a verie burning and pestilent ague"—that the trans-Isthmian undertaking was abandoned. March 1st, Francis Drake left Cartagena and sailed westward, casting longing eyes on Nombre de Dios and the road to Panama. On April 27th, the fleet arrived at Cape San Antonio, Cuba; and May 28th, 1586, the English went up the St. Augustine river, Florida, took the fort of San Juan de Piños, and burnt the town of St. Augustine.

The expedition then sailed up the coast to Roanoke, and took on Mr. Ralph Lane and the colony recently planted by Sir Walter Raleigh. One hundred and three colonists embarked, five of the original number having died. "And so, God be thanked," writes Cates, "both they (the colonists) and we in good safetie arrived at Portsmouth the eight-and-twentieth of July, 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our country, and ourselves." The expedition lost 750 men, mostly from tropical fevers, but had taken two of Spain's chief cities in the Indies, and brought home 60,000 pounds, and 240 pieces of ordnance. This was the strongest fighting force that had ever sailed in the Caribbean Sea, and awoke in Spain alarm for the safety of her colonies, and an appreciation of the growing power of England.

Affairs were rapidly coming to a crisis between England and Spain. Mary Stuart had been beheaded; and it was obvious that Philip was fitting out a large fleet of ships to invade the British Isles. "The first step to be taken in this emergency

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was to ascertain, by personal inspection, the actual state of the enemy's preparations in the ports on the coast of Spain and Portugal; to intercept any supplies of men, stores or ammunition, that the Duke of Parma might dispatch from the Low Countries; to lay waste the harbors of Spain and Portugal, on the western coast, and destroy all the shipping that could be met with at sea conveying stores and provisions, or to attack them in port. For such a purpose, no one was considered so fitting as Drake.²⁵

On the 2nd of April, 1587, Drake sailed from Plymouth in the *Elizabeth Bonaventura*, with a score of other ships. As he departed, a courier galloped into town with orders that under no circumstances should Drake enter a Spanish port or injure Spanish subjects. Nevertheless, on the 19th, he went into the harbor of Cadiz, fought the armed galleys and forced them to retire under the guns of the castle, and looted and destroyed upward of a hundred vessels, great and small. Among them were five great ships of Biscay, and a new ship of 1,200 tons belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, High Admiral of Spain. After this, Drake shaped his course towards Sagres (near Cape Vincent), burning a hundred ships, barks, and caravels, loaded with stores for the intended invasion of England; the crews being put on shore. From the mouth of the Tagus he stood for the Azores, and when within twenty or thirty leagues of the Isle of St. Michael, captured a Portuguese carrack, called *St. Philip*; being the ship which, in the outward voyage, had carried back the three princes of Japan who had visited Europe.

This was the first carrack that ever was taken on a return voyage from the East Indies, and she was "so richly loaded that every man in the fleet counted his fortune made." Among the Portuguese, who now belonged to Spain, her capture was looked upon as an evil omen, because the ship bore the King's own name. Well satisfied with what he had accomplished, and with scarcely the loss of a man, Drake returned to Plymouth in June of the same year. The people were elated at his success, and came miles to see the *St. Philip*, the biggest ship ever brought into an English port. She proved that these immense vessels were easy to take; and her rich cargo acquainted the English people, for the first time, with the wealth of the East Indies, the trade of which was monopolized by the Portuguese and Dutch.

²⁵ Barrow.

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This expedition—which Drake somewhat facetiously called “singeing the King of Spain’s beard”—astonished Europe at his audacity, and caused even the Spaniards to say that “if he was not a Lutheran there would not be the like of him in the world.”

The destruction of Spanish shipping and stores wrought by Drake in 1587, delayed for a year the completion of that fleet which, first in alarm and then in derision, was called the *Invincible Armada*. On account of the death of Santa Cruz, the command was given to the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. So sure were the Spaniards of conquering England, that Philip sent along a chest of jeweled swords to be presented to the Catholic nobles of the English court; and the Pope directed that Elizabeth should be brought to him to be turned over to the Inquisition. In anticipation of victory, poets sung premature songs of triumph, and children at play lisped ludicrous ballads to the prowess of Spanish arms.

The Lord High Admiral, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, in the *Ark Royal*, commanded the English fleet; and Sir Francis Drake was next in command as Vice-Admiral, in the *Revenge*. Drake’s relative, Sir John Hawkins (of San Juan de Ulloa fame), sailed in the *Victory*, as Rear-Admiral. Barrow summarizes the two forces as follows:

	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.
English	197	29,744	837	15,785
Spaniards	132	59,120	3,165	8,766
				†21,855
				30,621
	*65 More E.	29,376 More S.	2,328 More S.	14,836 More S.

* Erroneously given as 45 in the original, p. 270, C. L. G. A.

† Soldiers

“So that the Spaniards had double the force of the English, except in the *number* of ships, and in guns nearly four times the force.”

The day was fast approaching when the contest was to be decided between two of the largest and most powerful fleets

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that had hitherto ever gone to sea or met in battle. On the 19th of July, 1588, "one Fleming, the master of a pinnace," reported the Armada in the Channel, off the Lizard Point. It was necessary to quickly get the British fleet out of Plymouth, so as not to be caught in the harbor. With a stiff breeze blowing in, this was a difficult task; but by morning, Howard's vessels had all been towed outside, and they set sail to steal the wind from the Spaniards. On the 21st, the two fleets came together, but Sidonia refused a general action, and kept on his course, expecting to join with Parma. The English kept up a firing for two hours, but did not press them further. The Armada was composed of immense galleons, with castles on bow and poop; and unwieldy transports and storeships. The English ships were smaller, better sailers, and more skilfully handled. It was the English policy to harass the enemy in every way, to fight at a distance, and not attempt to board the towering warships of Spain. The flagship of Oquendo took fire and was abandoned; and the next morning Drake picked up the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdes.

July 22nd there was no fighting. On the 23rd each endeavored to obtain the weather gage, which brought on a mix-up, and a running fight. July 24th there was a cessation on both sides. Lord Howard divided his fleet into four divisions; the first under himself, the second under Drake, the third under Hawkins, and the fourth under Frobisher. On the 25th, the English took another laggard, the *St. Anne*, of Portugal. Medina-Sidonia sent another message to the Duke of Parma, at Dunkirk, telling him he was now off the Isle of Wight, and urging the Duke to come out. But Lord Henry Seymour was outside with a strong fleet, and the Duke remained in Dunkirk. The 26th was calm, and the two fleets remained inactive in sight of each other. "The Lord High Admiral this day bestowed the honour of knighthood on Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Captain John Hawkins, and Captain Martin Frobisher, in consideration of their gallant behaviour. And it was decided, in Council, that no further attempt should be made on the enemy, until they came into the Straits of Calais, where Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter would there reinforce them."

July 27th, the Armada anchored off Calais, by the advice of his pilots, lest they should be carried by the current into the North Sea. The Spanish commander then sent more messengers to Parma. On the 28th, Seymour joined Howard; and at

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night the English sent eight fire-ships, with shotted guns, in among the Spaniards. Not a Spanish ship was fired, but they were thrown into confusion, and many dispersed; a few going on the shoals. The 29th there was much fighting off the Flemish coast, Drake particularly distinguishing himself by his aggressive tactics. Several Spanish ships were sunk and others driven on the coast. Finding it impossible to turn against the wind and tide, and to avoid being driven on the shoals, the Duke of Sidonia proceeded into the North Sea. On the 30th Howard was still in pursuit, but perceiving the Armada drifting towards the shoals of Zealand, he did not think proper to press them. When in only six fathoms and a half, a timely wind saved the Spaniards, and they sailed northward. The English kept them in sight until the 2nd of August, and then turned back. The Armada blundered on, met with rough weather, and lost a lot of ships and men on the rocks of the Orkneys and the coast of Connaught. The wild Irish, their co-religionists, knocked the Spaniards in the head, and stole their finery. The Lord Deputy of Ireland rounded up a large number and sent them into England, from whence Elizabeth returned the survivors to their homes in Spain.

Sir Francis Drake played the most prominent part in the overthrow of the so-called Invincible Armada, and it marked the pinnacle of his remarkable career. Most of his manhood had been spent in combating Spain, in one way or another, and the next year, Drake and Sir John Norris (Norreys) got up an expedition to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. The latter object was not accomplished, but the English burnt two ports; whipped an army; marched through the territory of the King of Spain to the gates of Lisbon; captured or destroyed nearly a hundred vessels; and, best of all, destroyed the nucleus of another Armada intended for operations against England.

In the years 1590 and 1591, Drake was engaged in bringing the river Mesny to Plymouth; and when the water was brought to the town, he built six corn-mills, an event still celebrated in Plymouth. In 1593, Francis Drake represented Plymouth in Parliament; and the next year, he and old John Hawkins planned another venture to the Spanish Main. For years, Drake had dreamed of landing at Nombre de Dios with a strong force, and marching across the Isthmus to Panama. In 1592, an expedition was prepared for this purpose in England; but owing to intrigues, politics, and the whims of Elizabeth, the command was given to Sir Walter Raleigh. Owing to the late-

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ness of the season, and scarcity of victuals in the fleet, the project was dropped.

Considering all he had done on the Isthmus, Drake felt that, for offensive operations, the region belonged to him. It is thought that Sir John Hawkins, then over seventy-five years of age, undertook this voyage with the hope of redeeming his son, Captain Richard Hawkins, who, in 1593, had sailed through the Strait of Magellan, and had been captured by Admiral de Castro in the South Sea.

It was Drake's intention to make a sudden dash to the Isthmus and sack Panama; but the Queen heard of a plate-ship which had lost her mast and put in at Porto Rico, so ordered the fleet to stop there. It was reported that this treasure was destined to equip a third Armada (the second having been destroyed by Drake) for the invasion of England. The expedition of Drake and Hawkins left Plymouth on the 28th of August, 1595. It consisted of the *Defiance*, Admiral Sir Francis Drake; the *Garland*, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hawkins; the *Hope*, Captain Gilbert York; *Buonaventure*, Captain Troughton; the *Foresight*, Captain Winter; the *Adventure*, Captain Thomas Drake; besides about twenty other ships supplied by private individuals. Sir Thomas Baskerville commanded the land forces.

The first stop was at the Grand Canary, where they blundered in attempting to subdue the island. Here, Captain Grimston was killed. Sailing hence, the fleet arrived at the island of Guadeloupe, where the pinnaces were set up, and the men landed to refresh themselves.

On the 30th of September, Captain Wignot in the *Francis*, a bark of thirty-five tons, was taken by five Spanish frigates, sent out for the treasure at San Juan de Puerto Rico. Drake remained two days among the Virgin Islands, where Sir John Hawkins was extremely sick. The fleet then stood for the eastern end of Puerto Rico, near which, on the 11th of November, Sir John Hawkins breathed his last. That same evening, Drake anchored his ships at the distance of two miles or less to the east of the town of *San Juan de Puerto Rico*. While the officers were at supper, the Spanish batteries fired twenty-eight great shot, one of which penetrated to the great cabin of the *Defiance*, struck the stool from under Drake, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, mortally wounded Mr. Brute Brown, and injured Captain Stratford and others. The following morning the whole fleet came to anchor before the point of the harbor,

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a little to the westward; and at nightfall, twenty-five pinnaces and small boats were manned, and entered the road.

The treasure-ship had been repaired, and was on the point of sailing, when the Spaniards heard that Drake was coming. The treasure was taken ashore, and the galleon sunk in the mouth of the harbor, which, with other obstructions, rendered the entrance impassable. The women, children, and infirm people were sent inland, and the authorities prepared for a desperate defence. Nevertheless, the British advanced into the harbor, burnt the five frigates (or *Zabras*) sent from Spain for the treasure, and also a ship of four hundred tons, with a rich cargo of silk, oil, and wine. About forty or fifty men on each side were killed, after which the English retired without accomplishing their purpose. Hawkins and Clifford were committed to the deep; and the expedition sailed for the Main.

La Hacha, the scene of Drake's first venture in the Indies, and *Rancheria*, the village of the pearl-fishers, were taken; with pearls and other loot. The people of these places promised ransom, and brought in some pearls, which were valued so highly that Drake would not accept them. The Governor then appeared and said that the pearls were brought in without his consent, that he cared not for the town, and would not ransom it. "Then the town of *Rancheria* and of *Rio de la Hacha* were burnt cleane downe to the ground; the churches and a ladie's house only excepted, which, by her letters written to the General, was preserved."²⁶

Santa Marta was taken, and not a single piece of gold or silver found. This place, and several small villages along the coast, were burnt; very unusual behavior for Drake. He probably realized that the expedition would be a failure; was grieving for the loss of his friends; and already suffering from the malady which carried him off. On Christmas day, he sailed for *Nombre de Dios*. The people knew Drake was again on the coast, and had fled with their valuables. About a hundred soldiers fired a few shots, and then took to the woods. The captors found no booty in the town, but in a watch-house on a hill²⁷ close by, were "twentie sowes of silver, two bars of gold, some pearl, coined money, and other trifling pillage."

Another relation states that the fleet anchored before the face of the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the 27th of December, the same day Capt. Arnold Baskerfield, Sergeant Major, died. The

²⁶ Hakluyt.

²⁷ Probably the elevation called by Andagoya the "Hill of Nicuesa."

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English landed a mile from the town, and on marching to it, were received by a bravadoe of shot, when the Spanish soldiers ran away into the woods, a few being taken prisoners. In the fort were found but three great pieces of ordnance, one broken by the firing. Two days later, December 29th, 1595, Sir Thomas Baskerville, with 750 soldiers, started out on the Camino Real for Panama (Viejo), where he expected to find gold and silver in abundance. They met with numerous obstructions erected at favorable points, and were sorely galled by showers of shot from the jungle, by which many fell. "The march²⁸ was so sore as never Englishmen marched before." Drake thought of going up the Chagres with another column, but in a few days Baskerville's weary and half-starved soldiers dragged themselves back to Nombre de Dios. When about half-way across the Isthmus, and after losing eighty or ninety men, among whom was the quarter-master general, an ensign, and two or three other officers, they heard of still more forts ahead, and deemed it prudent to turn back.

Nombre de Dios was destroyed, and all the frigates, barks, and galliots in the harbor were burnt. Vessels on the beach, with houses built over them to keep the pitch from melting, met a like fate. "On the 15th January, on their way towards Puerto Bello, Captain Plat died of sickness, and then Sir Francis Drake began to keep his cabin and to complain of a scouring or fluxe."

Drake took a map, and showed his officers San Juan de Nicaragua, and Truxillo, the port of Honduras; and asked them which to take. Baskerville answered, "Both." The ships took shelter behind the island of Escudo²⁹ de Veragua, while the

²⁸ "In this march a pair of shoos were sold for thirty shillings, and a Bisket Cake for ten shillings, so great was their want both of Clothing and Victuals"—Burton, *English Heroes*.

The chief officers on this march were Sir Thomas Baskerville [Baskerville], Capt. Nicholas Baskerville, the Lieutenant-General, who was hurt, and Captains Stanton, Boswell, Christopher, Powers, and Bartley. Upon returning to Nombre de Dios, they found that their comrades had burnt the king's treasure-house, and also a town inhabited by negroes, two leagues distant.

²⁹ Called *Scoday* in an early narrative, where they built four pinnaces. Drake had all the sick carried on the island, to comfort and strengthen them. Among the wild beasts at Scoday was the "Nelegature," in form like a serpent, and of the bigness of a man's thigh, living in the water. They ate many of these animals, as the meat was very sweet, "and in his bladder is muske and the flesh tasteth accordingly."

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pinnaces were put together, in which to ascend the San Juan river. After this they must have encountered a storm, for we find the fleet on the way back to Puerto Bello. Drake kept getting worse all the time. He became delirious, rose from his couch, and uttered some speech. Then he clothed himself, called for his arms, lay down like a Viking, and died within an hour. The poison of the Isthmus was in his blood, and the tropics, which he had invaded so often, exacted her toll.

Between Escudo and Puerto Bello, and nearer the latter place, on the 28th day of January, 1596, at 4 o'clock in the morning, Sir Francis Drake departed this life. The ships moved on to Puerto Bello and anchored in the bay. The next day his body was enclosed in a leaden coffin, carried a league to sea, and buried in the waves, in sight of the scenes of his early exploits.³⁰ Trumpets sounded, and the fleet thundered a last salute to their dead chief. Two of his own ships, and all his late prizes were sunk near the spot. At the same time, a fort on shore, which Philip was erecting to defend the new port of Puerto Bello, was given to the flames. Mr. Bride made a sermon on board the *Defiance*, attended by all the captains of the fleet.

“Where Drake first found, there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave,
The sea that was his glory is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, ‘*Here lies Sir Francis Drake?*’ ”

If we admit his birth to have taken place in 1540, then Drake died in his fifty-sixth year. He was low in stature, broad of chest, and strong of limb; with round head, brown hair, large lively eyes, and fair complexion. Accepted portraits represent him as wearing a short, pointed beard. Drake was twice married, but, like ten of his brethren, died without issue.

England might well say of Francis Drake and his contemporary seamen—Hawkins, Frobisher, Cavendish, Cumberland, Grenville, Davis, Lancaster—as Lord Howard said of his captains who fought the Armada: “God send us to see such a company together again, when need is.”

³⁰ There is a dubious statement to the effect that Drake's heart was removed and buried in a nearby island, since called *El Draque*.

Captain William Parker, who captured Portobello a few years later (Feb. 7th, 1602), says: “The Place where my Shippes roade being the rock where Sir Francis Drake his Coffin was throwne overboorde.”

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Sir Thomas Baskerville called a council aboard the *Garland*, showed his commission, and was accepted as General. Many men had already succumbed to the climate, and with the death of Drake, the survivors decided to return home. Near the Isle of Pines, off Cuba, they were intercepted by twenty Spanish ships, being part of a fleet of sixty vessels sent out from Cartagena to catch them. After a sharp action of two hours, the English burnt one of the Spanish ships and the rest sheered off. Without further molestation, the unfortunate expedition proceeded on its way, and early in May, 1596, arrived in England.

"The same day Sir *Francis Drake*, our General, departed this life, whose death was exceedingly deplored, his interment was after this manner: His Corps being laid in a Cophin of Lead, he was let downe into the Sea, the trumpets in dolefull manner echoing out this lamentation for so great a losse, and all the Cannons in the Fleet were discharged according to the custome of all Sea Funerall obsequies. We continued here until the eighth of *February*, watring and ballasing our Ships. In this Horbor are some few houses inhabited with *Spaniards*, they beginning to build a new towne and a great Bulwarke, which we spoyled and burned; we found many Chests full of Carpenters' tools with many Iron Bars and other necessities for building, which we brought away with us. The day before we came away the Enemy came downe and took some six of our Men at the watring place. Certaine of our Men were sent in Boats up the South side of the River, where we found some more of their Carpenters' tools. This Harbour is very commodious for Shipping, having a good anchoring place and ten or twelve fathome deep in water; we landed great store of *Spaniards* and *Negroes* at this Island, giving the Enemy to understand that he would use our Men well which they took prisoners, comming from *Panama*, and sent a Messenger not hearing any answer again, yet at our departure the Governour was come down with many Souldiers with him who wrote to our Generall. The eighth of *February* we came away from this Harbour of *Porta Vella* beating up to the height of *Cartegena*, which was ten dayes after, we took our course for *Gemico* North North and by West."

"*A Full Relation of Another Voyage into the West Indies made by Sir Francis Drake from Plimmouth, 28 Aug., 1595.*"—London, 1652.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BUCCANEERS.

"And some we got by purchase,
And some we had by trade,
And some we found by courtesy
Of pike and carronade—
At midnight, 'mid-sea meetings,
For charity to keep,
And light the rolling homeward-bound
That rode a foot too deep."

RUDYARD KIPLING.



THE Elizabethan seamen of the 16th century were followed by the Buccaneers of the 17th century; who, in turn, gave rise to the ordinary Pirates of the 18th century. As we know, early in the 16th century French corsairs, Dutch *see-roovers*, and English smugglers, slavers, traders, and privateers, began to appear in the West Indies.¹ The most prominent among the English were Hawkins, Drake, Raleigh and Cavendish. In the next century, these foreign intruders found it both necessary and profitable to wage a general warfare against Spain, who was trying to keep them all out of her American possessions.

The Buccaneers were a loose association of foreign smugglers, cattle-hunters, freebooters, and privateers, who, in the 17th century, infested the Caribbean Sea, attacked Spanish settlements on the islands and mainland, and even invaded the South Sea, either by crossing the Isthmus, or going through the Strait of Magellan. At first, and at their best, the Buccaneers were a league of defence and offence against their common enemy, Spain. This federation against Spain was founded upon racial antagonism, competition in trade and conquest, and differences in religion; Protestant England and Holland, with Huguenot France, being arrayed in opposition to Catholic

¹ As early as 1518, an English trading vessel arrived at Santo Domingo, and was fired upon by order of the Governor, Francisco de Tapia. The English then sailed to Porto Rico, where they bartered wrought iron, and vessels of tin and pewter, for provisions. In 1526, one Thomas Tison resided in the West Indies as a secret factor for some English merchants.

In 1572, John Chilton, an inhabitant of Britain, sailed as a passenger in a Spanish vessel from Panama to Peru.

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Spain, the instigator and supporter of the Inquisition, and the foe of Freedom²

The Buccaneers were an amphibious lot of dare-devils, reckless, and often lawless, but sometimes well regulated and orderly. Individual commanders occasionally exhibited acts of knightly chivalry. The French affectionately called them *nos braves*; while to the Spaniards they were known as demons of the sea. French chroniclers compared Alexandre Bras-de-Fer, not unfavorably, to Alexander the Great; and English writers classed Henry Morgan with Julius Caesar and the other Nine Worthies of Fame.

Lawrence, on a small vessel, when overtaken by two large Spanish ships, each carrying sixty guns, thus addressed his crew: "You have too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard everything, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valor, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignomy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelties of our enemies; and let us fight that we may escape them." Lawrence not only escaped, but nearly succeeded in capturing the two Spanish ships.

As the foreigners (non-Spanish) gained a footing in the West Indies, their respective governments unloaded their undesirable citizens on the infant colonies. If they came to naught, there was no loss. When M. d'Ogeron, in 1665, came out as Governor of Tortuga and the French settlements on Haiti, France sent over a lot of women to encourage the filibustiers to form domestic ties. These women, like many others coming to the islands, were noted for their licentiousness rather than for their virtues.³ Of the men, M. de Pointis wrote: "All who

² There is a law of compensation and of retribution. The Gueux de Mer, Sea Beggars, from the revolted Netherlands, Huguenot corsairs, and Protestant buccaneers, now plundered and killed Catholic Spaniards with the same religious zest and fervor displayed by the Christian Spaniards during the Conquest in robbing and butchering the native Americans.

³ Each buccaneer said to the woman falling to his lot: "I take thee without knowing, or caring to know, whom thou art. If any body from whence thou comest would have had thee, thou wouldst not have come in quest of me; but no matter. I do not desire thee to give me an account of thy past conduct, because I have no right to be offended at it, at the time when thou wast at liberty to behave either well or ill, according to thy own pleasure; and because I shall have no reason to be ashamed of anything thou wast guilty of when thou didst not belong to me. Give me only thy word for the future. I acquit thee of what is past." Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added: "This will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my aim."—Abbé Raynal.

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are apprehended as vagabonds in France, and can give no account of themselves, are sent to these islands, where they are obliged to serve for three years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the plantations; at the end of the term of servitude somebody lends them a gun, and to sea they go abuccaneering. * * * The Governors of our settlements in St. Domingo, being enriched by them, do mightily extol them for the damages they do to the Spaniards." Many outsiders who had settled down as honest planters, when driven out by the Spaniards or some other nationality, took to piracy.

While the home governments of France, England, and Holland found it good policy to encourage the Buccaneers, their West Indian colonies had still more reason for favoring them. In the minutes of the Council of Jamaica, dated the 22nd of February, 1666, are recorded twelve good reasons for granting commissions to the privateers.

1. "Because it furnishes the island with many necessary commodities at easy rates.

2. It replenishes the island with coin, bullion, cocoa, logwood, hides, tallow, indigo, cochineal, and many other commodities whereby the men of New England are invited to bring their provisions and many merchants to reside at Port Royal.

3. It helps the poorer planters, by selling provisions to the men-of-war.

4. It hath and will enable many to buy slaves and settle plantations.

5. It draws down yearly from the Windward Islands many an hundred of the English, French, and Dutch, many of whom turn planters.

6. It is the only means to keep the buccaneers on Hispaniola, Tortuga, and the south and north quays of Cuba from being their enemies and infesting their sea-side plantations.

7. It is a great security to the island, that the men-of-war often intercept Spanish advices, and give intelligence to the Governor; which they often did in Colonel D'Oyley's time and since.

8. The said men-of-war bring no small benefit to his Majesty and Royal Highness by the 15ths and 10ths [the dues on the commissions and the share of the prizes paid to the Crown].

9. They keep many able artificers at work in Port Royal and elsewhere at extraordinary wages.

10. Whatsoever they get the soberer part bestow in strengthening their old ships, which in time will grow formidable.

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11. They are of great reputation to this island and of terror to the Spaniard, and keep up a high and military spirit in all the inhabitants.

12. It seems to be the only means to force the Spaniards in time to a free trade, all ways of kindness producing nothing of good neighborhood, for though all old commissions have been called in and no new ones granted, and many of their ships restored, yet they continue all acts of hostility, taking our ships and murdering our people, making them work at their fortification and sending them into Spain, and very lately they denied an English fleet bound for the Dutch colonies wood, water, or provisions.

For which reasons it was unanimously concluded that the granting of said commissions did extraordinarily conduce to the strengthening, preservation, enriching, and advancing the settlement of this island."

By right of discovery, conquest, and settlement, Spain claimed not only all the West India Islands, but most of the mainland of the three Americas. That this claim was well founded, one need only read the records of the invasion and conquest of the New World by Europeans in the 16th century. Spain was fifty to one hundred years ahead of all other nations. Fifty years before the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607, by the English, Spain had already conquered two empires, the Aztecan in Mexico, and the Incan in Peru; and when the Pilgrims landed in New England, in 1620, America was Spanish from Florida and Arizona south through Mexico, Central America and the Antilles, to Chile and the Rio de la Plata in South America.

Besides, the Pope, regarded as the representative of the Creator, had, by Papal Bull, given to Spain the New World which she had discovered. Before the discovery of America, Portugal had been extending her discoveries from Cape Bojador down the west coast of Africa, until, in 1486, she had rounded the Cape of Buona Speranza. Pope Martin V., Eugene IV., and others, had confirmed her titles to possession of these new lands.

When Columbus, on his first voyage, discovered the West Indies for Spain, she applied to Pope Alexander VI. to endorse her claim. Portugal thought these new islands might be within the region of discovery in the south, granted to her in 1479. To avoid controversy between these two Christian kingdoms, the Pope, in May, 1493, by a "Bull of Donation," drew an imaginary line from pole to pole, passing 100 leagues west of the

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Azores and Cape Verde Islands. All discoveries east of this line should belong to Portugal; all west to Spain.

The next year, 1494, these two powers, by treaty,⁴ and without papal mediation, moved this line westward to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This change, later on, gave Brazil to Portugal; for in 1500, Cabral, following the route to India opened by Vasco da Gama in 1498, intentionally or unintentionally blundered onto the coast of Brazil; and the territory was found to be east of the "Pope's line," so-called. King Francis wrote to Carlos of Spain: "Your Majesty and the King of Portugal have divided the world between you, offering no part of it to me. Show me, I beseech you, the will of our father Adam, that I may judge whether he has really constituted you his universal heirs!"

When we consider that during this same period Spain was conducting wars by land and sea with other European nations, and establishing settlements in the East Indies, as well as in America, we cannot but be impressed with the magnitude of her undertakings, nor fail to admire the daring, hardships, and success of the Conquistadores.

The means wherewith to prosecute and maintain these wars and conquests came from the mines of Mexico and Peru, which were yielding tons of the precious metals under the slave labor of the Indians. Spain having such a large territory to look after, it was natural that most of her endeavors should be directed to those parts of the mainland yielding the largest returns; and that the islands, first discovered, where but little gold was now found, should be neglected. Spain prohibited settlement by other nationalities within her dominion, and foreign ships were not permitted to trade with her people. Even Spanish traders, in the West Indies, were required to pay a high license to the King, and her colonists were taxed enormous import duties.

Emigration from Spain was large, and the home factories could not fully supply her colonists in the New World. The Spanish settlers welcomed the foreign smugglers, and bought their much needed supplies without paying the enormous taxes imposed on them by their king. America was the source of Spain's wealth and greatness; yet, for three hundred years, she restricted and taxed the trade of her struggling colonists. Had it not been for the intimate association between Church and State, and the control of the people by the priesthood, the

⁴ Treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494.

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Spanish-American colonies would have declared their independence a century earlier than they did.

Inasmuch as Isabella had been the patroness of Columbus, while Ferdinand of Aragon contributed nothing, America was considered as belonging to Castile, and her citizens were favored above those of other parts of Spain. It was but natural that foreign ships should evade the duties in selling supplies to Spanish colonies; and it was also natural that the colonists should buy goods in the cheapest market, even though it be of illicit traders. Unlicensed foreign ships were generally called *forbans* in Haiti.

In order to keep the plantations going, African slavery had early been introduced into the West Indies to replace the Indian slaves exterminated by the Spanish taskmasters. "Whenever colonies are founded by conquering hordes the same types arise, and the sedentary element is subjugated, as in South America and Mexico. Where it does not exist, where only wandering tribes of hunters are found, who can be exterminated but not exploited, resource is had to slavery by importing from afar exploitable and compellable masses of men." (Dr. Franz Oppenheimer.) Adventurous merchantmen dealt in negroes as in any other commodity, and their cargoes were welcomed by planters and others. Sir John Hawkins made a number of voyages in the 16th century, and is often credited with being the first slaver in these parts. As French, English, and Dutch gradually invaded the West Indies, smuggling became so pronounced that the Spanish government maintained *guarda-costas*, or armed cruisers, among the islands and along the main, and the officers were instructed to capture all foreign ships, to destroy all foreign settlements, and to take no prisoners.

At this time, the large islands and towns were settled with Spaniards, but remote parts and some of the smaller islands were occupied by other Europeans; mostly French, English, and Dutch. Settlers of other nations, with a common foe, found it necessary and profitable to combine for mutual defence; and every Spaniard was considered an enemy. Spanish trading vessels found it unsafe to cruise among the islands, as they were in danger of capture by bands of foreigners calling themselves "Brethern of the Coast," and who were known later as Freebooters, Flibustiers, and Buccaneers. Aggressions by these foreigners formed the grounds of frequent complaints by the Spanish Ambassadors at the courts of St. James and Versailles.

To one of these complaints Queen Elizabeth replied, "That

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the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies. That, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by the donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that they having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could no ways entitle them to a propriety further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit." (Camden). While these hostile acts were officially disowned, there is no doubt but that they had the secret support of their governments, and the backing of popular opinion at home.

The nursery of all English and French colonies in the West Indies was the island of St. Christopher, now known as St. Kitts. This island was discovered, in 1493, by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and he called it after the saint for whom he himself was named. It is one of the small, gem-like islands of the Caribbee group, and lies about midway between Porto Rico and Guadeloupe. Close by, is Nevis island, where Hamilton was born, and where Nelson married.

In the year 1625, a party of English under Thomas Warner,⁵ and some French led by Denambuc, on the same day, invaded St. Christopher, and started separate colonies. "Thus the governments of Great Britain and France, like friendly fellow-travellers, and not like rivals who were to contend in a race, began their West Indian career by joint consent at the same point both in time and place." (Burney.)

As usual, the landing of white men was baptized with the blood of the rightful owners of the soil. One hundred and twenty of the Carib⁶ men were killed, a lot of women captured, and the rest driven from the island. Spain now had some rivals; and this settlement by English and French on St. Christopher, in 1625, marks the beginning of that international strife for the possession of the West Indies and the mastery in the Caribbean, which has continued down to the present day. The colonies flourished; but disagreements arose, and in a few years the island became too small for both of them. Before they

⁵ Upon his return to England, Warner was knighted by James I.

⁶ "Ils refirent en une nuit de tous les plus factieux de cette nation."—De Rochefort, *"Histoire Morale des Isles Antilles."*

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could cut each other's throats, a fleet of twenty-nine Spanish ships under Don Federico de Toledo arrived, in 1629, killed many of both parties, and broke up the settlements. Spain at that time was at war with England, France, and Holland; and Don Frederic was then on his way to attack the Dutch in Brazil. Some of the colonists returned later to St. Christopher, but most of them located, in 1630, on Tortuga, the garrison of twenty-five Spaniards retiring without a blow. The latter is a little island, five or six miles off the northwest coast of Haiti, which, from its resemblance to a sea-turtle (*tortuga de mar*), is called Tortuga. The Buccaneers built a fort, established magazines, and cultivated the land. For a long time, Tortuga was the headquarters of the Buccaneers, and a haven for the corsairs and smugglers of all nations.¹ It was easily defended, and gave an outlook over the Mona Passage, the route taken by Spanish galleons to and from Cartagena, Puerto Bello, and Vera Cruz.

Here the Buccaneers gathered supplies and planned their raids, divided the spoils of victory, gambled away their pieces-of-eight, and passed the nights in drunken revels in the arms of dusky mistresses.²

Orient and Occident paid them tribute; and wine, women, music, and dancing were the rewards of hardships and daring. When supplies ran low, and the pirates had lost their money, they clamored to go to sea again, or be led against some Spanish settlement.

Tortuga was captured more than once by the Spanish forces, but was always retaken by the Buccaneers. In 1638, the Spaniards chose a time when most of the Buccaneers were absent, descended upon the island, slew those remaining, and destroyed their fort and houses. The Buccaneers to the number of three hundred, then united under an Englishman named Willis, and recaptured their stronghold.

In 1641, the French Governor-General, De Poigncy, came from St. Christopher with a party of Frenchmen, and established his seat of government on Tortuga. His first act was

¹ "Tortuga, the common Refuge of all sort of Wickedness, and the Seminary, as it were, of Pirates and Thieves." Yet, they are described as living together in an orderly manner, and without bolts or bars to their houses.

² The Buccaneers led profligate, irregular, and intemperate lives, consumed enormous quantities of meat and alcohol, and were exposed to many hardships and dangers; yet we do not read of diseases and epidemics among them, like occurred in the Spanish *flotas*, and the fleets of Drake and Vernon.

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to expel all the English from the island; to which they never returned.⁹ De Poigny gradually installed French governors on the adjoining coast of Haiti, which was the beginning of French regime on that island.

In 1655, the Cromwellian forces, under Penn and Venables, took Jamaica from the Spanish, largely with the help of the Buccaneers. This gave the English Buccaneers a convenient gathering place at Port Royal. Thereafter, the English and French had separate headquarters, but were always ready to co-operate in any large undertaking. "The English and French Buccaneers were faithful associates, but did not mix well as comrades," says Captain Burney.

The greatest advantage possessed by Tortuga as a base for the Buccaneers, was its proximity to the wild cattle and *bucans* on Haiti. In order to understand the etymology of the term buccaneer, a few facts must first be considered. The West India islands produced no cattle, either wild or domestic. Columbus relates that he found deer on Trinidad, probably because it was so near *tierra firme*, but the northern islands contained no quadruped larger than the wild pig or peccary; the *utia*, a kind of coney; and the "dumb dog," in Cuba.

Soon after the Discovery, the Spaniards brought over black cattle from the mother country in order to provide meat for food. This stock increased rapidly and ran wild over the islands. Very early, too, the Spaniards introduced fierce mastiffs and blood-hounds, with which to kill and enslave the Indians. These dogs multiplied so fast that they could not be kept in the settlements, so they, also, became wild, and preyed upon the calves and native wild hogs. In order to prevent the extermination of their meat supply, it was necessary to poison many of these wild dogs.

One of the first and largest of the islands discovered by Columbus was Española; at different times called Hispaniola, Santo Domingo, and Haiti. (The Indians called their island Ayte, and Haiti it should be). Here, the Spanish cattle flourished so abundantly that the increase "passeth man's reason to believe."¹⁰ Foreigners, mostly French and English, hunted these wild cattle for their meat, tallow, and hides, and developed a regular industry. The hides were carried to the port, where

⁹ The fall of Quebec, 1759, began at Tortuga, in 1641, when the French ousted the British from the island.

¹⁰ Hakluyt.

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they were bought by navigators, by bondsmen, who engaged themselves to serve three years, and hence were called *engagés*.¹¹ These men hunted in small parties on foot, and used a musket or buccaneering-piece, four and a half feet long, shooting an ounce bullet. Their skill in shooting, acquired in hunting cattle, is one of the factors which made them successful when engaging an enemy. In addition, they carried four knives, a bayonet, a quantity of the best French powder in a waxed calabash, and a small tent. These equipments, with a supply of dried beef, made them well prepared for an expedition on very short notice. No doubt one of the knives was a kind of *machete*, which would serve equally well against the jungle on shore, and as a cutlass at sea. The Buccaneers generally wore a loose blouse and drawers, belted around the waist, and hide sandals. The cattle being killed, the hunter cut a hole in the carcass, through which he stuck his head, and thus carried the meat into camp. These cattle hunters naturally presented a bloody and forbidding appearance.

The meat was cut into strips and hung on a frame made of green wood, over a slow fire. This method of curing meat, by drying and smoking, was learned from the Indians, who called the place of drying or smokehouse, where the curing was done, a *bucan*; and the dried meat, also, *bucan*.¹² The grate (*grille de bois*) was called *barbacue*,¹³ and on it was placed the animal,

¹¹ A master always fixing upon Sunday to have his hides carried to market, an engagé represented that God had forbidden work on the 7th day. The Buccaneer replied: "And I say to thee, six days thou shalt kill bulls, and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea-shore."

¹² The fresh boucan restored the ailing to health. André says boucan did not keep well after six months without the addition of salt. In some of the West India islands the term boucan is used to designate the place for drying cocoa or coffee.

¹³ Also written *barbacra*. This was their common mode of cooking; and from it we get our word *barbacue* (barbecue). In Central America, *barbacoa* means a frame made of sticks; in Cuba, it refers to a platform in the lofts of country houses, upon which fruits and grain are kept. When William Dampier was with the log-wood cutters in Campeche, he slept on a barbecue, and used the sleeping pavilion necessary for defence against the insects. Dampier writes that when the Buccaneers revisited Juan Fernandez, in 1684, they found that William, the Mosquito Indian, had built himself a hut: "and slept on his couch or *barbecu* of sticks, raised about two feet from the ground and spread with goats' skins."

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fish, or meat to be roasted or dried. The Caribs¹⁴ (the word means cannibals), used to cut up their prisoners and make them into *bucan*.¹⁵ This word was adopted into the French language as *boucan*, and the verb became *boucaner*. "Les Caraïbes Indiens naturels des Antilles ont accoutumé de couper en pieces leurs prisonniers de guerre & de les mettre sur de manieres de claies, sous lesquelles ils mettent du feu. Ils nomment ces claies *Barbacra*, & le lieu ou les sont, *boucan*, & l'action, *boucaner*; pour dire, rotir & fumer tout ensemble." (Dict. de Trevoux, Paris, 1771).

The cattle-hunters were called by the French, *boucaniers*; and by the English, *buccaneers*. The latter soon became a general term, replacing and including "brethren of the coast," and *flibustiers*. It is often stated that flibustier was derived from the English word freebooter. This is rather far-fetched; though both may have had a common origin in the Dutch word *vribuiter*, which means the same thing. What is more likely, however, is that flibustier and filibuster are derived from the English flyboat,¹⁶ a small, swift sailing vessel said to be first used on the river Vly, in Holland. When the northern seamen invaded the West Indies, the Spaniards called their vessels *flibotes*, and the men, *flibusteros*; French, *flibustiers*.

¹⁴ Some anthropologists believe that the Caribs were not anthropophagi, but that the human remains found in their cooking pots, and the desiccated arms and legs hanging from the rafters of their shacks, were simply the native way of curing and preserving their caciques and relatives. Says Juan Ignacio de Armas, a Cuban writer, in 1884,— "No habia dos razas en las Antillas, sino una sola, de costumbres dulces i pacificas. La fabula de los Caribes fué al principio un error jeográfico; luego una alucinacion; despues una calumnia. Hoi no es mas que una rutina, que hai que borrar cuanto antes de los libros de historia, de jeografia, de ciencias naturales i antropológicas; i lo que es mas consolador, del catálogo de manchas que aún deshonoran la especie humana."

I believe the Carib Indians ate human flesh, and also preserved cadavers in the same fashion they cured meat and fish. From drying fish, to boucaning the flesh of their enemies, and then preserving their dead by the same method, was but a natural transition. Flesh-eaters still rule the world; just as the Caribs overcame the root-eating Arawaks of the West Indies. Cannibalism being no longer fashionable in Ireland, the aggressive Irishman leaves home to satisfy his craving for meat; and as conditions in Ireland improve, emigration lessens.

"When population becomes dense enough to make it profitable to exploit mankind, the cannibal spares his conquered blood-foe, to turn him into a labor-motor, and, by initiating slave-labor, organizes the mechanism of exploitation, afterwards called a state." (Oppenheimer.)

¹⁵ "Ils les mangent apres les avoir bien boucanée, c'est a dire, rotis bien sec."—Du Tertre, "*Histoire des Antilles*."

¹⁶ Perhaps from *fluyt* (Dutch).

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The fires in the boucans were fed with the fat, bones, and trimmings of the meat, which gave the dried product a fine flavor. The meat of the wild hog was also boucaned, and when salt was added, it remained sweet for a long time, and was preferred by the Buccaneers for lengthy cruises. When these interlopers planned an attack against a Spanish settlement, or a cruise to prey upon Spanish merchantmen, they first went to Española or some other island where the Spaniards had introduced cattle, and boucaned a lot of meat. Other supplies they expected to acquire by capture. At one time the Spaniards tried to exterminate the cattle and hogs on Española, in order to prevent the Buccaneers from getting supplies of their favorite meat.

A great advantage which the Buccaneers had over the Spaniards was the friendship and aid of the Indians, and of the runaway negroes. One of the injunctions in the commissions to Columbus and the other discoverers, was to Christianize the Indians; and the Pope, in donating most of the New World to Spain, required, as a consideration, that the natives should be converted to Christianity. This obligation Spain proceeded to discharge with all the zeal and intolerance of the times, and the bigotry of her priesthood. Conversion by sword and fagots was not relished by the Indians. Those who were not captured and enslaved, retired to the mountains and swamps; and to this day there are tribes in Panama, and other Spanish-American States, who have never been conquered by Spaniards or other white men. Besides, there were settlements in remote parts of the islands, and on the main, formed by fugitive slaves, called Cimarrones, by the Spaniards; and Simarons, and later Maroons,²⁷ by the English. These wild Indians (*indios bravos*), and Maroons were often guides and allies of the Buccaneers; who, in return, supplied them with knives, hatchets, cloth, and gewgaws. Later on, the Mosquito Indians of Honduras, who were under the special protection of England, usually furnished pilots and fishermen for the Buccaneers.

When an expedition was contemplated, notices were sent out, and a rendezvous appointed. Each man was required to furnish his own arms and powder. The captains held council, and elected one of their number leader or admiral. Articles of agreement and regulations were drawn up and signed. The men swore not to desert, or conceal any booty. The pay of

²⁷ Distinguish Maroons from Marooners. The latter was a term applied to the American pirates of the 18th century, from their practice of putting their captives ashore on uninhabited islands.

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each officer and man was specified, contingent, of course, upon making captures; the understanding being, "no prey, no pay." Each captain was allowed so much for his vessel; and the surgeon given 200 pieces-of-eight for his stores. Preferential shares were set aside for the maimed and wounded. The loss of a right arm was rewarded with 600 pieces-of-eight, or six slaves; while the left was worth only 500 pieces-of-eight, or five slaves. The right leg was valued at 500 pieces, the left at 400 pieces-of-eight. The compensation for the loss of one eye was the same as for the loss of a finger, 100 pieces-of-eight, or one slave. Any boys aboard received half a share each. Two friends would often swear brotherhood;¹⁸ and make the other heir to his share in case of death.

When the Buccaneers sailed under commission,¹⁹ the Governor or Admiral granting the authority claimed one-tenth of the prizes. It is stated that these agreements were well observed, and the spoils equably distributed. Values were reckoned in the Spanish colonial silver dollar (*peso duro*, or *peso de ocho reales de plata*), called by the English a piece-of-eight, because it contained eight reales. The food of the Buccaneers included boucan, maize, cassava, potatoes, fish, turtle, banana, and tropical fruits.

The Buccaneers were civil to each other, and good order and discipline were observed aboard ship. The English generally held divine service each Sunday, and profanity and gaming were sometimes prohibited in the signed articles.

Captain Watling began his command by ordering the observance of the Sabbath; Richard Sawkins threw overboard the dice he found in use on that day; and Captain Daniel shot one of his crew for irreverent behavior when Pere Labat held mass on his ship. Before engaging in battle, prayers for success were often offered. After taking a town, part would repair to the church to sing a *Te Deum*, while the remainder would loot and outrage the inhabitants.

Sometimes as many as thirty or forty small vessels, comprising one to two thousand men, would gather for an expedition. The Buccaneers usually attacked in small boats; often using canoes. They would so approach a galleon as to run in under her guns without getting in range, while the expert marksmen from among the *boucaniers* would pick off the gunners and the

¹⁸ This was called *matelotage*.

¹⁹ Except when Spain was at war with the government issuing the commissions, they were not much protection. The Spaniards sometimes hanged buccaneer captains with their commissions tied about their necks.

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man at the wheel. Once alongside, the crew of one boat would wedge the rudder so that the ship could not maneuver, while the rest would quickly board her. The Buccaneers sometimes scuttled their own boats in order to cut off all retreat, and make themselves fight more desperately.

It seems to be a fact that the Buccaneers were uniformly successful, so that individual Spanish ships were driven from the Caribbean Sea. Spanish merchantmen sailed under convoy with the plate-fleets, one of which sailed yearly from Vera Cruz (San Juan de Ulloa), and the other from Puerto Bello. Conditions were very much as they had been in the previous century, when Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and other English privateers, preyed upon Spanish commerce, and paralyzed her trade with her colonies.

Plate and merchandise were the chief spoils of the Buccaneers. The loot and prizes were disposed of to the merchants and planters of St. Domingo, Martinique, Jamaica, and Curacao, much to their profit; while the rum-shops and brothels of Petit Goaves and Port Royal were wide open to catch the pieces-of-eight.²⁰ A share frequently amounted to from 1,000 to 5,000 dollars.²¹ Persons of note were held for ransom, while the remainder were set ashore, or put in a discarded ship. When a captured ship was held, she was given to the second in command of the Buccaneers. When a town was taken, the inhabitants

²⁰ "Such of these Pirates are found who will spend two or three thousand pieces-of-eight in one night, not leaving themselves, peradventure, a good shirt to wear on their backs in the morning. My own master would buy, on like occasions, a whole pipe of wine, and placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him; threatening also to pistol them, in case they would not do it."—Exquemelin.

²¹ Within the Tropics, by reason of climatic and other conditions, men and women do not hold themselves to as strict account as in the temperate regions of the earth.

When remonstrated with for their reckless and heedless lives, one of the Buccaneers made this ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive today, and may be dead tomorrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we live, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away, than to preserve it."

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were often locked in a church²² while the looting went on. Oftentimes persons were put to the torture to make them disclose hidden treasure.

It is undoubtedly true, that it was the success of the Buccaneers which forced Spain, in 1670, to make a treaty with England. In this "Treaty of America," as it is called, peace was declared between Spain and Great Britain; and the latter should hold all lands and colonies in America then in possession of British subjects. In addition, both Spaniards and Englishmen were forbidden to trade or sail to any places whatsoever under the dominion of the other without particular license. This restriction on trade stirred up the Buccaneers anew, and brought about Morgan's raid on Chagre and Panama.

On account of local conditions, and in spite of treaties between the home governments, there could be "no peace beyond the line," so the saying went. As Sir Walter Raleigh, just before his beheading, wrote to Lord Carew: "To breake peace where there is noe peace, itt cannott bee." By "line" was meant the Tropic of Cancer, which was crossed in reaching the West Indies and the Spanish Main; and not the Equator, as we now understand the term. In those days, greenhorn sailors and passengers received a baptism of sea-water, or paid a forfeit, on crossing both Tropics. Or, it may have referred to that "line of demarcation," drawn by the Pope one hundred leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands.

The Buccaneers were a New World analogue to the Vikings; such as could only develop in an unsettled country, and where great treasure was to be secured by sea and land. Their lives were filled with heroic or savage deeds. Dampier always refers to the Buccaneers, as privateers. Exquemelin calls them pirates. Their one great bond and characteristic was their unvarying enmity to Spain. If we include the 16th century privateers, this loose confederacy against Spain existed for nearly two hundred years. The Buccaneers were utilized, taxed, or hanged by the home governments for reasons of state.

The French people have always regarded with sympathy and

²² When the Buccaneers entered the Spanish churches, the English would shoot at the images, and hack and slash everything with their cutlasses.

"I observed in all the Indian towns under the Spanish Government that the images of the Virgin Mary, and of other saints, with which all their churches are filled, are painted of an Indian complexion, and partly in an Indian dress; but in the towns which are inhabited chiefly by Spaniards the saints conform to the Spanish garb and complexion."—Dampier.

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admiration the daring exploits of their pioneers in the West Indies. Says the Abbé Raynal, writing in 1781—

“England, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the vast concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables one to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigor, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strength, the best regulated governments, the most honorable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.” * * *

“Accordingly, the history of past times does not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity, and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our States.” *Vol. V., p. 78.*

One of the first Buccaneers we find mention of was Pierre Le Grand (Peter the Great), a native of Dieppe. With only twenty-eight men in an open boat, he captured the largest and richest galleon of the plate-fleet, commanded by the Spanish vice-admiral. With sword in one hand and pistol in the other, the Buccaneers boarded her in the dusk of the evening, and seized the gun-room and cabin. The captain, looking up from his game of cards, saw a pistol leveled at his breast, and exclaimed: “Jesus bless us! Are these devils, or what are they?” Retaining certain persons for ransom, the Buccaneer chief set the Spanish crew ashore on Cape Tiburon, the southwestern extremity of Haiti. Peter’s head was as big as his body, for he sailed his rich prize straight away to France; and never went abuccaneering again.

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Men of respectable lineage, on joining the Buccaneers, frequently dropped their real name and adopted some sobriquet. Another filibustier, known to history as Alexandre, Bras-de-Fer (Iron Arm), duplicated the exploit of Pierre Le Grand, and took a large Spanish ship of war. Still another Frenchman, a gentleman of Languedoc, by the name of Montbars, became so embittered against the Spaniards that he voyaged to the West Indies and asked the privilege of joining the Buccaneers,²³ saying—"I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." He was so zealous and proficient in slaying Spaniards as to acquire the surname of "The Exterminator."

As Spanish commerce was driven from the Main, and the plate-fleets and *Galeones* ventured only in strong convoys, the Buccaneers directed their energies to the Spanish settlements. The first free-booter to begin invasion by land was Lewis Scott, who looted San Francisco, in Campeche. In 1654, French and English Buccaneers ascended in canoes a river of the Mosquito shore, just south of Capt Gracias á Dios, marched overland to Nueva Segovia, which they plundered, and then returned down the river. Captain John Davis went up to Lake Nicaragua, and sacked Granada and Leon of plate and jewels. On his return from this expedition, Davis was made Admiral of seven or eight vessels, and took and looted St. Augustine in Florida, in face of the garrison of two hundred Spanish soldiers. Captain Mansfield,²⁴ too, invaded Nicaragua, captured Granada, and reached, it is said, the shore of the South Sea.

In 1683, twelve hundred French filibustiers, led by Van Horn, Grammont, and Laurent de Graaf, sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz (San Juan de Ulloa). By raising Spanish colors, they got in the harbor without opposition,, shut the people in the churches, took a lot of plunder and slaves, and escaped without any fighting.

The worst and most inhuman of the Buccaneer captains was Francois Lolonnois, a native of France from near the sands of

²³ Raveneau de Lussan went into buccaneering to obtain means to pay his debts.

²⁴ At one time Mansfield landed at Port Matina, and marched against Cartago, the old capital of Costa Rica. At Turialba he was opposed by the Governor; when the Virgin appeared with a host of heavenly warriors, and scared off the Buccaneers. This is very interesting; and, if true, we cannot blame the Buccaneers for retreating. For years after, the people of Cartago performed yearly pilgrimage to the Virgin's shrine at Ujarraz.

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Olonne, from which he took his name. Lolonnois came out to the Caribbee islands as a bondsman, and became an engagé. After his time was up, he went to Haiti, and served so well as a common mariner that the Governor of Tortuga, M. de la Place,²⁸ gave him a ship. On one of his first raids, in Campeche, Lolonnois was wounded by the Spaniards, and left for dead on the field. It is related that he tore out the hearts of his victims and devoured them; and drank the blood as it dripped from his sabre. He cut off the heads of ninety Spaniards with his own hand, and flung the crews of four vessels into the sea. Lolonnois, with another commander, Michel le Basque (often written, Michael de Basco), led a party of 650 men to the Gulf of Venezuela. The fort guarding the entrance to Lake Maracaibo was taken, and 250 men put to the sword. The Buccaneers then proceeded to loot the city of Maracaibo on the west shore, and the town of Gibraltar at the southern extremity of the lake. By plunder and torture, Lolonnois gathered 400,000 crowns on this expedition.

Lolonnois has been called the third chief of the filibusters, his predecessors being Roc-de-la-Roche, and Bras-de-Fer. Shortly after the Maracaibo venture, Lolonnois was captured by the Darien Indians, cut in quarters, roasted and eaten; and, the French chronicler adds, "Que Dieu lui fasse paix et veuille avoir son ame, puisque les sauvages ont eu son corps."

French writers, including Père Charlevoix, a Jesuit father, usually speak of him with praise. Exquemelin, himself a Buccaneer, probably gives a truer estimate of Lolonnois when he writes: "Thus ends the history of the life and miserable death of that infernal wretch L'Ollonais, who, full of horrid, execrable and enormous deeds, and also debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life."

The alleged portrait of Lolonnois, depicted in the books, fully confirms this estimate of his character.

The ablest and most popular of the Buccaneers in the Caribbean Sea was Edward Mansfield (Mansveldt), who was their leader or Admiral. He had them so well organized that he conceived the idea of founding an independent Buccaneer state, with laws and a flag of their own. To establish a headquarters, he collected a force of 15 vessels and 500 men, and, in 1664, drove the Spanish garrison out of Santa Catarina²⁹ (St.

²⁸ Another account says it was "Capitaine Roc, Seigneur de la Roche," who gave Lolonnois the boat.

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Catherine, or Old Providence), a small island off the Mosquito coast. On this expedition, Henry Morgan was second in command. Mansfield garrisoned the fort with 100 Buccaneers, under command of Le Sieur Simon, and returned to Jamaica for more recruits. Governor Modyford of Jamaica, usually friendly to the Buccaneers, opposed this scheme, as it removed their trade from Jamaica, and he would lose his share for issuing commissions. Failing to receive encouragement here, Mansfield sailed for Tortuga, in order to interest the filibustiers in his plan. During the passage he was suddenly taken ill, and shortly afterwards died. Another account says that Mansfield was captured by the Spaniards, and hanged in Havana. It was not long before Santa Catarina was besieged by a large Spanish force. Le Sieur Simon, hearing of Mansfield's death, and receiving no reinforcements, was obliged to surrender the island.

On the death of Mansfield, Morgan was regarded as the chief of the English Buccaneers. His exploits were so important and so interesting to English readers, that they will be narrated in a separate chapter.

²⁶ Often written Santa Catalina.

Puerto Bello, in recent years, has occupied such an inconspicuous position that it is well to recall its importance in the early days, and the many interesting events which have occurred there. This place was not only the entry-port to the Isthmus, and to the city of Panama, but to all the west coast of South America, and even for a share of the trade with the Philippine Islands.

The ancient city of Puerto Bello, like the present town, was situated at the head of the bay of the same name, at the base of the mountains which surround the entire port in the form of a horse-shoe. The town consisted of one principal street extending along the shore, with smaller streets crossing it, running from the skirt of the hill to the beach. In its prime, in the time of the galleons and fair, Puerto Bello contained 130 houses, a custom house, hospital, governor's house, great church, and convents, as before related; as well as the four suburbs, Triana, Merced, Guinea, and the Shambles. At Ulloa's visit, in 1735, he noted scarcely 30 white families in the place. Numerous streams of fresh water poured down from the hillsides, forming pools in which the people bathed every morning at eleven o'clock. It was thought that the water caused dysentery.

Though the climate of Puerto Bello was better than that of Nombre de Dios, yet it was hot, humid, and sickly. "It destroys the vigor of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life." Horses and asses refused to breed, horned cattle lost their flesh, and hens brought from Cartagena and Panama declined to lay eggs. Child-birth was held to be uniformly fatal to both mother and infant, for which reason pregnant women moved to Cruces or Panama. Spanish galleons and other European ships, remaining any time at Puerto Bello, lost a half, or at least a third, of their men; and, on this account, the duration of the

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annual fair was reduced from 60 to 40 days. After the busy period of the *Feria*, or fair, and the ships and traders had departed, came the *Tiempo Muerto*, or dead time, when silence and tranquility resumed their former sway.

Tigers prowled about the streets at night, carrying off fowls, pigs, and sometimes even human beings. Venomous snakes were abundant, and the myriads of toads in the plazas and streets exceeded belief. The winds from the northeast were called *brisas*, and those from the southwest were known as *vendables*. Rain fell in torrents, accompanied by lightning and thunder, the noise being prolonged by reverberations from the sides of the surrounding mountains. The howlings of monkeys added to the din and tumult, especially when a man-of-war fired the morning and evening gun.

To the northwest of the city was a small bay, called *La Caldera*, or the kettle, having four and a half fathoms of water, sheltered from every wind, and excellent for careening vessels. To the northeast of the town emptied the Cascajal (pebbles) river, which was salt for a league and a half from its mouth, and contained alligators.

One of the mountains surrounding the harbor, from San Felipe on the north, around to the opposite point on the south, was the peak called *Monte Capira*, which stood at the extremity of the port, in the direction of the road to Panama. This mount was looked upon as a barometer for foretelling changes in the weather and seasons. The summit was always covered with dense and dark clouds, called its *capilla* (cap or hood), from which was corruptly formed the name Capira. When these clouds increased in blackness and descended lower than usual, it was a sure sign of a storm, and the people would say, "*Calarse el gorro Capira*"—Capira is putting on his night-cap. On the other hand, when the cap of clouds became lighter and ascended higher, it as certainly indicated the approach of fair weather.

On the north point of the harbor's mouth, a kilometer in width, stood the fort called San Felipe Todo de Hierro, which ships had to approach within half-shot, on account of the rocks on the opposite point. On the south side of the port, southwest of the city, on the declivity of a hill, stood the castle called St. Jago de la Gloria, which was considered to be both larger and stronger than San Felipe, the Iron Fort. At the extremity of a point or causeway, half a furlong in length, facing the middle of the town, was a third fort, called San Jerónimo, seen by every visitor of the present day. At different periods, still other castles and batteries were erected.

Among the English privateers frequenting the Caribbean sea, in the sixteenth century, was Master *Andrew Barker* of Bristol. Like Hawkins and Drake, he had suffered losses at the hands of the Spaniards, being accused before the Inquisition, and his goods confiscated. "In recompense of which injurie (for that no suite prevaileth against the inquisition of Spaine)," he sailed from Plymouth, in the year 1576, in two ships, the *Ragged Staff* and the *Bear*, to prey upon the Spaniards in the West Indies.

Making some trifling captures, Barker arrived at Cape Vela, and then sailed to the bay of Tolu, about 18 leagues southwest from Cartagena. Here the English took a frigate and secured gold and silver to the value of 500 pounds, as well as some stones called emeralds, whereof one very large one, set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh

EXPLANATION OF THE PRECEDING PLAN

a.—The Baftimentos [about 6 Leagues from Puerto Bello] between which and the Shore Captain Parker failed with his Veffels in the night. The Paffage is very dangerous by reafon of the many Shoals.

b.—An Ifland called Cagathoe [or Cagada.]

c.—The Place where the Ships rode: There Sir Francis Drake's Coffin was thrown overboard. [Hence it is called Drake's Island.]

d.—The Eaftermoft Fort, called St. Philip's, with 35 Pieces of Brafs Ordnance and 50 Soldiers, who have a lodging near it.

e.—The Place where he anchored when the Fort hailed him.

f.—A Houfe built on a Frigat, and a fmall Bay hard by.

g.—The Weftermoft Fort, called St. Diago's [or Jago's] with 30 Soldiers and 5 Canon, 4 of which were carry'd over to the great Fort. They were bringing the 5th towards the Town to play againft the Englifh as they paffed to and from their Boats: but Parker fent Captain Gyles, who took it from them with the lofs of one Man only.

h.—Another Fort or Platform, wherein were no Ordnance.

i.—A Town called Triana, where the Captain landed with his two Shallops, having with him but 28 or 30 Men, with whom he marched to the great Town after caufing Triana to be burnt.

k.—A Fort which they were then building on a Hill, with a River clofe by it; which coming from the Mountains falls into the great River [or Harbour] this Fort will command both the Town and River [as did Gloria Cattle which flood in the fame Place.]

l.—The Key where the two Pinnaces landed the reft of the Men at the great Town, an Hour after the Captain landed.

m.—A great Storehoufe (with Dwellings in it) full of large Timber for building Ships.

n.—The Place where two Friggats rode, which were taken: one of them had three Guns, which they turned upon the Enemy marching againft them from the Weftern Fort.

o.—The King's Houfe; where were two Pieces of Brafs mounted on Field Carriages, and 253 Soldiers belonging to the Houfe and Town; befides a Company of Town's-Men, who ufually keep their Court of Guard in the King's Houfe, which is full of Treafure when the Galleons arrive, but at no other time elfe. Here Lieutenant Barnet was fhot on the Side of his Head and through his Ear, and Captain Gyles, coming to fecond him was fhot over the Breaft and through his Arm.

p.—The Market Place or Court of Guard.

q.—Certain very handfome Houfes, where dwelt the Serjeant Major, with other Chief Commanders. Here the Englifh kept their Court of Guard.

r.—A Row of Houfes where divers Merchants dwelt.

s.—The Bridge, with a great River running under it, which defcends from the Mountains and falls into the River [or Harbour.]

t.—The Alcaye's Houfe or Prifon, who fled with a fair Gold Chain about his Neck.

v.—Saint Mary's Church.

x.—The Street where Pedro Melendus [Pedro Melendes] advanced with 60 Soldiers againft Captain Parker who had but 8 or 9 with him.

y.—The Way leading to Pennemau [or Panama] full of Artificers; which was barrocaded and defended by Gyles.

z.—The Houfe where Pedro Melendus dwelt.

A.—A Street full of all forts of Artificers; with two others Streets or Ways leading to the Weftermoft Forts.

B.—Another Church and Street of Artificers.

C.—The Out-Houfes of the Negroes, which were burned.

D.—The Place [Being the Ifland of Buena Aventura] where Captain Parker, after quitting Puerto Bello, rode with the Frigats, Pinnaces and Shallops, till Captain Rawlins joined him with two Ships from the other Ifland, [or Drake's Ifland.]

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of a friar. Some Spanish men-of-war came after them, and the privateers departed for Nombre de Dios and the river of Chagre. At the latter place, Barker landed ten of his men, who travelled for three or four days up into the woods, seeking the Simerons for guides and allies in some venture by land. The party did not find the negroes, and returned safely to the ships, yet most of them, with divers others of the expedition, presently fell sick; and within 14 days, eight or nine of the Englishmen died of a disease called there the Calentura, "which is a hote and vehement fever." Between the mouth of the Chagres and Veragua, Captain Barker captured another frigate, the crew of which was set on shore. In this vessel was found some gold, and among her guns were four cast pieces of ordnance, which the Spaniards had taken the year before from the ship which John Oxenham hid on the coast of Darien. Captain Barker carried these guns back to the Scilly Isles, near Cornwall.

In November, 1601, Captain *William Parker* set out from Plymouth with two ships, a pinnace, and two shallops, carrying a force of 378 men. He crossed over to Tierra Firme, touching first at Margarita; and then to the Rancheria, or pearl-fishery, on the island of Cubagua, a little to the southwest, which he captured after a fight with the governor of Cumana. Parker received pearls to the value of 500 pounds as ransom for his prisoners, and sailed away to the west. Off Cabo de la Vela, he took a large Portuguese slaver, with 370 negroes for Cartagena, which was released for 500 pounds. Continuing westward, and not being able to double the isles of Las Cabezas, the ships were driven into the Ensenada, or gulf of Aclé. Parker stood to the west again, and put into those islands, whence he sailed with 150 men, in two pinnaces and two shallops, to the islands of Bastimentos, which were peopled and fruitful. Here taking six or seven negroes for guides, Capt. Parker "presently entered the Mouth of the River of *Puerto Bello* the 7th of February, about Two o'clock in the Morning, the Moon shining very bright."

The English were hailed by the strong and stately castle of Saint Philip, and answering in Spanish that they were from Cartagena, were told to anchor, which they did. But an hour later, Parker took about 30 men in the two shallops, and started up the river (as the privateers generally called the bay or port of *Puerto Bello*). They were soon hailed and ordered to stop by the smaller fort, San Jago, which stood opposite to the great castle. The Captain proceeded, and landed at the first part of the town, called Triana, which he set on fire. Parker then marched over a little brook into the "great and rich Town of *Puerto Bello*," and attacked the king's treasure-house.

At this time, Captains Fugars and Lawriman arrived in the pinnaces with 120 English, and joined in the fight. Pedro Melendes, the Governor of the town, advanced at the head of his soldiers, and was shot through his target and both arms at the first volley. Among the English, Captain Giles and Lieutenant Barnet were wounded. The Spaniards were forced to retire to the treasure-house, where they held out till almost day. Melendes was wounded in eight more places, and at length taken prisoner by Captain Ward, who was shot through both thighs. In consideration of his brave resistance, Parker directed his surgeon to dress the wounds of the Governor, and released him without ransom; more generous treatment than his great uncle Pedro Melendes

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had accorded to John Ribault, Laudoniere, and the French in Florida, of whom he cruelly murdered all that fell into his hands.

Captain Parker got 10,000 ducats in the treasury. Had he arrived seven days sooner, he would have secured 120,000 ducats. The English men were given the spoil of the town, which amounted to no small value in plate, money, and merchandise. The next day, February 8th, 1602, Parker posted guards, and built a barricade at the end of the streets leading to Panama, where Captain Giles was often attacked by the Spaniards who had fled from the town, always repulsing them with loss. The new town of Puerto Bello already possessed two goodly churches quite finished, and three small forts on the town-side of the harbor, in addition to the great St Philip on the north shore. Parker did no injury to the main town, nor did he attempt to take the forts. At night, February 8th, he sailed out the port, all the forts firing, including 28 great shot from St. Philip. The boats were not struck, but a musket-ball from the western (or southern) shore struck Captain Parker in the elbow and came out at the wrist. He rode behind the isle of Buena Aventura, which lay between his pinnaces and fort St. Jago, until Captain Rawlings, the Vice-Admiral, came up with the two ships, which had been waiting eastward of the castle of St. Philip "under the Rock where Sir *Francis Drake's* coffin was thrown over-board."

The next day, February 9th, Parker sailed back towards the east, and put in the good bay of Sambo, twelve leagues east of Cartagena. Don Pedro de Coronna, Governor of that city, pulled his beard, and swore he would give a mule-load of silver to have but a sight of Parker and his company. He sent out two galleys, a brigantine, and two or three frigates to attack the English, "but they did not think proper to do it." Parker took in water, captured some more prizes, and then went to Jamaica. A little later he sailed through the gulf of Bahama, and reached the Azores, where he left his Vice-Admiral and two pinnaces to seek further prizes. Captain Parker departed for home, and arrived at Plymouth on the 6th of May, 1602.

In 1678-9 (as they wrote it in those days) the famous Buccaneer, Captain *Coxon* (or *Croxen*) sailed from Port Royal in 5 ships, with Captains Essex, Allison, Rose, and Sharp, and upwards of 300 men. They had a commission, costing 10 pieces-of-eight, from the Governor of Jamaica to cruise for three months only, but by the help of a little forgery (common on those occasions) they made shift to enlarge the time to three years. They came to the islands of Pinos, and then to Fuerte island. About the middle of the San Blas group, Coxon met a French man-of-war, commanded by Captain La Sound, and together they ranged up and down the coast of the Isthmus, but found no Spanish vessels to capture.

Coxon and La Sound then resolved to attack Puerto Bello, hoping to meet with as rich plunder as did Henry Morgan, ten years before. Leaving the fleet at some of the islands, 200 men proceeded in 14 or 15 canoes, and landed on the west side of Port Scrivan, 16 or 17 leagues east of Puerto Bello. This occasioned a wearisome march by land, but was better than going to the Bastimentos or other place nearer the town, thereby avoiding the scouts and look-outs which the Spaniards always kept in their neighborhood.

The Buccaneers were three nights on the way, hiding by day, and were not discovered until within an hour's march of Puerto Bello, when

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spied by a negro, who ran ahead to give the alarm. The privateers followed in such haste that they secured possession of the town before the Spaniards could form to oppose them. But few lives were lost. No attempt was made on the forts, the garrisons, as usual, not venturing out to attack the enemy. The Buccaneers looted the houses, and remained two days, expecting all the time to be assailed by the Spaniards, and fearing that their retreat might be cut off. Before departing, the booty was divided, amounting to about 40 pounds a man, including those left to guard the ships; besides what extraordinary shares were drawn by their officers, owners, surgeons, carpenters, and those losing limbs or killed in the expedition.

A Spanish report states that, in this same year, 1679, Juan Guartem, Eduardo Blomar, and Bartolomé Charpes, passed up the Mandinga river, crossed over to the Pacific slope, and plundered and burnt the town of Chepo. These freebooters were tried for their crimes by the Viceroy, and burned in effigy at Santa Fé de Bogata, while the very lively originals were yet ravaging the coasts on both sides of the Isthmus.

Edward Vernon, after whom was named Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, when a member of the English Parliament, arose in that body and declared that he could take Puerto Bello "with fix Ships only." The British government took him at his word, and gave him a commission as Admiral, and a fleet, to sail against the Spaniards in the West Indies. On July 20th, 1739, Vernon left England with nine men-of-war and one sloop. At Jamaica, the Governor let him have 240 land troops, and on November 5th, 1739, Admiral Vernon sailed from Port Royal with seven ships, bound for the Isthmus. His vessels were the *Burford*, 70 guns and 500 men, Capt. Thomas Watson, under the Admiral; the *Hampton Court*, 70 guns and 495 men, Capt. Digby Dent, under Commodore Charles Brown; the *Princess Louisa*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Thomas Waterhouse; the *Stratford*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Thomas Trevor; the *Worcester*, 60 guns and 400 men, Capt. Perry Main; the *Norwich*, 50 guns and 300 men, Capt. Richard Herbert and also the *Sherness*, which Vernon ordered to cruise off Cartagena, "difdaining to appear before Puerto Bello with one ship more than he had engaged to take it with."

Owing to contrary winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of Puerto Bello until the 20th, when they anchored six leagues off shore for the night. At break of day, November 21st, 1739, Vernon's ships advanced in line of battle, piloted by James Rentone, captain of a merchant vessel, chasing some *guarda-costas* into the harbor. The Spaniards felt so confident of their superiority, that they feared the English would not enter the port, and showed a flag of defiance from the Iron Castle (San Felipe).

Admiral Vernon led his fleet in the *Hampton Court*, with the blue flag at the fore and the bloody flag at the main, the channel compelling him to approach within half-shot of the Iron Fort, which at this time mounted 100 guns, and was garrisoned with 300 soldiers. The wind died away, and the Admiral anchored opposite the fort, and in about twenty-five minutes fired above 400 balls against San Felipe. The *Norwich* now came up, and in twenty-eight minutes the *Worcester*, followed by the *Burford*. The English cannonade began to drive the Spaniards from their guns, and Vernon ordered Mr. Broderick, with 40

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sailors and a company of marines, to land in the very front of the Lower Battery, comprising 22 guns. The *Burford* was nearest to the fort, and subject to a terrific fire from the Spaniards, but her guns commanded the lower shore battery, and covered the landing parties. As Captain Downing lead a company to assault the Iron Fort, he commanded the sailors to halt, and go up in regular order. "*Never let us halt before we are lame,*" replied one of the sailors, with a great oath, and pushed on with the rest, climbed the first battery, struck the Spanish colors, and clapt up an English Jack in their room.

The Spanish gun-boats driven into the port, not being able to make any defence themselves, sent their men to the Iron Fort, to help man the guns. But the garrison was now running away, and soon showed a white flag. The *Stratford* now came in; but Vernon took the Iron Fort (San Felipe) with only four ships, in two hours. The Comandante of the fort, with 5 of his officers, and 35 men, made a last stand in a strong room, but surrendered when Mr. Broderick fired a gun or two through the door.

During the fight with the Iron Fort, the Spanish forts on the other side of the harbor also kept firing at the British. The *Hampton Court* tried her lower tier at them, and in a few minutes was so fortunate as to strike down the flag-staff of Gloria Castle, and carrying it over into the town, the ball passed through several houses, including that of the governor. The English guns sunk a sloop near Fort Geronimo. Night put an end to the fight, so far.

The next morning the English held a council on board the Commodore, and as there was no wind, it was resolved to warp up nearer the forts at night; but the Spaniards showed a white flag over Gloria, and sent off a boat bearing proposals of surrender, signed by Governor Don Francisco Martinez de Retez, and Don Francisco de Abaroa, commander of the *guarda-costas*. Vernon let the garrisons march out with the honors of war, but retained all the cannon, and the ships in the harbor, the last being the very war-vessels which had injured the English merchants, and brought about the war. Captain Newton, with his company of 120 Jamaica soldiers, was sent ashore to hold the forts. Ten thousand dollars were found, which Vernon ordered to be distributed among his men. The crews of the Spanish ships left their posts on the night of the 21st, and fell to plundering the town, so the people appealed to the victors for protection.

Admiral Vernon was joined by the remainder of his fleet, and started in to blow up the forts. He sent a message to the President of Panama, demanding that the English factors of the South Sea Company there confined be released; and Mr. Humphrey and Dr. Wright, with their servants, were delivered up.

After several weeks stay at Puerto Bello, Vernon returned to Jamaica, to refit his ships for the attack on Chagre. Early in the following year, the Admiral departed from Port Royal with 6 men-of-war, 2 bomb-ketches, 2 fire-ships, and 3 tenders. After dropping 350 bombs into Cartagena, and stopping again at Puerto Bello, Vernon arrived off the mouth of the Chagres river. In the afternoon of March 22nd, 1740, Admiral Vernon began to bombard the castle of *San Lorenzo*, and kept firing leisurely till 11 o'clock on Monday the 24th, when the Spaniards hung out a flag. Captain Knowles went ashore, and returned with Don Juan Carlos Gutierrez Zevallos [Ceballos], captain of foot, and Castellan.

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The terms of capitulation were soon arranged, the Spanish troops marched out, and by 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Knowles and 120 men took possession. Much merchandise was found in the custom house, on the opposite side of the river. This building was burnt, and also some *guarda-costas* in the port. On the 29th, Vernon blew up the Castle of *San Lorenzo*, and on the 30th he departed from Chagre. April 1st, 1740, Vernon was back at Puerto Bello.

During this conflict—commonly known as the “War of Jenkins’ Ear,” because Capt. Jenkins had his ear removed by the commander of a *guarda-costa*—England planned to take the city of Panama, and hold the key to the South Sea. The next year, Vernon sailed again from Port Royal to Puerto Bello, intending to march over the Isthmus, and operate against Panama in conjunction with another force under Admiral Geo. Anson, who had sailed through the Strait of Magellan, and was attacking Spanish ports and commerce on the Pacific side. Vernon’s men became infected with the Isthmian fevers and died by hundreds, and in council on board the *Boyne*, 28th October, 1741, it was unanimously agreed that, from the best advice they had been able to collect, it was impracticable to advance with cannon to Panama.

Hearing that Vernon had failed to take Cartagena, Anson made no attempt on Panama, but went on around the world; capturing, near Manila, a Spanish ship worth a million and a half pesos.

A little later, San Lorenzo was attacked by three British frigates, which were beaten off by the Castellan, Capt. Don Juan de Hermida.

In 1745, Capt. Wm. Kin hills battered Puerto Bello with 5,000 cannon-balls, so it is claimed, for having been denied the restitution of a prize.

In the years 1751-2, the three castles at Puerto Bello, and the castle of San Lorenzo at Chagre, were thoroughly rebuilt by Don Ignacio de Sala, lieut-gen. and engineer, governor of Cartagena.

The late war with England, but more especially the previous raids and incursions of the Buccaneers, drove Spanish trade and travel from the Isthmus. Ships to and from the Pacific coast now went through Magellan’s strait, or around Cape Horn; and the Puerto Bello-Chagres Panama route ceased, for a time, to be the great highway of commerce.



JOHAN MORGAN

From Exquemelin, *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, 1678.

SIR HENRY MORGAN — OFTEN CALLED JOHN MORGAN.

The original of many subsequent portraits.

CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY MORGAN

AND

THE SACK OF PANAMA.

"Oh, what a set of Vagabundos,
Sons of Neptune, sons of Mars,
Raked from todos otros mundos,
Lascars, Gascons, Portsmouth tars,
Prison mate and dock-yard fellow,
Blades to Meg and Molly dear,
Off to capture Porto Bello
Sailed with Morgan the Buccaneer!"
—Edmund C. Stedman.



MONG English people, the best known of the Buccaneers is Henry Morgan. Spanish writers often call him Juan Morgan, and he is sometimes designated Henry John Morgan. Morgan was born about 1635, at Llanrhymny, Glamorganshire, in Wales; and was the eldest son of Robert Morgan, "a rich Yoeman or farmer of good quality." While yet young, he left home and went to Bristol, where he was kidnapped and sent to Barbados, at which place he was sold as a bondsman, like so many other Europeans who went to the West Indies at this period.

After serving his time, Morgan went to Jamaica, where he joined the Buccaneers and rose rapidly into favor. His uncle, Colonel Edward Morgan, came out as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica in 1664, but died the following year in the attack on St. Eustatius. Henry Morgan was not in this expedition, but was one of the captains in Mansfield's expedition against Curacao, in 1666.

After several ventures, he accumulated enough money, with the help of some comrades, to buy a ship. Morgan was elected captain, and succeeded in capturing several Spanish vessels off the coast of Campeche. Probably he was that Morgan who, in

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January, 1665, went up the Tabasco river in Campeche, with Captains Morris and Jackman, when they took and plundered Vildemos; after which, they seized Truxillo, in Honduras; and then went up the San Juan river to Lake Nicaragua, and sacked the city of Granada. He attracted the attention of Captain Mansfield, who made him his vice-admiral in the attack on Santa Catarina.

Shortly after the death of Mansfield, in 1668, Morgan captured and looted the town of *Puerto Principe*, in Cuba. The Spaniards still claimed Jamaica, and Governor Modyford had instigated this expedition to discover plans of an attempt to retake the island. In this affair, the French members of his company began those complaints of unfair treatment which continued throughout Morgan's career. He got but fifty thousand pesos, as a Spanish prisoner aboard his ship escaped to the shore and warned the people.

His next expedition was against *Puerto Bello*, which was, says Exquemelin, the strongest possession of the King of Spain in the West Indies, excepting Havana and Cartagena. "It is judged to be the strongest place that the King of Spain possesses in all the West Indies, excepting two, that is to say Havana and Cartagena. Here are the castles, almost inexpugnable, that defend the city, being situated at the entry of the port; so that no ship or boat can pass without permission. The garrison consists of three hundred soldiers, and the town constantly inhabited by four hundred families, more or less. The merchants dwell not here, but only reside for awhile, when the galleons come or go from Spain; by reason of the unhealthiness of the air, occasioned by certain vapours that exhale from the mountains. Notwithstanding, their chief warehouses are at Porto Bello, howbeit their habitations be all the year long at Panama; whence they bring the plate upon mules at such times as the fair begins, and when the ships, belonging to the Company of Negroes, arrive here to sell slaves." Morgan did not disclose his plans, but sailed with nine vessels, and about four hundred and sixty men, nearly all English, towards the Isthmus. When he told his captains and men of his intention to attack Puerto Bello, some of them objected on the grounds of his small force; to which Morgan replied, "If our number is small, our hearts are great, and the fewer persons we are, the more union and better shares we shall have in the spoils." They sailed first to *Puerto de Naos*, now known as Limon Bay, the port of Colon. The following places are not so easily identified:

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"Being come to this place, they mounted the river in their ships, as far as another harbour called Puerto Pontin [Ponton]; where they came to an anchor. Here they put themselves immediately into boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a few men to keep them and conduct them the next day to the port. About midnight they came to a certain place called *Estera longa Lemos*,¹ where they all went on shore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city."

Morgan was much assisted by one of his crew, an Englishman, who formerly had been a prisoner in Puerto Bello. It was rumored that several Englishmen, among them Prince Maurice, were then confined in the dungeons. The place was surrounded, and the sentinel captured. Surrender was demanded, otherwise no quarter would be given. Puerto Bello was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by three hundred troops, besides four hundred citizens capable of bearing arms. The castle of Triana in the western part of the town was first attacked and captured. Because its defenders refused to surrender, Morgan shut them up in the castle and fired the magazine; thereby destroying both castle and garrison. In the meantime the town people had fled, first hiding their valuables or casting them into wells.

The Governor rallied his men and retired to the strongest remaining fort, where he kept up the fight from break of day till noon. Morgan was almost in despair of taking the castle, when he conceived the plan of having a number of wide wooden ladders made, so broad that three or four men at once might ascend by them, which he forced the priests and nuns to erect against the walls. The Buccaneers then ascended these ladders, using the religious persons as a shield, and throwing fire-balls and pots of powder among the Spaniards, which overcame them so that they asked quarter.

The priests and nuns begged the Governor by all the saints in heaven to surrender, and to their prayers were added the entreaties of his wife and daughter, but the brave man would not yield. He did not hesitate to fire on the priests who were forced

¹ *Estero Longarremos*. From Limon Bay, the Buccaneers went east of Manzanillo Island (Colon), and anchored in Puerto Manzanillo. They then took to the small boats and rowed northeast by sea, around Punta Manzanillo, until they came to *Estero Longarremos*. The point of land east of Punta Manzanillo is still called Punta Longarremos.

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in front of the Buccaneers, and killed not a few of his own soldiers because they would not stand to their arms.

All the Spaniards in the castle were killed, or craved quarter, except the Governor. When asked to surrender, he constantly answered: "By no means; I had rather die as a valiant soldier than be hanged as a coward." The pirates endeavored to take the governor alive, but he defended himself so obstinately that they were forced to kill him. The castle commanding the entrance to the port was the next to fall.

All prisoners were shut up in one of the castles, and the wounded Buccaneers placed in charge of some female slaves, Morgan telling them: "Your groans shall supply the place of clothing for your wounds." The victors then proceeded to loot the town and indulge in all manner of drunkenness and debauchery. The next day, a number of citizens were put to the torture to discover where they had hidden their riches.

Morgan sent two prisoners as messengers to the President of Panama to procure a ransom of one hundred thousand pieces-of-eight, or Porto Bello would be consumed to ashes. Instead of sending the money, the President started with a body of troops, stated to be fifteen hundred, to relieve Porto Bello; but was ambushed and put to flight by one hundred Buccaneers, "at a narrow passage through which of necessity he ought to pass."

Morgan had brought up his ships, which gave him a secure retreat; so he remained in the town, and threatened to kill all his prisoners and blow the castle into the air if the ransom was not paid. The miserable citizens managed to raise the amount, and the Buccaneers loaded their vessels with pillage and victuals, and prepared to depart.

Morgan also carried away the best guns of the castles, nailing the rest which he could not take with him. During the fifteen days the Buccaneers held Porto Bello, a number had died from excesses and from the unhealthiness of the country.

The President of Panama, filled with admiration that four hundred men had been able to take such a great city, with so many strong castles, sent a messenger to Captain Morgan, "desiring him to send him some small pattern of those arms wherewith he had taken with such violence so great a city." Morgan gave the man a pistol and a few small bullets of lead, to carry back to his master; with this answer: "He desired him to accept that slender pattern of the arms wherewith he had taken Porto Bello, and keep them for a twelvemonth; after

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which time he promised to come to Panama and fetch them away."

The President soon returned these to Morgan, thanking him for the favor of lending him such weapons as he needed not; and, as illustrating the polite usages of the times, also sent Captain Morgan an emerald set in a ring of gold, with this message: "That he desired him not to give himself the labor of coming to Panama, as he had done to Porto Bello; for he did certify to him, he should not speed so well here as he had done there."

Morgan and his men sailed away to the south coast of Cuba, where division of the booty was made. The ready money amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces-of-eight; besides silks, linens, and other merchandise.

The Buccaneers then returned to their rendezvous in Jamaica, and gave themselves up to debauchery; "Spending with huge prodigality what others had gained with no small labor and toil."

Morgan's official report of his Porto Bello expedition, found in the "State Papers," differs considerably from Exquemelin. Morgan relates that Porto Bello was left in as good condition as he found it, and that the people had been well treated; "several ladies of great quality and other prisoners who were offered their liberty to go to the president's camp refused, saying they were now prisoners to a person of quality, who was more tender of their honours than they doubted to find in the president's camp; and so voluntarily continued with them."

Gov. Modyford was somewhat in doubt how the capture of Porto Bello might be regarded in England, as Morgan's commission was only to war against ships. Nevertheless the governor gave Morgan another commission shortly afterwards.

Not long after the loot of Porto Bello, the Buccaneers of Jamaica determined to go on another venture. Morgan notified the commanders to meet at *Isla de la Vaca* (Isle á Vache) on the south side of Haiti. While there, he increased his unpopularity with the French by forcibly seizing a large ship belonging to some French *flibustiers* who would not join him. This treacherous act was soon followed by retribution.

Having decided at a council to lie in wait for the Spanish *flota* at the island of Savona, the English proceeded to fire off guns, and drink many healths for joy of their new enterprise. While most of the men were drunk, Morgan's great thirty-six

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gun ship, the frigate *Oxford*, was blown up into the air, with the lives of three hundred and fifty Englishmen, and the French prisoners that were in the hold. There escaped only about thirty men, including Morgan, who were in the cabin at some distance from the force of the explosion. The English blamed the French for this disaster, and sent the French ship, the *Cour Volant*, and the remainder of her crew to Jamaica, where their vessel was confiscated and the men threatened with hanging.

After mourning eight days for the loss of the ship and men, Morgan commanded the bodies floating on the sea to be searched for valuables, and the gold rings to be cut off their fingers.

Later, Morgan mustered eight small vessels and five hundred men at Savona. By the advice of one of his captains, a Frenchman who had been with Lolonnois and Michel le Basque, Morgan sailed for *Maracaibo*.

The Buccaneers entered the gulf of Maracaibo by night, so as not to be seen from the Vigilias, or watch tower. The next morning, Morgan found himself under the guns of the fort, which opened fire on him.

"The dispute continued very hot on both sides, being managed with huge courage and valour from morning till dark night." During the night the Spaniards vacated the fort, and the next day the Buccaneers passed up to the city of Maracaibo in small boats. The principal inhabitants had departed with their riches, but such as remained were subjected to inhuman cruelties to make them disclose the hiding place of valuables.

After three weeks of rioting, Morgan and his men proceeded up the lake and took *Gibraltar*, just as Lolonnois had done two years before. Five more weeks of pillage and murder at this place; and then Morgan went back to Maracaibo.

Here he heard that three Spanish men-of-war, under command of Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa, lay in wait in the entrance of the lake, to dispute his exit. May 1st, 1669, at dawn, Morgan attacked the Spanish fleet, and by means of a *brulot*, or fire-ship, which one of the Buccaneers had prepared, he was able to destroy two of them and capture the third. Most of the Spaniards escaped to the castle on the shore.

Morgan again returned to Maracaibo, collected a ransom, divided two hundred and fifty thousand pieces-of-eight among his men, besides merchandise and slaves, and prepared to leave.

By a clever stratagem, he was allowed to drift out the lake at night on an ebbing tide, without sails, and thus pass the castle

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commanding the entrance. The Buccaneers encountered a great tempest at sea, but finally all arrived safely at their headquarters in Port Royal.

Another party, under Captain Hansel, about the same time, returned empty handed from an attempt on the town of Cumana. Morgan's men ceased not to mock and jeer them for their ill success, saying: "Let us see what money you brought from Comana, and if it be as good silver as that which we bring from Maracaibo."

It was not long before the Buccaneers were again clamoring for another expedition against the Spaniards. The men had spent their money, and many were in debt to the rum-sellers and merchants of Port Royal. Rumors had reached the West Indies of an impending treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain, and the brotherhood were anxious to engage in some great undertaking before it went into effect. The fame of Morgan was now so well established that they importuned him to lead them. "He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet of ships; for which purpose he assigned the south side of the Isle of Tortuga, as a place of rendezvous. With this resolution, he wrote divers letters to all the ancient and expert Pirates there inhabiting, as also to the Governor of the said isle, and to the planters and hunters of Hispaniola, giving them to understand his intentions, and desiring their appearance at the said place, in case they intended to go with him. All these people had no sooner understood his designs than they flocked to the place assigned in high numbers, with ships, canoes, and boats, being desirous to obey his commands. Many, who had not the convenience of coming to him by sea, traversed the woods of Hispaniola, and with no small difficulties arrived there by land. Thus all were present at the place assigned, and in readiness, against the 24th day of October, 1670," (Exquemelin).

Morgan sailed, August 14th, 1670, from Port Royal for Port Corillon [Couillon] in the island of Vache, where he held council with his leaders.

A lot of Buccaneers were set to work on Hispaniola, killing cattle and curing the meat; another party, comprising four or five ships, under command of Captain Bradley (Sharp says vice-admiral Collyer) was sent to the *Rio Hacha* to loot the village of La Rancheria, a place famous for its abundance of

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corn; while the remainder cleaned the ships and fitted them for sea.

The hunters soon had an abundance of dried beef, and in five weeks Bradley returned with four thousand bushels of maize as ransom for Rancheria; a good ship from Cartagena already laden with maize; and other booty and prisoners. Morgan distributed the provisions among his crews, inspected the ships, and sailed for *Cape Tiburon*, the last place of rendezvous. Here he was joined by some more ships from Jamaica, "So that now the whole fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships, wherein were two thousand fighting men, besides mariners and boys; the Admiral hereof was mounted with twenty-two great guns, and six small ones, of brass; the rest carried some twenty, some sixteen, some eighteen, and the smallest vessel at least four; besides which they had great quantity of ammunition and fire-balls, with other inventions of powder."

Morgan's present commission gave him free hand against Spain, and further stated that "as there is no other pay for the encouragement of the fleet, they shall have all the goods and merchandise that shall be gotten in this expedition, to be divided amongst them according to their rules." Pursuant to his authority as admiral, Morgan then issued sub-commissions to his vice-admiral and captains.

On the second of December, the thirty-seven captains met and drew up articles of agreement for the division of the spoils. Morgan should receive one-hundredth of the whole; every captain was to have the shares of eight men for the expenses of his ship, besides his own share; the surgeon should have two hundred pieces-of-eight for his chest of medicaments, in addition to his ordinary pay; and the carpenter an extra one hundred pesos. Recompenses for the maimed, and rewards for bravery, were regulated much higher than usual.

The council then considered whether to go against Cartagena, Panama, or Vera Cruz. The lot fell upon *Panama*; believed to be the richest of the three. Another reason was "that it stands most for the good of Jamaica and safety of us all to take Panama, the president thereof having granted several commissions against the English."

The Buccaneers had no knowledge of the routes to Panama, so in order to procure guides, they determined to retake the island of *St. Catharine* (Santa Catarina), now used as a penal settlement by the Spaniards, trusting to find there banditti and outlaws familiar with Panama and its approaches. Flying the

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English flag, the fleet sailed from Cape Tiburon (the southwestern corner of Haiti), the sixteenth day of December, 1670; and on the fourth day arrived at St. Catharine, and summoned the garrison to surrender.

The Spaniards had no show against such a large armada, but in order to save his face the Governor "desired that Captain Morgan would be pleased to use a certain stratagem of war, for the better saving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home." In other words, a sham fight was arranged which waged fiercely throughout the night, and during which much powder was consumed. The fort of St. Jerome, the battery called St. Matthew, and the castle of Santa Teresa fell in turn; and soon all of the nine fortresses were in the hands of the assailants. Real war was then made against the poultry and cattle by the hungry Buccaneers.

The population of the island, male and female, numbered, in all, four hundred and fifty souls, including one hundred and ninety soldiers. Among the felons were two Indians and a mulatto from Panama. The Indians, aware that their own people would probably suffer, feigned ignorance of the road to Panama, but the negro betrayed them. After one had been broken on the rack until he died, the other Indian consented to guide the buccaneers.

Morgan decided to approach Panama by the Chagres river route, a selection which required the subjugation of the castle guarding the mouth of the river. He must have considered the use of artillery essential in subduing Panama, and that the control of the Chagres was necessary in order to transport it as far as possible by water; otherwise Morgan would not have selected the most difficult way of getting to Panama at this time of the year. As we shall see later, when he went up the river he had "five boats with artillery," which he was forced to leave behind at the end of the second day. The facility with which Francis Drake reached Cruces, and even within sight of Panama, by land in 1573, seems to have been entirely forgotten. Had the Buccaneers taken the Camino Real, back of Porto Bello, they would have avoided the heavy losses at San Lorenzo, and the starvation trip up the Chagres; and could have reached Panama in three or four days in comfort. The dry season had begun, and the Royal Road was easy footing for such amphibious creatures as the Buccaneers. Morgan sent Colonel Joseph Bradley, a famous privateer familiar with those coasts,

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to take the castle of Chagre (*San Lorenzo*); while he himself remained at St. Catherine, lest the Spanish should suspect his design on Panama.

Bradley (called Brodely, by Exquemelin), departed from St. Catherine with four ships and a boat, and a force of four hundred men, and in three days arrived off the mouth of the Chagres. "They came to an anchor in a small port, at the distance of a league more or less from the castle. The next morning very early they went on shore, and marched through the woods, to attack the castle on that side. This march continued until two o'clock in the afternoon, before they could reach the castle, by reason of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt."²

Exquemelin, the Buccaneer historian, who probably participated in the assault, thus describes the castle of San Lorenzo (St. Lawrence):

"This castle is built upon a high mountain, at the entry of the river, and surrounded on all sides with strong palisades or wooden walls; being very well terrepleined, and filled with earth; which renders them as secure as the best walls made of stone or brick. The top of this mountain is in a manner divided into two parts, between which lies a ditch of the depth of thirty foot. The castle itself has but one entry, and that by a drawbridge which passes over the ditch aforementioned. On the land side it has four bastions, that of the sea containing only two more. That part thereof which looks towards the South is totally inaccessible and impossible to be climbed, through the infinite asperity of the mountain.

The North side is surrounded by the river, which hereabouts runs very broad. At the foot of the said castle, or rather mountain, is seated a strong fort, with eight great guns, which commands and impedes the entry of the river. Not much lower are to be seen two other batteries, whereof each hath six pieces of cannon,

² As San Lorenzo is on the east bank of the Chagres river, and as the Buccaneers reached the fort altogether by land, it follows that they must have approached from the eastward. Their long march seems to indicate that they landed at a considerable distance from the castle, as on the western playa of Puerto de Naos, but an old map shows that the Buccaneers disembarked by Punta Brujas, within Little Orange Key.

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to defend likewise the mouth of the said river. At one side of the castle are built two great store-houses, in which are deposited all sorts of warlike ammunition and merchandize, which are brought thither from the inner parts of the country. Near these houses is a high pair of stairs, hewed out of the rock, which serves to mount to the top of the castle. On the West side of the said fortress lies a small port, which is not above seven or eight fathom deep, being very fit for small vessels and of very good anchorage. Besides this, there lies before the castle, at the entry of the river, a great rock, scarce to be perceived above water, unless at low tide."

Their guides served them exactly, bringing them out into an open space so close to the castle that many of the Buccaneers were killed by the first fire of the guns. This brisk defence from a seeming impregnable position much perplexed the Pirates in their minds, and caused them to fear the success of their enterprise. The Buccaneers tried to take the place by assault, and advanced with swords in one hand and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards repulsed them bravely, crying withal:

"Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our King; let your other companions that are behind come on too; ye shall not go to Panama this bout."

Failing to climb up the walls, the besiegers were forced to retreat. Resting until night, they renewed the attack, and were almost in despair, when an accident gave them the opportunity for victory.

"One of the Pirates was wounded with an arrow in his back, which pierced his body to the other side. This instantly he pulled out with great valour at the side of his breast; then taking a little cotton that he had about him, he wound it about the said arrow, and putting it into his musket, he shot it back into the castle. But the cotton being kindled by the powder, occasioned two or three houses that were within the castle, being thatched with palm-leaves, to take fire, which the Spaniards perceived not so soon as was necessary. For this fire meeting with a parcel of powder, blew it up, and thereby caused great ruin, and no less consternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to account for this accident, not having seen the beginning thereof."

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Cliffs protected the castle on the north, south, and west. The only way it could be approached was by the hill on the east side. At the crest of the hill was the ditch, thirty feet deep, crossed by a drawbridge, the only entry to the castle. Back of the ditch was the wall of earth held up by wooden palisades. When the latter were consumed, the dry earth dropped into the ditch, filling it more or less, and allowing the Buccaneers to pass over. At the same time the interior of the castle became exposed to the fire of the enemy. The valiant Governor caused his artillery to be transported to the breaches, and made his men stand to their posts.

The Buccaneers would creep up as near as they could, and shoot the Spaniards they perceived in the glare of the burning buildings. When day was come, they could see those within the castle better. About noon, the Buccaneers charged, and gained a breach held by the Governor and twenty-five men, who defended themselves in the most desperate manner with muskets, pikes, stones, and swords. After this, the rest was easy. The Governor, Don Pedro de Lisardo, retreated to the *corps du garde*, before which were placed two pieces of cannon. Refusing to ask quarter, he was killed by a musket shot which pierced his skull. Many of the remaining Spaniards cast themselves from the castle into the sea, or to the bottom of the cliff (few or none surviving the fall), rather than ask any quarter for their lives.

The President of Panama had long been aware of the coming of the Buccaneers, and had reinforced the regular garrison of one hundred and fifty men with one hundred and sixty-four more. This made a total of three hundred and fourteen regular troops, besides a lot of Indian bowmen. It is seen that the defenders were nearly as numerous as the Buccaneers. Of this number, only thirty remained alive, whereof scarce ten were not wounded. Not one officer survived. Consider, then, the daring and desperation necessary to overcome such valorous resistance in an almost impregnable position.

Of the Buccaneer force, of not over four hundred men, more than one hundred were killed, and the wounded exceeded seventy. Colonel Bradley lost both legs by a round shot, which caused his death within ten days, to the great grief of all. The church of the castle was turned into a hospital, where also they

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shut up the women. The Buccaneers made the surviving Spaniards cast their own dead from the cliffs, and afterwards to bury them.

From considerable reading of Buccaneer history, and from personal knowledge of many of the places taken by them, I am of the opinion that the capture of San Lorenzo by Colonel Bradley was the bravest of their achievements; and, of course, was an indispensable precedent to reaching Panama by the river route.

From Chagre, word was sent to Morgan that the castle had fallen. He dismantled all the forts on St. Catherine except St. Teresa, and burnt all the houses. Morgan collected all the maize, cassava, and other provisions that he could, and putting the prisoners aboard his ships, sailed for the Chagres river, where he arrived in the space of eight days.

“Here the joy of the whole fleet was so great, when they spied the English colours upon the castle that they minded not their way into the river, which occasioned them to lose four of their ships at the entry thereof, that wherein Captain Morgan went, being one of the four. Yet their fortune was so good as to be able to save all the men and goods that were in the said vessels. Yea, the ships likewise had been preserved, if a strong northerly wind had not risen on that occasion, which cast the ships upon the rock above-mentioned, that lies at the entry of the said river.”

The commander-in-chief entered the castle amid the acclamations of the Buccaneers. He set the prisoners to work building new palisades, and gathered boats for the journey up the river.

When Morgan was in Porto Bello, and made his boast to call on the President of Panama within a year, it is very unlikely that he had any intentions at that time of such an undertaking. Had he cherished such a plan, it would have been the part of wisdom, and more in accord with his usual custom, to have kept it quiet. Nevertheless, the success of the Buccaneers at Porto Bello and other places ashore, had alarmed the people of Panama, and preparations had been made to repel an invasion. That the President of Panama, Don Juan Perez de Guzman, had strengthened his defenses, was shown by con-

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fessions of Spanish prisoners, and actual commissions signed by him found in captured vessels.

The raids of Drake and Oxenham had not been forgotten by the Spaniards, and the increasing aggressions of other European nations kept them in a constant state of alarm. Indeed, there were a number of times when the Buccaneers could have seized and held the Isthmus, or other parts of Spanish America, had they had any desire for permanent possession and orderly government.

Morgan learned from the prisoners taken at San Lorenzo that the President of Panama had received notice three weeks previously from Cartagena, and also by a deserter from the Buccaneers while at the Rio Hacha, of his designs on Panama. They also told him that ambuscades had been placed along the Chagres, and that the Spaniards awaited the Buccaneers with a force of three thousand six hundred men, in the open plain in front of Panama. This was so well known that the Buccaneers were repeatedly greeted, by both Spaniards and Indians, with the cry: *A la Savanna!*

The President states in a letter, given in Sharp's *Voyages*, that he had sent two hundred additional men to Puerto Velo (Porto Bello), and one hundred and fifty to reinforce Chagre (San Lorenzo); and had placed five hundred more in ambuscades along the Chagres, under the command of Don Francisco Saludo. He further states that he held consultations with his officers, and was assured that the castle and forts on the river were impregnable.

Among the Spanish boats found at Chagre were four little ships, a lot of canoes, and some vessels called chatten, (*chata*—a flat-bottomed boat) which were used for transporting merchandise up and down the river, as also for going to Porto Bello and Nicaragua. These latter vessels were commonly mounted with two great guns of iron, and four small ones of brass.

Leaving Captain Norman with five hundred men to garrison San Lorenzo, and one hundred and fifty more to remain with his fleet; Morgan started up the Chagres river, January 9th, 1671, with fourteen hundred men in seven ships and thirty-six boats, on his way to Panama. According to Exquemelin, who was not always accurate in his dates,* he departed on January

* It is probable that this conflict in dates may be explained by the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, which at this time amounted to about ten days.

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18th, at the head of twelve hundred men, in "five boats with artillery and thirty-two canoes." Morgan carried but few provisions, being in good hopes he should provide himself from the Spaniards.

In my account of the trip up the Chagres I shall give the names of places, and distances traveled, as narrated by Exquemelin. Those familiar with the river will be able to locate the stops, and make corrections for distance.

First day—

The first day they journeyed six leagues, and came to a place called *De los Bracos* [at the mouth of the Trinidad]. The men left their cramped quarters on the boats, and went ashore to sleep for a few hours. After which, they sought something to eat among the neighboring plantations, but found nothing, as the Spaniards had fled and carried with them all their provisions. Many of the Buccaneers had to be content with a pipe of tobacco for refreshment.

Second day—

They resumed their journey very early in the morning, and about evening arrived at a place called *Cruz De Juan Gallego*. "Here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, by reason the river was very dry for want of rain, and the many obstacles of trees that were fallen into it."

Third day—

All went ashore in the morning except one hundred and sixty men left to defend the boats and hold them as a refuge in case of necessity. These men had strict orders, under great penalties, that no one should leave the boats for fear of being cut off by the Spaniards that might chance to lie thereabouts in the neighboring woods, which appeared so thick as to seem almost impenetrable. The Buccaneers found marching so dirty and irksome that they re-embarked in the canoes. By making two trips, Morgan was able to get his column up the river as far as *Cedro Bueno* by evening. They were now reduced to such extremity of hunger that they were infinitely desirous to meet some Spaniards, that they might roast or boil them to satisfy their famine.

Fourth day—

Most of the party traveled by land, being led by one of the guides. The rest went by water, being conducted by another guide, who always went ahead to discover ambuscades. The Spaniards, of course, had spies along the river, who gave notice of the advance of the Buccaneers.

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About noon, when near a post called *Torna Cavallos* [opposite Bujio de Soldado], the guide of the canoes gave warning of an ambush ahead. Instead of being alarmed, the Buccaneers were filled with joy at the thought of finding something to eat. But they found the place abandoned, and judged that about five hundred Spaniards had been there. Crumbs of bread strewn about tantalized their appetites, so that they fell upon some leathern bags and devoured them, to quell the ferment of their stomachs.

After feasting on these pieces of leather they marched farther on, till about night they came to another post, called *Torna Munni*. Here they found another ambuscade, also barren of provisions.

"Here again he was happy, that had reserved since noon any small piece of leather whereof to make his supper, drinking after it a good draught of water for his greatest comfort. Some persons, who never were out of their mothers' kitchens, may ask how these Pirates could eat, swallow and digest those pieces of leather, so hard and dry. To whom I only answer: That could they once experiment what hunger, or rather famine, is, they would certainly find the manner, by their own necessity, as the Pirates did. For these first took the leather, and sliced it in pieces. Then did they beat it between two stones, and rub it, often dipping it in the water of the river to render it by these means supple and tender. Lastly, they scraped off the hair, and roasted or broiled it upon the fire. And being thus cooked they cut it into small morsels, and eat it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which by good fortune they had near at hand."

Fifth day—

About noon on the fifth day the Buccaneers had gotten as far as *Barbacoa*, the present Barbacoas, where the Panama Railroad crosses the Chagres river, and a midway point across the Isthmus. Here were signs of another ambuscade, but not a particle to eat. Several plantations in the neighborhood were narrowly searched, but not an animal or any food found. After searching up and down the river they found a grotto, lately hewn out of a rock,

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"in which they found two sacks of meal, wheat and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called Platanos."

Morgan, wisely, distributed this food among those who were in the greatest need. They then advanced again with greater courage, and late at night arrived at a deserted plantation, where they rested until morning.

Sixth day—

They continued their progress, partly in canoes, and partly by land through the woods; but constrained to rest frequently on account of the ruggedness of the way and their great weakness. The men were in such extremity of hunger that they ate the leaves of trees, grass, and green herbs.

"This day, at noon, they arrived at a plantation, where they found a barn full of maize. Immediately they beat down the doors, and fell to eating of it dry, as much as they could devour. Afterwards they distributed great quantity, giving to every man a good allowance thereof."

About an hour after resuming their journey, they ran into an ambuscade of Indians, who retreated before them, and were routed by the Forlorn (the advance guard) under Captain Thomas Rogers. Some of the Buccaneers crossed the river and pursued a body of about one hundred on the other side, hoping to catch a few of them. The nimble Indians easily avoided the Buccaneers, and killed two or three of them with their arrows; at the same time taunting them with cries of *Ha! perros, a la savana, a la savana. Ha! ye dogs, go to the plain, go to the plain.*

The Buccaneers had now traveled as far on the northern or east bank of the river as it was necessary to go, so went into camp for the night at a post called *Santa Cruz*. Many murmured against Captain Morgan for his conduct of the enterprise, and were desirous to return home, but a guide comforted them, saying: *It would not be long before they met with people, from whom they should reap some considerable advantage.*

Seventh day—

The next morning the Buccaneers cleaned their arms, and each man discharged his pistol or musket, without bullet, to test his firelock. They then crossed the Chagres in their canoes, and continued their march, in an easterly direction, on the south side of the river. Smoke was seen ahead, and they

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hurried forward, and at noon arrived all sweating and panting at the village of *Crus*, the modern Cruces. The smoke ascending from each house led them to hope for good cheer within, but the Spaniards, as usual, had taken their departure and left no eatables behind. Before leaving, each man had set fire to his own house, excepting only the store-houses and stables belonging to the King.

The Buccaneers found a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured; and in the King's stable were fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a leather sack full of bread. In their half starved condition, the wine made the men sick, and caused them to think it was poisoned, which created much consternation for a time.

Morgan concealed one of his canoes and sent the rest back to where he had left his boats, not caring to weaken his force by leaving enough men at Cruces to defend them.

Contrary to orders, a party of English left the village in search of food, but were driven back by Spaniards and Indians, who captured one of them.

By reason of the sickness of his men, Morgan was compelled to remain at Cruces until the next morning.

"This village is situated in the latitude of nine degrees and two minutes, North, being distant from the river of Chagre [mouth of the Chagres] twenty-six Spanish leagues, and eight from Panama."

Eighth day—

At Cruces, Morgan left the river and started south towards the city of Old Panama. He sent out an advance guard of two hundred men to give warning of the enemy.

Exquemelin complains of the road being so narrow that only ten or twelve men could march in a file; but at the present time on the Isthmus this would be considered a very fine highway. As a matter of fact, that old Camino Real was the best roadway the Isthmus ever had.

After marching ten hours, and reaching a spot called *Quebrada Obscura*, they suddenly received a flight of three or four thousand arrows from unseen foes.

"The place whence it was presumed they were shot was a high rocky mountain, excavated from one side to the other, wherein was a grotto that went through it,

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only capable of admitting one horse, or other beast laded."

The firing ceased, and the Buccaneers advanced and entered a wood, when they saw some Indians fleeing. One band of Indians, however, stood their ground, and fought with huge courage till their chief fell mortally wounded. The Buccaneers had eight men killed, and ten wounded. Shortly after, while passing through a savana, they perceived a party of Indians on top of a mountain. Fifty of the most active among the Buccaneers tried to catch some of them, but the Indians vanished, only to reappear in another place, hallooing to the English: *A la savana, a la savana corundos, perros Ingleses!*

A little further on, Morgan avoided an ambuscade in a wood, and saw a body of Spaniards and Indians on a mountain, but they soon retired and were seen no more. About night there fell a great rain. The Indians had burned the houses thereabouts, and driven away the cattle, so there was neither shelter nor food for the invaders. Notwithstanding, after diligent search, they found a few huts in which a few men from each company kept dry the arms of the remainder of the army. It rained all that night; and those tired, famished men suffered much hardship.

The Spaniards seen this day were the first encountered by the Buccaneers since leaving San Lorenzo. Don Francisco Saludo, with headquarters at Barbacoa, was in command of five hundred men to defend the passage of the Chagres. As the Buccaneers came up the river, Luis de Castillo, Captain of the Mulattos, retired from his post at *Barro Colorado* [opposite Tabernilla] and fell back on his chief at Barbacoa; and the latter very promptly retreated to Cruces. Removing and destroying supplies, and burning houses were wise measures, but not sufficient, without active opposition, to hold back the Buccaneers.

The only resistance offered was by the Indians. Had the Spaniards exhibited the same spirit, and continually harrassed the Buccaneers, those weakened and discouraged men never would have reached Panama.

Ninth day—

At the break of day, "being the ninth of this tedious journey," Morgan continued his march. "For the clouds then hanging as yet over their heads were much more favorable to them than the scorching rays of the sun, by reason the

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way was now more difficult and laborious than all the preceding."

In about two hours they saw a body of twenty Spaniards, but could not succeed in capturing any of them. They then came, towards noon, to a high mountain, from the top of which they saw the South Sea, which filled them with joy. This hill has ever since been known as "*El Cerro de los Bucaneros*." (The Hill of the Buccaneers).

They also descried a ship and six boats sailing from the direction of Panama toward Tovaga and Tovagilla [Taboga and Tabogilla]. Descending this hill, their hungry eyes perceived a little valley filled with cattle. "Here while some were employed in killing and flaying cows, horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there was greatest number, others busied themselves in kindling of fires and getting wood wherewith to roast them. Thus cutting the flesh of these animals into pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roasted, they devoured them with incredible haste and appetite. For such was their hunger that they more resembled cannibals than Europeans at this banquet, the blood many times running down from their beards to the middle of their bodies." This was the first square meal since leaving San Lorenzo. It was a stupid blunder on the part of the Spaniards to permit this stock to range within reach of the Buccaneers, so that they could strengthen their weakened bodies and revive their courage. During the meal, Morgan sounded a false alarm, fearing his men might be surprised, which proved to be a wise precaution. After satisfying their hunger, the Buccaneers resumed their march. Morgan was anxious to take some prisoners, that he might extract from them, by torture if necessary, the condition and forces of Panama.

In the evening they discovered a troop of two hundred Spaniards, and soon after they had their first sight of the highest steeple of the city. The Buccaneers leaped and yelled for joy, and sounded their trumpets and drums. In great content they went into camp, waiting in impatience for the morning to come to attack the city. About fifty horsemen, preceded by a sweet sounding trumpeter, issued from the city, and came almost within musket-shot of the Buccaneers, and shouted "*Perros! Nos Veremos*." (Dogs! we will see you again). A few of the horsemen hovered about them as scouts, while the two hundred previously seen, re-appeared, and placed themselves so as to cut off retreat. Panama began shooting with

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her biggest guns, and kept up a useless firing all during the night. The Buccaneers placed sentries about their camp, made a hearty supper off the meat which they had reserved since noon, and laid themselves down to sleep upon the grass with great repose.

Tenth day—*The Capture of Panama, comprising the Battle of the Savana, and the Assault on the City.*

January 18th, 1671 (January 27th, according to Exquemelin), being the tenth day after leaving San Lorenzo, the Buccaneers fought the battle of Old Panama, and captured the city. The battle began early in the morning, and was executed in two stages; the first, being the destruction of the Spanish cavalry and rout of the wild cattle on the Savana, which lasted two hours; and the second stage, which comprised the assault and capture of the city, lasting three hours; and terminating at noon; or at three o'clock, as some say.

When the Governor (then called the President) of Panama heard of the continued advance of the Buccaneers, and retreat of Saludo, he left his sick bed and took the field in person. He writes—"In this conjunction having had the misfortune to have been lately Blooded three times for an *Erysipelas* I had in my right Leg, I was forced to rise out of my Bed and march to Guiabel [on the Cruces road] with the rest of the People, which I had raised in Panama." He soon returned to Panama with all his forces, and prepared to repel the Buccaneers. "But what was Don Juan Perez de Guzman doing while Morgan was on his way up the Chagre, after capturing the high-mounted castle of San Lornezo? Masses were being said daily for the success of the Spanish Arms. The images of our lady of pure and immaculate conception were being carried in general procession, attended by all the religious fraternity of the cathedral. Always the most holy sacrament was left uncovered and exposed to public view. Oaths were being taken with much pious fervor in the presence of the sacred effigies, and all the president's relics and jewelry, including a diamond ring worth forty thousand pesos, were laid on the altars of the holy virgin and of the saints, who held in their special keeping the welfare of Panamá." (Bancroft).

Early in the morning, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the Buccaneers advanced in orderly array towards the city. They marched under the English flag, and Morgan held his commission from the Governor and Council of Jamaica,

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so their status was that of privateers operating on land, or authorized guerrillas.

By the advice of his guide, Morgan did not follow the main road, but took another way that went through the woods. Very often the Buccaneers were indebted to the Indians for the success of their enterprises, and this guide was probably that Indian who was brought from St. Catherine. This flanking movement disarranged the Spanish plan of battle, so that they were forced to leave their batteries and ambuscades which commanded the Camino Real, and form upon the plain. The Governor, therefore, drew up his men in battle array on the Savana in front of the city.

The Spanish forces consisted of two squadrons of horse, amounting to four hundred men; twenty-four companies of foot, of one hundred men each; and "sixty Indians and some negroes." Morgan mustered about twelve hundred men for the attack. "The Pirates being now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the city and campaign country underneath." This hill afterwards came to be known as "*El Cerro de Avance*" (the Hill of the Advance). When they saw the large Spanish force drawn up to receive them, they were filled with fear. They knew no quarter could be expected, and there were few or none but what wished themselves at home. The Spanish army was not made up simply of merchants, planters and servants, but contained, besides, many regular troops; veterans of the wars in Flanders, Sicily, and other countries of Europe.

The Buccaneers moved down the hill in three bodies, the battalion of *boucaniers* being in the van. "The next Morning being the eighteenth, our Admiral gave out very early his Orders, To draw out his Men in Battalia; which was accordingly performed, and they were drawn up in form of a Tertia. The Vanguard, which was led by Lieutenant Colonel Prince, and Major John Morris, was in number three hundred Men. The main body, containing fix hundred Men, the right Wing thereof was led by the Admiral, and the Left by Colonel Edward Collyer. The Reregard, confisting of three hundred Men, was commanded by Colonel Bleary Morgan." At the same time the Spanish horsemen, commanded by Don Francisco de Haro, advanced on prancing steeds (400 gennets, says one writer), shouting *Viva El Rey* [Long Live the King!] The fine marksmanship of the cattle-hunters largely determined the success of the Buccaneers. The *boucaniers*, comprising the advance battalion of the Buccaneers, dropped on one knee, took deliber-

*The Battle Between the
Spaniards and the pirates or
Buccaniers before the City of
PANAMA. Part. 3 : Chap. 6.*



From Exquemelin, *Buccaniers of America*, 1684.

BATTLE OF OLD PANAMA.

This old copper-plate represents the city already in flames before the entry of the Buccaneers.

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ate aim with their long, clumsy muskets, and rapidly emptied the Spanish saddles. The gallant Don Francisco reformed his troop, but fell while leading the charge. All authorities agree that the Spanish cavalry behaved splendidly. No doubt, they included most of the gentry of the Isthmus, descendants of the Conquistadores; excellent horsemen, and superbly mounted.

Though the dry season was well advanced, the heavy rain of two nights before had made the plain soft under foot and full of quags, so that the cavalry could not maneuver and wheel as they desired. The Spanish infantry endeavored to support their cavalry, but, by chance or design, the Buccaneers were so placed that a morass protected them from attack except from the front.

After the horse had been nearly annihilated and repulsed by the Buccaneers, the foot came forward, but met such a furious reception that they never came to handstrokes. Failing likewise with their infantry to overcome the enemy, the Spaniards thought to break their ranks and rout the Buccaneers by over-riding them with a lot of wild cattle. From either flank, a thousand wild bulls in charge of 50 vaqueros, Indians, and negroes, were driven toward the Buccaneers, with the intent, like the elephants of Pyrrhus, to disorganize the foe. Instead of shooting the cattle, Colonel Morgan ordered his men to shoot the cowboys; and the bulls were soon out of control, and stampeded in every direction but towards the Buccaneers. A few half-crazed bulls, excited by the noise and carnage, were attracted by the English colors and charged the standards, goring them into shreds.

The Buccaneers then followed up their advantage, and the Spaniards, thoroughly disheartened, threw down their arms and fled in every direction. The Governor, Don Juan, seeing the left wing under Don Alonso Alcantete giving way, placed himself at the head of the right wing, shouting—according to his own story—"Come along Boys, there is no other remedy now but to Conquer or Die; Follow me!"

He further states that he soon found himself alone, deserted by all his troops. A priest of the great church, called Juan de Dios, came up and persuaded him it was not like a Christian to remain out there all alone and be killed; so he returned to the city, giving thanks to the Blessed Virgin who had brought him off safe from amidst so many thousand bullets.

Many of the Spaniards who hid in the woods, and among the bushes along the seashore, were captured and killed by the

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Buccaneers. A few Franciscan friars who remained on the battle field to minister to the dying, were brought before Morgan, who ordered them pistolled. Some Spaniards were held as prisoners, including a captain who told Morgan that the city had defences, and its streets were barricadoed with 32 brass guns.

Morgan reviewed his men, and found his losses in killed and wounded very heavy. It was estimated that six hundred Spaniards lay dead on the field. The fight had lasted two hours, and left the Buccaneers victorious on the plain; but the city yet remained to be taken.

Second Stage—The Buccaneers Take The City.

After giving his men a short rest, Morgan proceeded to attack the city. Instead of being depressed by their losses, the Buccaneers were filled with pride that they had overcome such a large body of troops, and renewed their oaths to each other that they would fight till never a man was left alive.

Old Panama was the first settlement by white men on the Pacific coast of the New World, and one of the largest and wealthiest cities of all the Americas. The city was really started by Gaspar de Espinosa, in 1517; but two years later, in 1519, Governor Pedro Arias de Avila—who stole everything he could get hold of—moved over from Antigua on the north coast and appropriated the honor of founding Panama. The name of the fishing hamlet *Panama* (meaning “abounding in fish”), which preceded it, was retained. The streets were laid out in regular form about the Plaza Mayor according to the cardinal points, “so that when the sun rises no one can walk in any of the streets, because there is no shade whatever; and this is felt very much as the heat is intense; and the sun is so prejudicial to health, that if a man is exposed to its rays for a few hours, he will be attacked with a fatal illness, and this has happened to many.”

Panama Viejo was built on a rectangular point of land, bordered by low rocky bluffs, which projects into the bay. The sea surrounds it on three sides, and at high tide waters a slough or morass on the landward side, at the mouth of the Rio Algaroba, to cross which the Spaniards had constructed a causeway and stone bridge. The viaduct is yet used by the infrequent visitor to the old ruins, and the South Sea still ebbs and flows beneath the archway over which the pack trains carried the

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wealth of an empire, and across which rushed the Buccaneers to sack the city. These structures, with the old cathedral tower and foundation ruins covered with jungle, are the only visible evidences of former habitation.

At the time of its destruction, the city comprised about seven thousand houses and shacks, and contained in the neighborhood of thirty thousand inhabitants; nearly as populous as the Panama of today, five miles to the westward. It had a large transit trade in the silks, linens, spices and drugs of the East Indies; and received the produce of the west coast from Acapulco, in Mexico, to Lima, in Peru; and furnished those parts with flour, wine, iron, and utensils from Europe. The adjoining waters are shallow, and vessels could come in close to the city, to load and unload, only during high water. At full moon the waves frequently entered the houses in the low part of the town.

The richest commodities were the silver and gold from the Peruvian and other mines, and pearls from the islands in the gulf of Panama. In its prime, Panama Viejo was the greatest mart for gold and silver in the whole world. The great Cathedral of San Gerónimo⁴ and other churches were adorned with massive silver railings and candelabra, golden plate and chalices, and jewelled vestments. Many private houses were of two stories and constructed of cedar or stone. Two hundred residences, belonging to the rich officials and merchant princes, were of European elegance, finely furnished, with rich carvings and rare paintings. The wealthy had villas and gardens in the savannahs, like the same class of Panamanians of today.

Most writers, following Exquemelin and Burney, state that Panama lay open and accessible to plain fighting, because it did not have the defence of walls and regular fortifications. This misrepresents and belittles the strength of the city; for on account of its protection by the sea, and large population, Panama was really a formidable place to capture.

Since the days of Drake and Cavendish, no foe had menaced Spain in the South Sea, and the only probable route for an enemy to approach was by the slow and dangerous march across the Isthmus, or up the Chagres river. This gave the Spaniards plenty of time in which to prepare to repel the

⁴ San Francisco, according to the letter of Governor Guzman. Confusion has arisen among English writers from translating *iglesia mayor* as necessarily meaning the cathedral church. See note 20, chap. I.

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invasion. That the people of Panama failed in this instance is to be ascribed to their over-confidence, the incompetence of the Governor and other officers, and to too great reliance on masses and religious processions.

Authorities agree that it took three more hours for the Buccaneers to get possession of the city, but differ as to the amount of resistance offered by the Spaniards. As the Buccaneers advanced, the city opened fire on them with her defenses. There appears to have been several batteries, one of which was so situated as to command the road over the causeway. Details of the fight are wanting. The Buccaneers rushed over the bridge and took the gate-house, and fort nearby. Another party probably entered the town by the low ground to the north. Trenches had been dug across the streets and barricades constructed, which had to be approached carefully, and carried. The batteries had been so placed as to command the main approaches, while the musket-men fired from the upper windows.

The last stand was made in the Great Plaza, where the Spaniards fired their battery and killed four Buccaneers, and wounded five more. The Governor caused his chiefest fort to be blown up, which was done in such haste that it carried with it forty of his best soldiers.

The Governor in his report, writes: "After this I endeavored with all my industry to persuade the Souldiers to turn and face our Enemies, but it was impossible; so that nothing hindering them, they entered the City, to which the Slaves and Owners of the Houfes had put Fire, and being all of Boards and Timber, 'twas most of it quickly burnt, except the Audiencia, the Governor's Houfe, the Convent of the Mercedes, San Joseph, the Suburbs of Malambo, and Pierde Vidas, at which they say the Enemy fretted very much for being disappointed of their Plunder. And because they had brought with them an English Man, whom they called The Prince, with intent there to Crown him King of the Terra Firma."

According to Captain Sharp's narrative, the Buccaneers had five killed and ten wounded while entering the city. He gives the Spanish loss as four hundred men, which would indicate that no quarter was given. The Governor, with most of the people who had not already departed, managed to escape from the city, but some of the populace still remained.

Henry Morgan had made good his boast, uttered at Porto

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Bello two years before, to call upon the President of Panama, and with small arms take his city.

The Spaniards did not defend their city with the energy and desperation to be expected of people protecting their homes. Had they fought with half the spirit and bravery exhibited by the garrison at San Lorenzo, the Buccaneers might have reached the city, but there would have been few left to rejoin their companions at Chagre. It seems that the authorities of Panama had planned to exterminate the Buccaneers in the Sabanas in front of the city. "A la savana" was the taunting cry from Chagre to Panama. When this failed, and their best troops, the Spanish cavaliers, were nearly annihilated, the defenders were thoroughly disheartened.

The Spaniards first blundered in not harassing the Buccaneers while toiling up the Chagres, and passing through the hills between Cruces and Panama; and again, when they fought upon the plain, instead of making a defensive fight from behind stone walls and barricades. The Buccaneers had no artillery, a fact of which the Spaniards were well aware. Every church, and each of the eight convents, the Audiencia, the Royal stables where the *recuas* were kept, the palace of the Genoese, and many private houses and places of business were thick-walled and barred, and capable of effective defence. I have gathered the impression that the Spanish foot was poorly armed; but that was only another reason for not opposing well-armed and skillful warriors in the open.

When the Buccaneers came into complete possession of the city, which was not later than three o'clock in the afternoon, fires were discovered in a number of places, and by midnight most of Panama was consumed. Two churches, and three hundred houses in the suburbs, were saved. Spaniards have always claimed that Panama was secretly fired by order of Morgan. The pirate-chronicler, Exquemelin, and also von Archenholtz, confirm this charge. On the other hand, Morgan himself, and English writers generally, say the Spaniards burnt their city; and English official papers substantiate their assertions.

After considerable reading and study of the case, I can find no reason why Morgan should burn the city before he had a chance to pillage, and hold it a time for ransom, as was the custom. Henry Morgan was that rare bird, a thrifty Buccaneer. He knew of the pending treaty between England and Spain, saw that piracy was doomed, and determined to make

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his fortune, at any hazard, as soon as possible, and get out of the business. His men needed the shelter and protection of the houses, and the provisions therein, and it is not likely that Morgan would wantonly destroy a probable source of revenue. Had the burning occurred as the Buccaneers departed from Panama, and with the present data, everyone would believe Morgan guilty. As it is, I do not believe that Morgan or his men fired Panama. It is just possible that the statement of the Governor is true, and that the Spaniards credited the report about a young Englishman, and fired their houses with their own hands, rather than see an English Prince crowned King of Tierra Firme in the Spanish capital of the South Sea.

My opinion is, that Old Panama was set on fire, in the confusion of the moment, by Indian and African slaves, both of whom held racial and personal reasons for avenging themselves upon their Spanish masters. Anyhow, it was not the wish of the mass of the Buccaneers to see their loot destroyed before they had a chance to plunder, so they assisted the remaining citizens in trying to extinguish the fire by blowing up houses with gunpowder, and tearing down others. Panama burnt for days; and a month later, when the Buccaneers took their departure, the ruins were still smouldering. Some negro slaves are reported to have lost their lives during the fire, probably from being locked up. When they saw that the city was doomed, guards were placed, and the men withdrew to the sabanas and rested. At night-fall they re-entered the desolated city, and sought lodging in such houses as were not destroyed. The wounded were placed in one of the churches which had escaped the flames.

After taking a town, the first instinct of the Buccaneers was to get drunk quickly. Many times they lost valuable booty by first seeking the wine cellars. At Panama, one of the first acts of Morgan was to forbid his men drinking any wine, telling them that he had received warning that it had all been poisoned. "This dexterous falsehood produced the desired effect; and for the first time the Free-booters were temperate." (von Archenholtz). This was no needless precaution, as parties of Spaniards were still hovering in the Sabanas, and might rally their forces at any time, and catch the Buccaneers in a drunken stupor.

When the Buccaneers appeared before Panama, many of the citizens placed themselves and valuables aboard vessels in the bay, and awaited the result of the battle. The evening the city

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was taken, a bark which had delayed her departure for the turn of the tide, fell into the hands of the Buccaneers. Morgan placed twenty-five men on her, under command of Captain Searles, with orders to cruise about the bay. The next day they landed on Taboga, and in the evening captured a party of mariners who were getting water for a ship that was lying on the other side of the island. His men also found some wine in a gentleman's country house, and proceeded to get drunk in regulation pirate style. Captain Searles feared to attack the Spanish ship with his befuddled crew, so waited till morning.

The Spanish commander, Don Francisco de Peralta, becoming alarmed at the prolonged absence of his men, slipped away during the night. The next day the Buccaneers had the chagrin of learning that the Spanish vessel was the "*Trinidad*" of four hundred tons, carrying bullion for ballast, and having on board the old gentlemen and matrons of Panama, with friars and nuns, to the number of fifteen hundred; together with their most precious valuables, and church ornaments and jewels. The *Trinidad* contained one of the richest cargoes ever floated, being comparable in value to the *Cacafuego*, *Madre de Dios*, and *Santa Anna*. Hard luck seems to have followed Captain Searles, for a few years later we read of him cutting log-wood in the lagoons of Campechy, where he was killed by one of his company.

The *Trinidad* (Trinity) was an old half-rigged galleon, having no sails but topsails on the mainmast, and deeply laden. She was poorly manned, and armed only with seven small guns, and a dozen muskets. When Morgan heard of this rich prize almost within his grasp, he manned four barks and sent them out to look for her. They searched about the Gulf of Panama for eight days, but heard no more of the treasure-ship. They picked up a few small prizes, and returning to Taboga, captured a good ship lately come from Payta, containing provisions and twenty thousand pieces-of-eight. It is stated that the church-plate and jewelled vestments belonging to the great cathedral were hidden on Taboga, and that to this day their hiding place remains undiscovered.

At the same time, Morgan sent a convoy of one hundred and fifty men back to Chagre with the news of his victory; and parties, of two hundred each, to scour the savannahs and hills for twenty leagues around, to look for loot and bring in prisoners of both sexes. These detachments divided and weakened

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his forces, and gave the Spaniards another opportunity to take the Buccaneers at a disadvantage, and whip them piecemeal.

As the ashes of Panama cooled, the Buccaneers searched the ruins for gold and silver. They also found money and jewelry hidden in the wells and cisterns. Two hundred prisoners, of both sexes, were subjected to fiendish and exquisite tortures to make them disclose the hiding place of their own or their neighbors' valuables. Several warehouses well stocked with all sorts of goods escaped the conflagration. One poor wretch, a simpleton, servant to a wealthy gentleman, took advantage of the occasion to discard his rags and don his master's finery. The Buccaneers found him strutting around with a silver key suspended from his belt. They asked where his wealth was concealed, and refused to believe him when he showed them his ragged clothes. They put him upon the rack, wherewith they disjoined his arms, twisted a cord about his head till his eyes bulged out, singed his beard, and cut off his nose and ears; but still no confession. When so nearly dead that he could no longer lament his misery, a slave was ordered to run him through with a lance.

Beautiful woman has ever adorned, if she did not instigate, most of the notable events in the history of the world. The woman who graces the tragedy of Old Panama loses nothing by comparison with other famous females. "Her years were but few, and her beauty so great as peradventure I may doubt whether in all Europe any could be found to surpass her perfections either of comeliness or honesty." Her name, I regret to state, has been lost, but we know that she was a lady of quality, the young wife of a wealthy merchant then on a business trip to Peru. She was taken prisoner on Taboga, whither she had fled from Panama, and was brought before Morgan, who fixed her ransom and exemption from indignity at thirty thousand pesos. Her charms inflamed the passion of the Buccaneer commander, and he sought to win her favor by kindness and gentle treatment. He housed her in the best quarters remaining unburnt, assigned slave girls in attendance, and showered her with pearls and jewelry filched from her own countrywomen. She had heard much of the fierceness and cruelty of the pirates, but when she found herself treated well, and heard frequent mention of the name of God and of Jesus Christ by the cursing Buccaneers, she began to have better thoughts of them. Morgan soon undeceived her by disclosing his design; when she replied: "Sir, my life is in your hands; but as to

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my body, in relation to that which you would persuade me to, my soul shall sooner be separated from it, through the violence of your arms, than I shall condescend to your request." Morgan then had her stripped of her finery and confined in a dark cellar, and fed upon miserable fare. Tiring of her chastity, he attempted force; but faced a desperate woman who preferred death to ravishment. "Stop," she cried, "Thinkest thou then that thou canst ravish my honor from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die, and be revenged." Saying which, she drew a poniard from beneath her gown, and would have plunged it into his heart, had he not avoided the blow. Her treatment by Morgan, who was never popular, excited the remonstrance of his men; and it was probably only the fear of them which preserved the woman inviolate.

In contrast to this, we have the story of a woman of weak understanding, who had been told that Pirates were not like ordinary men,⁵ but were monstrous beasts, "who did neither invoke the blessed Trinity, nor believe in Jesus Christ." After an experience with them, she exclaimed: "Oh Holy Mary! These thieves be just like us Spaniards in every respect." There is no doubt but that the women were brutally assaulted; but this again is denied by some English writers, who claim that no woman was forced against her will.

In a couple of weeks the convoy returned from Chagre, leaving their canoes at Venta Cruz. They brought the pleasing news that the garrison of San Lorenzo had not been idle, but had lured a rich ship from Cartagena into port by raising the Spanish colors over the castle. The vessel carried several chests of emeralds, and a lot of provisions much needed by the garrison.

The Buccaneers remained nearly a month in Panama, during which time as many as three thousand prisoners are said to have been gathered in. Probably this is an exaggeration. Many were put to the torture, while others ransomed themselves as

⁵ They say some Spanish *padres* told the people that the Buccaneers were not even of human form, and that they ate women and children. Raveneau de Lussan, on another occasion, relates how a Spanish lady implored him, "Señor, for the love of God do not eat me." According to his own story, Lussan was entirely successful in disabusing the lady's mind of her false belief as to his human nature. Similar tales were circulated, in 1898-1900, in the Philippines concerning the American soldiers; and the Americanos succeeded equally well with the Filipinas in removing their delusions.

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soon as they could communicate with friends. A number of small vessels were seized, and the Buccaneers became fond of cruising about the Gulf of Panama. The exploits of the Elizabethan Seamen in the Pacific were recalled, and Morgan's daring spirits saw the possibilities awaiting them in the South Sea; particularly in the direction of Peru, from whence came the plate-ships. Several of his Captains planned to leave Morgan, and carried provisions and arms aboard ship for that purpose.

It is doubtful whether, as often stated, this was mutinous conduct, as officers and men among the Buccaneers were at liberty to leave when the dangers of an expedition were past. The movement was becoming popular, so that soon they would be strong enough to demand division of the spoils before leaving Panama. This would materially interfere with Morgan's scheme for making away with the major portion of the loot. Accordingly, he chopped down the masts and burnt the vessels in the bay. There were also rumors that the Governor was forming another army to ambuscade the Buccaneers on their return, so Morgan thought it about time to be leaving Panama.

Before relating his departure, let us take our leave of Don Juan Perez de Guzman. After being driven out of Panama, he writes: "After this misfortune, I gave order to all the People I met, that they should stay for me at *Nata*, for there I intended to form the Body of an Army, once more to encounter the English. But when I came to that City, I found not one Soul therein, for all were fled to the Mountains." He then very truly adds: "This Sir, has been a Chastisement from Heaven, and the same might have happened to that great Captain Gonsalo Fernando de Cordova, as did to me, if his Men had deserted him, for one Man alone can do little." In spite of this explanatory letter, the Governor was deposed from office and carried prisoner to Lima, by order of the Vice-roy of Peru. He was succeeded by D. Antonio Fernandez de Cordoba, who was commissioned to rebuild the city on a better site. He died, however, in 1673, without having made the translocation; and was replaced by D. Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, who, in 1674, laid the foundations of the new city, the present Panama, on a point of land at the foot of Ancon Hill, about five miles west of Panama Viejo.

Having plundered every hamlet, *estancia*, and shack, for leagues around, Morgan gathered together pack animals and prepared to leave Panama. February 14th (according to Exquemelin, the 24th), 1671, the Buccaneers departed from the

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desolate and still smouldering city, with six hundred prisoners, including men, women, children and slaves; and one hundred and seventy-five animals laden with loot. Fearing ambuscades, they marched in good order, with van and rear guard, and the prisoners in a hollow square in the center. It was money and not prisoners that Morgan wanted, so he half-starved his captives, and made their lot as miserable as possible, so that they would make greater efforts to seek for ransom; otherwise they would be taken to Jamaica and sold into servitude.

The beautiful lady of quality, before mentioned, was especially guarded by a Buccaneer on either side. She lamented her unhappy fate, and told of authorizing two priests to obtain her ransom. They got the money all right, but applied it to ransoming their own friends. A slave brought a letter telling of their perfidy, and the two priests, who were still prisoners, acknowledged their treachery. Finding her story true, Morgan ordered the woman and her parents to be set at liberty. This is the only apparent generous act that I can find in the entire life of Morgan, and I am inclined to believe that it was induced by the sympathy of his men for the unfortunate lady. This is the last we hear of this admirable woman. Should the people of the Isthmus ever require a model of Beauty and Loveliness, Constancy and Chastity, they need seek no farther than the Beautiful Lady of Old Panama. I know that you will be sorry to hear that those two false priests were ransomed, a few days later, while Morgan tarried at Venta Cruz.

The caravan wended its way up through the foot-hills, and after a last view of Panama and the South Sea, crossed over the divide into the valley of the Chagres, and reached Cruces the next day, February fifteenth. The Buccaneers rested three days at Cruces, waiting for ransoms, and collecting maize and rice. Another account says that they remained here until February twenty-fourth. They then loaded the canoes with the stores, and started down the river, reaching Chagre (the modern Chagres) on the twenty-sixth. Half way to San Lorenzo they made a landing, and Morgan had every man searched for valuables, setting the example himself. One out of each company was assigned to search the rest, and so thoroughly was this done that even the muskets were taken apart to see that no precious stones were concealed therein. This caused much dissatisfaction, especially among the French *flibustiers*.

At San Lorenzo they found all in good shape, except that most of the wounded left behind had died. The plunder was

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then divided. The spoils of the Panama expedition have been reckoned at several millions, but instead of receiving two or three thousand dollars per man, as they expected, each share amounted to but two hundred pieces-of-eight (two hundred silver dollars). This filled them with chagrin, and anger at their leader. Many of the Buccaneers, including some of the English, did not hesitate to tell Morgan to his face that he had reserved the best jewels for himself.

Morgan sent some of the Spanish prisoners taken at St. Catherine as messengers to Puerto Bello, informing the authorities there that he would destroy the castle of San Lorenzo, if they did not redeem it. Puerto Bello declined to ransom San Lorenzo; so Morgan took the guns aboard his ships, and set his men to work demolishing the fort.

Discontent was growing among the Buccaneers, and Morgan himself was too rich a prize to remain longer with his mutinous crew; so about March 6th he went aboard his ship at night, and sailed away with his English favorites, in three or four vessels, for Jamaica. As Captain Burney truly says, "Morgan was a great rogue, and little respected the old proverb of honor among thieves." Morgan was followed because he was successful; obeyed because he was feared; but never liked or respected by his men.

The French, Dutch and other nationalities left behind at Chagre, fumed in impotent rage, and started to sail after the Englishmen to fight for their share of the booty; but it was found that the remaining ships were the poorest in the fleet, and the plan was abandoned. They then broke up and dispersed. Some went to Honduras and Campeche to cut log-wood, always keeping their weather eye open for a chance to plunder. One party went to Cuba and sacked the Town of the Keys. Our friend, Exquemelin, as his name would indicate, was one of those left in the lurch by Morgan. He accompanied another party of the Buccaneers that went up to *Boca del Toro* (Chiriqui Lagoon), where they lived on turtle, "the pleasantest meat in the world." We next hear of Exquemelin crossing the Isthmus in 1680, with captains Coxon, Sharp, Sawkins, and others, and taking part in the fights before the new Panama.

Morgan arrived safely at Port Royal, and the Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, collected the Government's share of the spoils of Panama. Morgan then applied himself to recruiting for his settlement on Santa Catalina, but was compelled to desist by the hostile attitude of his government.

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The "Treaty of America," abolishing hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, had been signed at Madrid in July, 1670, and England was experiencing one of her ephemeral outbursts of virtue. The complaints of the Spanish Ambassador were now so effective that Modyford was arrested on the charge of "making war and committing depredations and acts of hostilities upon the subjects and territories of the King of Spain in America, contrary to his Majesty's express order and command." He was taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower. A few months afterwards, in 1672, Morgan was also carried prisoner to England for his connection with buccaneering.

Their arrest was of short duration, and Morgan rose rapidly in royal favor. With a goodly slice of his ill-gotten riches, and judicious presents to the King's favorite, Morgan was able to purchase knighthood from Charles II. John Evelyn notes in his diary: "20th October, 1674. At Lord Berkley's, I discoursed with Sir Thomas Modyford, late Governor of Jamaica, and with Colonel Morgan, who undertook that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios [an error] to Panama, on the continent of America; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They took great booty, and much greater had been taken, had they not been betrayed and so discovered before their approach, by which the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasures on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boats to follow. They set fire to Panama and ravaged the country for sixty miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercised, that they were afraid to fire a great gun."

This would seem to indicate that Morgan himself told Evelyn that he had fired Panama. As I said before, I do not believe that the Buccaneers burnt the city. It is likely that in later years Morgan and other Englishmen claimed credit for what came to be looked upon as a meritorious deed. Sir Henry returned to Jamaica in 1675, and led the life of a man of wealth and of affairs in the colony. Officially, he distinguished himself by his severity towards the Buccaneers who had formerly been his followers and the makers of his fortune.

The most accurate and condensed account of Henry Morgan is the article in "National Biography," by Laughton. For the period after his return from Panama, I quote freely: "At Jamaica Morgan received the formal thanks of the Governor and Council on the 31st of May. But meantime, on the 8th of July, 1670, that is, after the signing of Morgan's commission,

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a treaty concerning America had been concluded at Madrid, and although the publication of this treaty was only ordered to be made in America within eight months from 10th October (Cal. State Papers, A. and W. I., 31 Dec. 1670, p. 146), and though in May, 1671, Modyford had as yet no official knowledge of it (ib. No. 531), he was sent home a prisoner in the summer of 1671, to answer for his support of the buccaneers; and in April, 1672, Morgan was also sent to England in the *Welcome* frigate (ib. No. 794). His disgrace, however, was short. By the summer of 1674 he was reported as in high favor with the King (ib. No. 623), and a few months later he was granted a commission, with the style of Colonel Henry Morgan, to be lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, 'his Majesty,' so it ran, 'reposing particular confidence in his loyalty, prudence and courage, and long experience of that colony.' (ib. Nov. 6, 1674, No. 1379). He sailed from England in company with Lord Vaughn early in December, having previously, probably in November, been knighted.

His voyage out was unfortunate. 'In the Downs,' wrote Vaughn from Jamaica, on 23 May, 1675, 'I gave him orders in writing to keep me company. * * * However, he, coveting to be here before me, wilfully lost me, and sailed directly for Isle de la Vache, where, through his folly, his ship was wrecked, and the stores which he had on board were lost. (Dartmouth MSS., Hist. MSS Comm. 11th Rep. pt. V. p. 25; cf. Bridge, *Annals of Jamaica*, i. 273).

For the rest of his life Morgan appears to have remained in Jamaica, a man of wealth and position, taking an active part in the affairs of the colony as lieutenant-governor, senior member of the Council, and commander-in-chief of the forces. When Lord Vaughn was recalled, pending the arrival of the Earl of Carlisle, Morgan was for a few months acting-governor; and again on Carlisle's return in 1680, till in 1682 he was relieved by Sir Thomas Lynch. "His inclination," said the Speaker in a formal address to the Assembly on 21st July, 1688, "carried him on vigorously to his Majesty's service and this island's interest. His study and care was that there might be no murmuring, no complaining in our streets, no man in his property injured, or of his liberty restrained." (*Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica*, i. 121)."

Some time after 1665, Morgan married his first cousin, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of that Colonel Edward Morgan who died at St. Eustatius. Henry Morgan died in 1688, without issue,

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and was buried in St. Catherine's church, Port Royal, on the 26th day of August. Lady Morgan lived until 1696, when the fortune went to Charles Bundless, or Byndlos, the son of her eldest sister, conditionally on his taking the name of Morgan.

Letter of Don *Alonso del Campo* and *Espinosa*, Admiral of the Spanish Fleet, unto Captain *Morgan*, Commander of the Pirates.

"Having understood by all our Friends and Neighbours, the unexpected news, that you have dared to attempt and commit Hostilities in the Countries, Cities, Towns, and Villages belonging unto the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty, my foveraign Lord and Master; I let you understand by these lines, that I am come unto this place, according to my obligation, nigh unto that Cattle which you took out of the hands of a parcel of Cowards; where I have put things into a very good posture of defence, and mounted again the Artillery which you had nailed and dismounted. My intent is to dispute with you your passage out of the Lake, and follow and pursue you every-where, to the end you may see the performance of my duty. Notwithstanding if you be contented to surrender with humility all that you have taken, together with the Slaves and all other prisoners, I will let you freely pass, without trouble or molestation; upon condition that you retire home presently unto your own country. But in case that you make any resistance or opposition unto these things that I proffer unto you, I do assure you I will command Boats to come from Caracas, wherein I will put my Troops, and coming to Maracaibo, will cause you utterly to perish, by putting you every man to the sword. This is my last and absolute resolution. Be prudent therefore, and do not abuse my Bounty with Ingratitude. I have with me very good Souldiers, who desire nothing more ardently, than to revenge on you and your People, all the cruelties and base infamous actions you have committed upon the Spanish Nation in America. Dated on board the Royal Ship named the *Magdalen*, lying at anchor at the entry of the Lake of Maracaibo, this 24th day of April, 1669."

—Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE BUCCANEERS IN PANAMA BAY AND THE SOUTH SEA.

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
Our thoughts as boundless and our souls as free,
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our empire and behold our home!
These are our realms, no limits to their sway—
Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey.
Ours the wild life in tumult still to range
From toil to rest, and joy in every change."

Lord Byron.



THE sack of Old Panama by Henry Morgan called the attention of the Buccaneers to the feasibility of crossing the Isthmus, and the opportunities for plunder on the Pacific coast. During Morgan's stay in Panama, he had great difficulty, as we know, in preventing some of his men from seizing a ship, and sailing away on their own account. The invasion of the Isthmus by Buccaneers, the fall of San Lorenzo, and the capture of Portobello and Panama, showed how easy it was to open the "Gateway" of the New World. The king of Spain became alarmed, and ordered that Panama be rebuilt on a better site; and that the forts at Portobello, and the castle at the mouth of the Chagre, be repaired and strengthened.

In 1674, Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta established the present city of Panama on a rocky peninsula at the foot of Ancon Hill, eight kilometers two hundred and sixty meters southwest of the old city. The new location was easier to defend, but not so advantageous commercially by reason of the reefs, which prevented vessels coming up to the city, except at high tide. The streets of *New Panama* were laid out at right-angles about a central plaza. The city was surrounded by a wall from twenty to forty feet high, and ten feet wide, with bastions and watch-towers every two or three hundred feet. A moat separated the city from the mainland, and access was

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gained through three massive gateways. So expensive were the fortifications of the new city that the council in Spain, auditing the accounts, wrote to inquire whether the walls were constructed of silver or of gold.

In 1673, Thomas Peche, an English privateer, sailed into the South Sea; and in 1675, strange ships were reported off the coast of Chili. The viceroy of Peru sent Don Antonio de Veá in a ship to reconnoitre, and he went as far as the west entrance of the Strait of Magellan, but found no intruders. One of his tenders, with a crew of sixteen men, was wrecked on the small islands called Evangelists, at the mouth of the strait; De Veá returning to Callao in 1676.

The first to follow Morgan in raiding the Isthmus were the French. In 1675, Captain La Sound, with a hundred and twenty filibustiers, was guided to the town of *Chepo* by some Darien Indians¹; but the Sargento Mayor D. Alonso de Alcaudate, with the assistance of the inhabitants, repulsed them with energy. In 1678, another French expedition, commanded by Captain Bournano succeeded in taking *Chepo*, and plundered the town. The Indians offered to conduct the French to a place called *Tocamoro*, where they said the Spaniards had much gold; but Bournano thought his force too small, promising to come again better prepared.

In 1679, as we already know, the crews of two English and one French vessel united in an attack on Portobello. They landed two hundred men at such a distance from the town that it required three nights marching to reach it; for during the day they lay concealed in the woods. When near Portobello they were discovered by a negro, who ran ahead to give the alarm, but the buccaneers followed so closely that they got possession of the town before the people could prepare for defence. Not knowing the smallness of their force, the inhabitants all fled. The buccaneers spent two days and nights in Portobello, collecting plunder, and in constant apprehension that the Spaniards would return in force and attack them. However, they got back to their ships unmolested, and shared 160 pieces-of-eight to each man.

This same year, William Dampier, the famous navigator, naturalist, and buccaneer, returned to Jamaica, and started out on a trading voyage with Mr. Hobby to the Mosquito shore. Soon after leaving Port Royal, the ship anchored in a bay in the western end of the island, where were Captains Coxon,

¹ As usual, the white man required the help of the natives.

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Sawkins, Sharp, and other "privateers." Mr. Hobby's crew deserted to the buccaneers, and with them went Dampier. From here, the buccaneers went to Boca del Toro, where there were plenty of fat turtles; and then assembled with some French ships at the *Samballas*, or Isles of San Blas, near the coast of Darien. It was their intent, on the report made by Captain Bournano, to go against "a very rich place named Tocamora." The Indians of Darien,² on whom the buccaneers depended for aid, now disapproved the project of going to Tocamora, and advised an attempt on the city of Panama; offering to guide them. The English were willing, but the French objected to the length of the march, and the two nationalities separated; the English buccaneers going to Golden Island (*Isla de Oro*), "which is the most eastern of the *Samballas*, if not more properly to be said to the eastward of all the *Samballas*."³

Panama was considered too great an undertaking without the assistance of the French; but the English were bent on crossing the Isthmus, and, at the suggestion of the Indians, they decided to make a raid on a town called *Santa Maria*,⁴ situated on the banks of a river that ran into the gulf of San Miguel. This place was simply a gold collecting station, and was guarded by a detachment of Spanish troops.

The buccaneer forces engaged in this expedition were the following:

	Guns.	Men.	
A vessel of	8	and 97	commanded by John Coxon.
" "	25	" 107	" Peter Harris.
" "	1	" 35	" Richard Sawkins.
" "	2	" 40	" Bart. Sharp.
" "	0	" 43	" Edmond Cook.
" "	0	" 24	" Robert Alleston.
" "	0	" 20	" — Macket.

The last two captains, Alleston and Macket, with thirty-five men, including themselves, were left to guard the seven vessels

² Dampier says that the foundation of the friendship of the Dariens for the English was laid by Captain Wright, who, in 1665, off the *Samballas*, captured an Indian lad, whom he named John Gret. Wright treated the boy well, and convinced his tribe that the English hated the Spaniards.

³ Captain James Burney.

⁴ Real de Santa Maria.

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during the raid; which was not expected to be of long continuance. Chief Andrés,⁵ styled Emperor of Darien, agreed to furnish guides and supply subsistence during the march; payment being made in axes, hatchets, knives, needles, beads, and trinkets.

On the 5th of April,⁶ 1680,⁷ three hundred and thirty-one buccaneers, most of them Englishmen, passed over from Golden Island to the mainland; each man provided with four cakes of bread called dough-boys, with a fusil, a pistol, and a hanger. The crews⁸ marched under their several commanders, with distinguishing flags, Captain Bartholomew Sharp and his men taking the lead. Among the medical men was Lionel Wafer, surgeon's mate, who wrote such an interesting account of the Isthmus.⁹ Chiefs Andrés and Antonio had charge of the Darien allies; and there were also a few Mosquito Indians from about Cape Gracias á Dios, always faithful friends to the English, whose king they voluntarily acknowledged as their sovereign.

⁵ Written Andreas by the English.

⁶ Near the end of the dry season on the Isthmus.

⁷ A short time before this undertaking, Captain Coxon (with Dampier aboard), in company with several more privateers, captured some Spanish Packets about four leagues east of Portobel. "We open'd a great quantity of the Merchants Letters, and found the Contents of many of them to be very surprising, the Merchants of several parts of Old Spain thereby informing their Correspondents of Panama, and elsewhere, of a certain Prophecy that went about Spain that Year, the Tenour of which was, That there would be English Privateers that Year in the West Indies, who would make such great Discoveries, as to open a Door into the South Seas; which they supposed was fastest shut: And the Letters were accordingly full of Cautions to their Friends to be very watchful and careful of their Coasts. This Door they spoke of we all concluded must be the Passage over Land through the Country of the Indians of Darien, who were a little before this become our Friends, and had lately fallen out with the Spaniards."

⁸ "Our several companies that marched were distinguished as follows. First, Captain Bartholomew Sharp with his company had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons. The second division led by Captain Richard Sawkins, with his men had a red flag striped with yellow. The third and fourth, led by Captain Peter Harris, had two green flags, his company being divided into two several divisions. The fifth and sixth, led by Captain John Coxon, who had some of Alleston's and Mackett's men joined to his, made two divisions or companies, and had each of them a red flag. The seventh was led by Captain Edmund Cook with red colours striped with yellow, with a hand and sword for his device. All or most of them, were armed with fuzee, pistol, and hanger."—Exquemelin.

⁹ That gifted man, William Dampier, with Basil Ringrose, and Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin, were also in this expedition, and have left accounts of their adventures.

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The first day, the expedition marched through the skirt of a wood, then along a bay for a league, and afterwards about two leagues directly up a woody valley; which brought them to an Indian house and plantation by the side of a river. Some passed the night in the house, others built huts; the Indians cautioning them against sleeping in the grass, on account of adders. The stones in this river, when broken, shone with sparks of gold.²⁰ The Indians said these stones were washed down from the mountains during the rainy season. The first day's hike satisfied four of the buccaneers, and they backed out and returned to the ships.

The second day, April 6th, they started out at sunrise, and labored up a steep hill, which they surmounted about three in the afternoon; and at the foot, on the other side, the buccaneers rested on the bank of a river, which Capt. Andrés told them ran into the South Sea, and was the same by which Santa Maria was situated. They proceeded about six miles farther, over another steep hill, where the path was so narrow that seldom more than one man could pass at a time. At night they camped by the river, having marched this day about eighteen miles.

The next day, the party continued down the river, which ran with a swift current and serpentine course, which they had to cross almost at every half mile, sometimes only knee-deep, other times up to their middle. About noon they arrived at some large Indian houses, thatched over with palmito leaves, and the interior divided into rooms, but no upper storey. Before each house was a large plantain walk. Continuing their journey, at five in the afternoon they came to a house belonging to a son of Chief Andrés, who wore a wreath of gold about his head, for which he was dubbed by the buccaneers King Golden Cap (Bonete de Oro). The young chieftain entertained the party so well that they rested there the whole of the following day.

On the 9th of April, they resumed the march, accompanied by about two hundred Indians, armed with bows and arrows. They descended along the river, through which they had to wade fifty or sixty times. The buccaneers came to a house "only here and there"; at most of which the owner, who had been apprised of their coming, stood at the door and handed each man a ripe plantain, or some sweet cassava root. Here the Indians counted the white men by dropping a grain of corn for every one that went by. That night they lodged at three large houses, where entertainment was provided.

²⁰ Confer reports by the Caledonia colonists a few years later.

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The next morning, Captain Coxon and Captain Harris had some disagreement; and Coxon fired his fusil at Harris, but without effect. Harris was about to return the shot, when he was restrained by Captain Sharp and others. The river was now navigable, and fourteen canoes had been provided, each managed by two Indians. These could accommodate only seventy of the British, the rest continuing by land. Those in the canoes became as weary as those marching, for at almost every furlong they were compelled to carry their boats over rocks, fallen trees, and sometimes over necks of land. At night they stopped and built shelters for themselves on a green bank by the river's side, where some wild-fowl were shot.

The following day, being the 11th day of April, the canoes continued to descend the river, meeting with the same obstacles as on the preceding day, and at night camped on the shore. "Our supper entertainment was a very good sort of a wild beast called a "warre," which is much like to our English hog, and altogether as good. There are store of them in this part of the world: I observed that the navels of these animals grew upon their backs."¹¹ At night a "Tygre"¹² visited the camp, looked at them for some time, and then went away. The buccaneers refrained from shooting the animal lest the report of their muskets should alarm the Spaniards about Santa Maria. So far, the land party had not caught up with those in the canoes.

The next day, the water party continued down the same river, somewhat concerned about not hearing from their comrades on the land. Perceiving their anxiety, Captain Andrés sent back a canoe, which returned before sunset with some of the land party, and intelligence that the remainder were not far behind.

Early the next day, Tuesday the 13th, the buccaneers arrived at a beachy point of land; where another stream from the hills joined the river. This was a point of rendezvous for the Indians: and here the entire party rested and cleaned their

¹¹ A common, but erroneous observation by the early writers. The "navel," so-called, on the back of the animal is a fetid gland, which must be removed soon after killing it to prevent the meat becoming tainted.

¹² Properly speaking, there are no tigers in the western hemisphere. The *Jaguar* is called *tigre*, or tiger, all over Central America; and sometimes the natives apply the term *tigre* to other members of the *Felidae*, even to the *puma*, or lion. Within the limits of Panama are found two varieties of the jaguar, the spotted and the black (*el tigre pintado* and *el tigre negro*). The writer encountered a pair of beautiful black "tigres" in the mountains of the Isthmus.

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arms. Thus far the canoes had been carried down by the current, and guided with poles, but here the river was broad and deep, so they made paddles to navigate with.

On the 14th, buccaneers and Indians, nearly six hundred men in all, embarked in sixty-eight canoes provided by the natives, and at midnight made a landing within half a mile of Santa Maria. At daybreak of the 15th of April, they heard guns fired by the guard in the town, and a "drum beating *a travailler*." By seven o'clock the buccaneers were on the open ground in front of the fort, when the Spaniards began firing. The fort was formed simply of palisades, some of which the English pulled down and entered without difficulty. The Spaniards surrendered without much opposition; nevertheless, twenty-six were killed and sixteen wounded. After the fight, it seems that the Indians were left in charge of some of the Spaniards, whom they took out in the adjoining woods, and then proceeded to kill them with lances. Fortunately, they were discovered at this pastime by the buccaneers, else not a prisoner would have been left alive.¹³ The Governor and some others escaped down the river. Captain Sawkins and ten men pursued them in a canoe, hoping to prevent news of the buccaneers reaching Panama.

The Spaniards had received some notice of the coming of the buccaneers, and all they could pillage, either in the town or fort, amounted to but twenty pounds weight of gold and a little silver; whereas three days sooner, they would have found three hundred weight of gold in the fort. The buccaneers were much disappointed, and now wanted to try their luck in the South Sea, to seek compensation for their failure at Santa Maria. Captain Coxon and his crew were for returning to the North Sea; but joined the majority when Coxon was made general of the expedition. Most of the Darien Indians left for their homes, but Andrés and his son Golden Cap, with some warriors, continued with the English.

The buccaneers burnt the town, and on the 17th started down the Santa Maria river,¹⁴ which is the largest of several rivers which fall into the gulf of San Miguel. About thirty Spanish

¹³ A daughter of Chief Andrés had been stolen by a Spanish officer at Santa Maria, and was now found with child by him. This increased the natural enmity between the two races.

¹⁴ Abreast the town, the Santa Maria was reckoned to be twice as broad as the Thames at London; and the rise and fall of the tide was two and a half fathoms.

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prisoners entreated not to be left behind to fall victims to the Indians, and managed to construct rafts on which to follow the buccaneers. The Englishmen landed on a small island at the mouth of the river, where they found two women left by the fleeing governor. Basil Ringrose was tardy in getting away from Santa Maria, lost his way on the river, and was overturned in the gulf of San Miguel. He escaped to a little island, and later, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but was released for having saved the lives of some of the Santa Maria prisoners.

On the 19th of April, 1680, the buccaneers passed from the gulf of San Miguel into the gulf of Panama. The same day they all united at Plantain Island, where they captured a vessel of thirty tons, on which 130 of the party embarked. The buccaneers separated to seek provisions, agreeing to rendezvous at the island of *Chepillo*. Captain Sharp went to the King, or Pearl Island, in the bark hunting fresh water, but the rest met at *Chepillo*, at the entrance of the river *Chepo*, on the 22nd; and at four o'clock that same afternoon started towards *Panama* in canoes. On the morning of the 23rd, they came in sight of the new²⁸ city, and found eight vessels lying in the road.

The authorities at Panama knew that the buccaneers were in the bay, and had manned three ships with all the crews in the harbor, as well as with some of the land force. The flagship had a crew of 86 Biscayans, and was commanded by Jacinto de Barahona, high admiral of the South Sea; the second ship was manned by 77 negroes, and commanded by Francisco de Peralta; the third contained a crew of 65 mulattoes, under Diego de Carabajal. As soon as the buccaneers were descried, the three war vessels stood towards them. A desperate battle ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day. The wind was too light for the ships to maneuver to advantage, and the buccaneers in their canoes could so place themselves as to avoid the gun-fire of the Spanish. The flagship was captured, the admiral being killed in the attempt. Peralta fought his ship gallantly, and repulsed two efforts of Sawkins to board her. Several explosions of powder took place, and when Sawkins succeeded on the third attempt, the deck presented a horrible

²⁸ At this time (1680) New Panama was already built up, though its eight churches were not yet completed. The cathedral church at the old city was still in use, "the beautiful building whereof," says Ringrose, "maketh a fair show at a distance, like unto the church of St. Paul's at London."

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sight. "There was not a Man but was either killed, desperately wounded, or horribly burnt with Powder. Insomuch, that their Black Skins were turned White in several places, the Powder having torn it from their Flesh and Bones." The third ship was more easily secured.

Captain Sharp was still away in the bark with about one hundred men, so the number of buccaneers engaged in the fight was about 200, of whom 18 were killed, and above 30 wounded. Among the latter was Captain Peter Harris, who died two days later. They considered that Captain Sawkins had particularly distinguished himself; while many thought their commander, John Coxon, had shown backwardness in the fight. The Darien chiefs were in the heat of the combat. After the battle, the buccaneers went to the island of Perico, where the five other ships were found abandoned; the largest, called the *Santisima Trinidad*, of 400 tons, was burning. The English put out the fire, and used her as a hospital for the wounded, and later for cruising. In the other prizes were found ammunition, flour, and other provisions. Some of the stores, which the Spaniards refused to ransom, they destroyed. Among the islands they also captured some small vessels laden with poultry. Thus, within a week after entering the South Sea, the buccaneers had provided themselves with a fleet sufficient for their number, fairly well provisioned, with which they maintained a close blockade by sea of Panama.¹⁶

A few days after the battle with the Spanish *armadilla*, Captain Coxon, aggrieved at the reflections cast upon his behaviour during the fight, departed with about 70 adherents to return to the North Sea by the route they had come. He, of course, left his wounded, but carried off nearly all the medicines and the best doctor in the party. Captain Andrés and Captain Antonio, with most of the Dariens, departed at the same time; but chief Andrés left one son and a nephew with the buccaneers.

Richard Sawkins¹⁷ was now chosen general or commander. After remaining ten days before the city, they retired to the

¹⁶ When the Buccaneers first appeared before the new Panama, most of the garrison, consisting of 300 regular troops and a larger number of militia (said to have been 1100), were away; and the few remaining soldiers were put on the fleet. Had the Buccaneers attacked the city at this time, it probably would have fallen. A few cannon on the slope of Ancon Mountain would have commanded the town.

¹⁷ Sometimes confused with Capt. Richard Hawkins (son of Sir John Hawkins), captured by the Spaniards in the South Sea, and who passed through Panama.

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island of *Taboga*,¹⁸ more distant, but where they could better observe vessels leaving or approaching Panama. The buccaneers made some captures, securing 1200 packs of flour, 2000 jars of wine, brandy, sugar, merchandise, and between 50,000 and 60,000 dollars. At *Taboga* they were visited by the merchants of Panama, who bought some of the prize goods, and negro slaves at 200 pieces-of-eight a head. The governor of Panama sent a message demanding "why, during a time of peace between England and Spain, Englishmen should come into these seas to commit injury, and from whom they had their commissions so to do." Captain Sawkins replied that they had come "to assist their friend the King of Darien, who was the rightful Lord of Panama and all the country thereabouts"; that as yet all his company were not come together, but when they were come up, they would visit him at Panama and bring their "Commissions on the Muzzles of their Guns, at which time he should read them as plain as the Flame of Gunpowder could make them." Sawkins further added that, "as they had come so far, it was reasonable they should receive some satisfaction for their trouble; and if the governor would send to them 500 pieces of eight for each man, and 1000 for each commander, and would promise not any farther to annoy the Darien Indians, their allies, that then the buccaneers would desist from hostilities and go quietly about their business."

By the merchants who traded with them, Captain Sawkins learned that the bishop of Panama, the famous *Piedrahita*, was the person whom he had captured when in the West Indies, and sent him a gift as a token of regard; the bishop sending a gold ring in return. A rich ship was expected from Lima, and Sawkins wished to wait for her, but the men had consumed all the fresh food within reach, and wished to go elsewhere.

On the 15th of May, 1580, the buccaneers departed from *Taboga* and sailed to the island of *Otoque*, where they found hogs and poultry; and the same day, or the next, they left for the large island of *Quibo*; with the intention of attacking *Pueblo Nuevo*, on the mainland. The buccaneers were now in three ships and two small barks, when encountering rough seas and contrary winds, the two little vessels—one with fifteen men, the other with only seven—became separated from the ships.

¹⁸ "This *Taboga*," says Sharp, "is an exceeding pleasant island, abounding in fruits, such as pine-apples, oranges, lemons, pears, mamees, cocoa-nuts, and others; with a small, but brave, commodious fresh river running in it. The anchorage is also clear and good."



Photo by *Ishman Canal Commission.*

STREET IN VILLAGE OF TABOGA.

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The one with seven men was taken by the Spaniards, but the other reached the gulf of San Miguel, and recrossed the Isthmus with Captain Coxon.

Arriving at *Quibo* about the 21st, Captain Sawkins, with sixty men, went in the smallest ship to the entrance of the river which leads to the town.¹⁹ From the north shore of *Quibo* to *Pueblo Nuevo* was reckoned eight leagues. At the mouth of the river, the commander proceeded in canoes, using a negro prisoner for pilot, directing the ship to follow. The ship entered the river keeping close to the east shore, on which there is a round hill. "Within two stones' cast of the shore there was four fathoms' depth; and within the point a very fine and large river opens. But, being strangers to the place, the ship was run aground nigh a rock which lieth by the westward shore; for the true channel of this river is nearer to the east than to the west shore. The island *Quibo* is south south-east from the mouth of this river."²⁰

A Frenchman had deserted the buccaneers at *Taboga* and disclosed their plan to go against *Pueblo Nuevo*. Those in the canoes found the river obstructed with trees which the Spaniards had felled, and the town protected with a "stockado," and well defended. The buccaneers waited in their canoes till daylight, when Sawkins landed and led the charge against a breast-work. The captain²¹ and two others were killed, and four or five wounded, by the fire of the Spaniards, who were on the alert. The death of their commander, who was much loved by the men, discouraged the buccaneers, and Captain Sharp,²² next in command, ordered a retreat. Three more men were wounded during the re-embarkation. Going down the river they took a ship containing indigo, butter, and pitch; and burnt two others.

Returning to *Quibo*, the buccaneers elected Bartholomew Sharp to be their leader, but between sixty and seventy were dissatisfied with the choice, and departed in one of the vessels, to return over the Isthmus by the gulf of San Miguel. All the

¹⁹ *Pueblo Nuevo*, more often called *Remedios*, is on the *Rio Santa Lucia*.

²⁰ Basil Ringrose.

²¹ "Captain Sawkins was a valiant and generous spirited man, and beloved above any other we ever had among us, which he well deserved."—Ringrose.

²² Ringrose describes him as "that Sea-Artist, and Valiant Commander, Captain Bartholomew Sharp."

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remaining Darien Indians went back with this party, leaving 146 buccaneers with Captain Sharp.

On the 6th of June, 1680, Sharp and his party sailed from Quibo in two ships for the coast of Peru. On the 17th they anchored on the south side of the island of *Gorgona*, then uninhabited, where they lived on rabbits, monkeys, turtle, oysters, and birds. July 25th, they put to sea again, and instead of attacking Guayaquil, as he started out to do, Captain Sharp continued on southward. August 13th, they arrived at the island of *Plata*; where Francis Drake is said to have divided his silver by the bucketful. Here they killed a hundred goats in one day, salting what they did not consume at the time. Leaving here, they continued on south; and on the 25th, when near Cape St. Elena, captured a Spanish ship bound for Panama, in which they found three thousand dollars. This prize was sunk, and soon afterward the buccaneers abandoned one of their vessels, it being a poor sailer, and all went in the "Trinidad."

September 4th, they took a vessel from Guayaquil bound for Lima, and later passed Callao at a distance from land, being apprehensive there might be ships of war in the road. On October 26th, Sharp manned the boats to make an attack on *Arica*; but found the surf high, and all the people up in arms, so abandoned the attempt. Farther south, they succeeded in landing at *Ilo*, securing provisions and fresh water. December 3rd, they took the town of *La Serena*, where was found 500 pounds weight of silver. Here, Sharp released all his prisoners, except a pilot, and stood from the continent for Juan Fernandez, where he arrived on Christmas Day. Sharp and the more thrifty buccaneers were now for going home by way of the Strait of Magellan; but the majority had gambled away their shares, and wished to try their fortune longer in the South Sea.

While at *Juan Fernandez*, the buccaneers settled their disagreement by deposing Sharp, and giving the command to John Watling, "an old privateer, and esteemed a stout seaman." Articles were drawn up in writing, and signed by Watling and the crew. Captain Watling's first order was for the observance of the Sabbath. "This day, the 9th January, was the first Sunday that ever we kept by command since the loss and death of our valiant commander Captain Sawkins, who once threw the dice overboard, finding them in use on the said day."

On the 11th day of January, 1681, two boats were sent to a

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distant part of the island to catch goats,²² but returned in great haste on the following morning, firing muskets to give alarm. They reported three ships, believed to be Spanish war vessels, heading for the island; so the men getting water and hunting on shore were hurriedly called aboard, the cable was slipped, and the "Trinidad" put to sea. One of the Mosquito Indians, called William, was absent in the woods hunting goats, and did not hear the alarm, and in the haste to get away poor Will was left behind.

The three Spanish cruisers and the buccaneer ship remained in sight of each other for two days; but neither side attempted battle. The English had no cannon, and must have trusted to their small arms and to boarding. On the night of the 13th, the buccaneers steered eastward, returning to the coast of Peru, and on the 26th, arrived at the small island of Yqueque, where the Indians ate certain leaves "which were in taste much like to the bay leaves in England, by the continual use of which their teeth were dyed of a green colour."

Captain Watling, on the 30th, landed with ninety-two men on the mainland, and gained the town of Arica. The affair was managed badly, and the Spaniards recovered from their surprise, and bravely drove the intruders back to their boats. The buccaneers lost twenty-eight men, killed or captured; among the former being Captain Watling. Those taken prisoners by the Spaniards were all knocked on the head, except two surgeons, "they being able to do them good service in that country."

On the 17th of April, 1681, when near the Isle of Plate, a division again occurred among the buccaneers, the majority reinstating Captain Sharp in the command; while the minority, forty-seven in all, departed in the long-boat and canoes for the gulf of San Miguel, to return over the Isthmus to the Caribbean Sea.

From the island of Plata, Captain Sharp went north again, passing Panama without stopping, and entered the gulf of Nicoya. In Caldera Bay, he careened and repaired the ship, pressing some local carpenters into service. After sacking *Espanza*, the buccaneers sailed back again to the island Plata, taking three prizes on the way. The first was the "*San Pedro*," with 37,000 pesos aboard; the second, a packet from

²² Introduced by Juan Fernandez, who discovered these islands in 1574. The group is 350 miles west of Valparaiso, Chile.

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Panama bound for Callao, from which they learned that the people of Panama believed all the Englishmen had returned overland to the West Indies. The third ship was the *San Rosario*,²⁴ which resisted until her captain was killed. Besides brandy, wine, oil, and fruit, she yielded to each buccaneer ninety-four dollars; 700 pigs of plate, supposed to be tin, were left in the *Rosario*.²⁴ She also had a great number of charts and maps of the navigations performed by the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean, which were taken along, and afterwards turned over to the British government.

"August the 12th they anchored at the island Plata, whence they departed on the 16th, bound southward, intending to return by the Strait of Magelhanes or *Strait le Maire*²⁵ to the West Indies." Meeting with stormy weather, generally found at the Pacific entrance of Magellan's Strait, Captain Sharp went around Cape Horn, stealing on the way an Indian boy, whom they named Orson. December 5th, when in the Atlantic Ocean, and steering for the West Indies, the balance of the plunder was divided; each man receiving 328 pieces-of-eight. On the 15th of January, died William Stephens, a seaman, whose death was attributed to his having eaten three manchineal apples six months before, when on the coast of New Spain; "from which time he wasted away till he became a perfect skeleton."

On the 28th of January, 1682, Captain Sharp and his party of buccaneers arrived at the island of *Barbadoes*, but on learning that the "*Richmond*," a British frigate, was lying at Bridgetown, they were afraid to stop. "We, having acted in all our voyage without a commission, dared not be so bold as to put in, lest the said frigate should seize us for pirateering and strip us of all we had got in the whole voyage." They then sailed to *Antigua*, which they reached February 1st; where the governor, Colonel Codrington, would not let them enter the harbor;

²⁴ "We took only one pig of the 700 into our ship, thinking to make bullets of it; and to this effect, or what else our seamen pleased, the greatest part of it was melted and squandered away. Afterwards, when we arrived at Antigua, we gave the remaining part (which was about one-third thereof) to a Bristol man, who knew presently what it was, who brought it to England, and sold it there for £75 sterling. Thus we parted with the richest booty we got in the whole voyage through our own ignorance and laziness."—Exquemelin.

²⁵ Le Maire and Van Schouten, two Dutch navigators, doubled Cape Horn (Hoorn) in January, 1616, giving it the name of the birth-place of Van Schouten. The discovery of this route rendered worthless the Spanish defences in Magellan's Strait. Francis Drake probably sighted Cape Horn in 1578.

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though they sent some jewels to his lady, which, however, were not accepted. Some of the men got ashore here, while Sharp and others went on to the island of *Nevis*, whence they got passage to England. Their ship, the *Santissima Trinidad*, which they had found burning at Perico in Panama Bay, was left to seven of the company who had gambled away their shares.

Three of Sharp's crew were tried at Jamaica, and one simple fellow was wheedled into a confession, and hanged. The other two stood it out, and escaped for want of witnesses to prove the fact against them. When Captain Bartholomew Sharp arrived in England, he and a few others were apprehended at the instance of the Spanish ambassador, and tried for piracy before a court of admiralty, held at the Marshalsea in Southwark. They claimed to have acted under authority from the chiefs of Darien, who were independent princes, and not subject to Spain; but chiefly for want of evidence, they escaped conviction.

Shortly after this, Captain Sharp, and Basil Ringrose, a member of his party, each wrote an account of the voyages and adventures of the buccaneers.

Not caring to serve under Captain Sharp, the minority separated from the main body of the buccaneers at the island of Plata, or Drake's Island, on the 17th of April, 1681. The party consisted of 44 Europeans, 2 Mosquito Indians, 1 Spanish Indian, and 5 Negro slaves (usually not counted); making 52 in all. Among the number were John Cook, afterwards a buccaneer captain; William Dampier, the ablest of them all; and Lionel Wafer, now the ranking surgeon, who lived four months with the Darien Indians.

This party started off in the long-boat of the "*Trinidad*" and two canoes; being nearly swamped before reaching the shore of the mainland. The next day they were lucky enough to capture a small vessel under the lee of Cape Pasado, in which they embarked. Sailing northward, they stopped at the isle of Gorgona, and escaped in a rainstorm from a couple of Spanish cruisers out looking for them. At Point Garachina, south of the gulf of San Miguel, they stopped and dried their powder, anticipating a fight on landing. April 30th, they entered the gulf of *San Miguel*, and anchored outside an island, four miles from the mouth of the Santa Maria river. Sending a canoe to investigate, a warship was found at the mouth

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of the river, and on the bank an encampment of soldiers. Dampier urged his companions to ascend the Rio Congo, three leagues off, but could not persuade them of its existence.

May 1st, 1681, the buccaneers effected a landing in a small creek, a league beyond Cape San Lorenzo. They sank their bark, and started in a northeast direction to cross the Isthmus; making the desperate resolve to shoot all stragglers to prevent information being extracted from them by torture, in case of capture by Spaniards. They soon struck a trail which led to some Indian shacks, where they were well received, and secured a guide. The next day they reached the Congo, and came to the hut of an old Indian. For several days they journeyed through the rain, wading the streams; with no fires, and scarcely any food.

On the fifth day—being also the 5th of May—Doctor Wafer was sitting on the ground near one of the men who was drying gunpowder in a silver plate. From the spark of a pipe, according to Dampier's narrative, the powder blew up, and burned the doctor's knee and thigh so badly that the flesh was torn away, and the bone exposed. He applied such remedies as he had in his knapsack, and made shift to jog along for a few days. The company assigned him one of the slaves to carry his medicines; but on the night of the seventh day, the negroes, all but one, ran away, taking Wafer's medicines, gun, and all his money.

On the 8th, the guide said the river would have to be crossed again, but was too swollen to ford. George Gayny started across with a line about his neck, but the man paying it out suddenly stopped, pulling Gayny on his back. The rope-man then threw the line in the stream, when the swift torrent bore him away; and having 300 pesos at his back, Gayny was drowned. They then felled a tall tree across the river and got over, and reached an Indian village, where they fared well.

The 10th day the doctor was suffering so much with his wound that he decided to take his chances with the Darien Indians. Two others of the company, who were played out, staid with him; John Hingson, a mariner; and Mr. Richard Gopson, who had with him a Greek Testament, which he frequently read, and translated *extempore*, into English for his comrades. The buccaneers did not execute their order about executing stragglers, but took a very kind leave of these men. Indeed, two men, Robert Spratlin and William Bowman, hesi-

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tated to attempt to pass the Congo, on the 6th of May, and had not been seen since.

"Being now forced to stay among them, and having no means to alleviate the Anguish of my Wound, the Indians undertook to cure me; and apply'd to my Knee some Herbs, which they first chew'd in their Mouths to the consistency of a Paste, and putting it on a Plantain-Leaf, laid it upon the Sore. This prov'd so effectual, that in about 20 Days use of this Poultefs, which they applied fresh every Day, I was perfectly cured; except only a Weakness in that Knee, which remain'd long after, and a Benumbedness which I sometimes find in it to this Day."²⁶

In three or four days, Spratlin and Bowman dragged themselves into the settlement, very much fatigued with rambling through the woods. They told of seeing the corpse of Gayny lying on the bank of the river, where the floods had left it. The money was still at his back, but they were so exhausted, they cared not to meddle with it. Notwithstanding the Indians still dressed the wounded knee, they were not very generous to the five white men in their midst. They seemed to be concerned about the fate of the two guides who went ahead with the main party, and threw green plantains to the Englishmen, as they sat cringing and shivering, like you would bones to a dog. There was one exception to this stern treatment. The young Indian at whose house they stopped would often give them food on the sly, even rising at night to go by stealth to the Plantain-walk to fetch them a bundle of ripe plantains, which he would distribute unknown to his countrymen. This kind Indian had formerly been a prisoner among the Spaniards, serving under the bishop of Panama till finding a chance to escape. He had learned considerable Spanish, and with the additional use of signs, was able to converse with the buccaneers.

The guides not returning when expected, the Indians resolved to be revenged on the five Englishmen in their power. Some were for turning them over to the Spaniards, but the greater part hating those people, decided to burn the buccaneers, and prepared a great pile of wood for that purpose. Their principal chief, *Lacenta* happened along, and directed two Indians to conduct them to the north side of the Isthmus, and find out what had become of the guides of the main company. The next day, they started out and marched joyfully for three days through the mud and rain, lodging at night under the dripping

²⁶ Lionel Wafer.

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trees. The two conductors now departed, and the helpless white men wandered about for days, with only a few macaw berries to eat. They came to a river over which a tree had been felled, and judged, rightly, that their comrades had passed over. The tree was so wet and slippery that Bowman²⁷ fell off, but was washed ashore alive a quarter of a mile below. On the evening of the sixth day after leaving the Indians they came to where another river²⁸ joined the one they were following; both of which ran in a northerly direction, as shown by a pocket compass. This confirmed them in the belief that they were on the north side of the divide, so they made two "Bark-logs," or rafts, on which to float to the North Sea.

That night, Wafer and his companions camped in the fork of the rivers, when "it fell a Raining as if Heaven and Earth would meet, which Storm was accompanied with horrid Claps of Thunder, and such flashes of Lightning, of a Sulphurous smell, that we were almost stifled in the open air." The flood covered the hillock on which they were located, and forced them to take to the trees to save their lives, each thinking the others drowned. With thanksgiving they found each other in the morning, and discovered their Bark-logs sunk and full of water, though made of "Bamboes." This was a god-send, for had they gone down this river, which empties into the Chepo, or Bayano, they would have run into the Spaniards..

Not being able to pass either river, the party turned back to hunt the Indian village from which they had departed. This was the eighth day of their wanderings, with nothing to eat but a handful of Maiz, some Macaw-berries, "and the Pith of a Bibby-Tree we met with, which we split and eat very favourly." When nearly dead with hunger, they espied a deer fast asleep. "But one of our Men putting the Muzzle of his gun close to him, and the Shot not being wadded, tumbled out, just before the Gun went off, and did the Deer no hurt; but starting up at the noise, he took the River and swam over." The Doctor's party now took leave of the river, and "After a little Consideration what course to take next, we concluded it best to follow the Track of a Pecary or Wild-Hog, hoping it might bring us to

²⁷ "This Man had at this time 400 pieces of eight at his Back: He was a weakly Man, a Taylor by Trade."—Wafer.

²⁸ "This last River was as wide and deep as the former; so that here we were put to a *Non-plus*, not being able to find means to ford either of them, and they being here too wide for a Tree to go across, unless a greater Tree than we were able to cut down; having no Tool with us but a Macheat or long Knife."—Wafer.

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some old Plantain Walk or Potato Piece, which these Creatures often resort to, to look for Food." The trail of the peccary brought them, according to expectation, to a banana plantation, near which was an Indian settlement. In fear, the Doctor went forward alone, and found himself in the same village they had left eight days before. The Indians crowded about and began to ask questions, which Wafer cut short by falling into a swoon, occasioned by the heat of the house, and the scent of meat boiling over the fire.

The long-expected guides, who had gone with Mr. Dampier²⁹ and the main body, had returned from the north coast, loaded down with presents; so the Indians now were very kind and generous. After resting seven days, the five white men set out again for the North Sea, conducted by four willing and lusty natives. When they came to the river over which the tree was felled, they turned up stream instead of down; and soon afterwards pursued their journey in a canoe, the Indians paddling stoutly against the current. In six days they came to the palace of Lacenta, prince over the south side of Darien, who had before saved their lives. His house was situated on a fine little hill, in a grove of stately "Cotton Trees," from six to eleven feet in diameter.

"The Circumference of this pleafant little Hill, contains at least 100 Acres of Land; and is a Peninfula of an Oval form, almost furrounded with two great Rivers, one coming from the East, the other from the West, which approaching within 40 foot of each other, at the front of the Peninsula, separate again, embracing the Hill, and meet on the other side, making there one pretty large River, which runs very swift. There is therefore but one way to come in toward this Seat; which, as I before observed, is not above 40 foot wide, between the Rivers on each side; and 'tis fenced with hollow Bamboes, Popes-heads

²⁹ Dampier tells us that after leaving Wafer and his companions, on May 10th, the main body crossed one river thirty-two times that same day. The first night, the last of the five negroes ran away. The buccaneers struggled on through rain and mud; living on plantains, with an occasional monkey or bird. May 20th, they came to the river Cheapo, the last that ran into the South Sea. On the 21st, the party ascended a high mountain; and on the 22nd, they went up another high mountain, and to their great comfort saw the North Sea. The 23rd day they passed in canoes down the river Conception, spending the night in the Indian settlement at the mouth of the river. The next day, May 24th, the buccaneers went on board a "Barcolongo," a French privateer commanded by Captain Tristian, lying out at La Sound's Key.

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and Prickle-pears, so thick set from one side the Neck of Land to the other, that 'tis impossible for an Enemy to approach it." ³⁰

The chieftain sent back the guides, and told the Englishmen that they would have to stop with him, because the rainy season was now at its height, and it was not possible to travel to the north coast. They had not been there long before an incident occurred which brought Doctor Wafer into great esteem, and benefitted his comrades as well.

"It so happen'd that one of Lacenta's Wives being indifposed, was to be let Blood; which the Indians perform in this manner: The Patient is feated on a Stone in the River and one with a small bow shoots little Arrows into the naked Body of the Patient, up and down; shooting them as fast as he can, and not missing any part. But the Arrows are gaged, so that they penetrate no farther than we generally thrust our Lances: And if by chance they hit a Vein which is full of Wind, and the Blood spurts out a little, they will leap and skip about, shewing many Antick Gestures, by way of rejoycing and triumph.

I was by while this was performing on Lacenta's Lady: And perceiving their Ignorance, told Lacenta, That if he pleased, I would shew him a better way, without putting the Patient to so much Torment. Let me see, says he; and at his command, I bound up her Arm with a piece of Bark, and with my Lancet breathed a Vein: But this rash attempt had like to have cost me my Life. For Lacenta seeing the Blood issue out in a Stream, which us'd to come only drop by drop, got hold of his Lance, and swore by his Tooth, that if she did otherwise than well, he would have my Heart's Blood. I was not moved, but desired him to be patient, and I drew off about 12 Ounces and bound up her Arm, and desired she might rest till the next Day: By which means the Fever abated, and she had not another Fit. This gained me so much Reputation, that Lacenta came to me, and before all his Attendants, bowed, and kiss'd my Hand. Then the rest came thick about me, and some kissed my Hand, others my Knee, and some my Foot: After which I was taken up into a Hammock, and carried on Men's Shoulders, Lacenta himself making a Speech in my Praise, and commending me as much Superior to any of their Doctors. Thus I was carried

³⁰ Señor Don Vicente Restrepo, of Bogotá, who has translated Wafer's narrative into Spanish, thinks Lacenta's stronghold may have been situated at the junction of the Sábalo with the Cañaza. The Mandingas tribe had its headquarters in this region.



From copper-plate in Water, *Isthmus of America*, 1699.

LACENTA, CHIEF OF THE DARIENS, AND RETINUE.

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from Plantation to Plantation, and lived in great Splendor and Repute, adminiftring both Phyfick and Phlebotomy to thofe that wanted. For tho' I loft my Salves and Plaifters, when the Negro ran away with my Knapfack, yet I preferv'd a Box of Inftruments, and a few Medicaments wrapt up in an Oil Cloth, by having them in my Pocket, where I generally carried them."

Dr. Wafer became a great favorite among the natives, not only from his knowledge of medicine, but also because he readily adapted himself to their mode of life. He allowed himself to be painted, went naked, and wore a golden nose-plate,²¹ like the chiefs. He accompanied Lacenta on his hunting trips; and one time, when toward the southeast part of the country, he secretly watched the Spaniards washing out gold from the sands of a river, perhaps the Rio Balsas. It became so that the chief would go nowhere without the Doctor, and the latter perceived that Lacenta intended to keep him alway. One day they started a peccary, which held the Indians and their dogs in play the greater part of the day, till the chief was weary, and impatiently wished for some better way of chasing the game. Wafer, who now understood a great deal of the Darien language,²² took this opportunity to commend the English dogs, and offered to bring him a few from England, if he would suffer him to go thither for a short time.

Lacenta demurred at this for a while, but at length he swore by his tooth, laying his fingers on it, that Wafer and his companions should have their liberty; provided the Doctor promised, and swore by his tooth, to come back, marry the chief's daughter, and settle among them. Doctor Wafer promised to do so; and the next day parted from Lacenta in the hunting grounds, and with a convoy of natives returned to the Chief's palace; where he arrived in about fifteen days, and was joyfully greeted by his friends.

After resting a few days, the five white men started for the north coast, having a strong retinue of armed Indians. They travelled over many high mountains, and at last came to one far surpassing the rest in height, they being four days gradually

²¹ Described in Chapter XIX.

²² "My Knowledge of the High-Land Language made me the more capable of learning the Darien Indians Language; when I was among them. For there is fome Affinity, not in the Signification of the Words of each Language, but in the Pronunciation, which I could eafily imitate; both being fpoken pretty much in the Throat with frequent Aspirates, and much the fame fharp or circumflex Tang or Cant."

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ascending it, though with some descents between whiles. This mountain was so high that both Europeans and natives experienced giddiness in the head, and the other mountains they had passed seemed far beneath them. The Doctor looked over a perpendicular part, while two men sat on his legs, but could see nothing but clouds below. At one place they all had to straddle over a narrow ridge.

At the foot of the mountain, on the other side, they came to a river that ran into the North Sea. Here were some houses, where they stopped for the night, "my Lodging, by the way, being in a Hammock made fast to two Trees, and my Covering a Plantain-Leaf." The following morning they set forward, and in two days time arrived at the seaside; where they were welcomed by forty chief Indians,³³ dressed in long white gowns, with fringes at the bottom. The Englishmen asked when they expected any ships, and the Indians said they would inquire; sending for their conjurers or *Pawawvers*, "who immediately went to work to raise the Devil, to inquire of him at what time a Ship would arrive here, for they are very expert and skilful in their sort of Diabolical Conjurations." They went into a house by themselves, beating drums, sounding conch-shells, imitating the cries of all kinds of birds and beasts, and uttering the most hideous yells and shrieks.

After a considerable time the oracle declared, "That the 10th Day from that time there would arrive two Ships; and that in the Morning of the 10th Day we should hear first one Gun, and sometime after that another: That one of us should die soon after, and that going aboard we should lose one of our Guns: All of which fell out exactly according to the Prediction."

On the morning of the tenth day thereafter was heard first one gun, and then another; which was the buccaneers' signal for the Indians to come aboard. Wafer and his companions, with three natives, started out in a canoe; but as they crossed the bar of the river, it overturned, whereby the gun of Mr. Gopson³⁴ was lost; though the buccaneers never went in a canoe without lashing their guns to the sides or seats. The party got ashore, and set out again, standing over to *La Sound's Key*, where the two ships lay. Wafer relates that they went aboard one of the ships, where his four companions were greeted by

³³ Confer their reception of the Scotch visitors, in 1698.

³⁴ Dampier calls him Richard Cobson. He died three days later, and was buried in *La Sound's Key*.

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their friends; "but I fat a while cringing upon my Hams among the Indians, after their Fafhion, painted as they were, and all naked but only about the Waift, and with my Nose-piece hanging over my Mouth. I was willing to try if they would know me in this Difguife; and 'twas the better part of an Hour before one of the Crew, looking more narrowly upon me, cry'd out, Here's our Doctor, and immediately they all congratulated my Arrival among them."

The return of these men by the Isthmus to the North Sea, with the arrival of Captain Sharp's party at Barbadoes in the following January, terminated what may be called the first expedition of the Buccaneers in the South Sea; the boat excursion by Morgan's men in the Bay of Panama being of too little consequence to be so reckoned. They had now made successful experiment of the route both by sea and land, and the Spaniards in the South Sea had reason to apprehend a speedy renewal of their visit.

The success of the first venture, with the restrictions and prohibitions unwisely imposed upon the French and English in the West Indies by their home governments, soon led to other incursions into the Pacific; either overland across the Isthmus, or by sea around South America. During the next few years piratical and privateering expeditions, both from the West India islands and from Europe, invaded the South Sea; harassing Spanish commerce, and plundering the towns near the coast. These outfits generally acted independent of each other, especially the French and English; but occasionally they united in some large undertaking.

It is not our intention to write further of the buccaneers, excepting certain transactions in the Bay of Panama in the year 1685. Early in 1684, William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Edward Davis, Ambrose Cowley, and other experienced buccaneers, were again in the South Sea, having sailed around the Horn in the "*Batchelor's Delight*," a thirty-six gun ship, commanded by Captain John Cook. They soon fell in with the "*Nicholas*," John Eaton commander, which had left the Thames on a pretended trading voyage. They sailed up the coast together, passed Panama without stopping, and entered the gulf of Nicoya; where Captain Cook died, and was buried on the shore. Edward Davis, the quarter-master, was then unanimously elected

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to the command of the "Bachelor's Delight"; and the two ships separated, though each sailed for Peru.

At the island Plata, Capt. Davis fell in with the "*Cygnets*," Captain Swan, fitted out from London as a genuine trading vessel. Peter Harris, nephew of the Peter Harris killed before Panama in 1680, also joined in a small bark. They made some unimportant captures, and attempted to surprise *Guayaquil*, but the plan miscarried, though four ships were taken in the bay, three of them containing 1000 negroes.³⁵ The little fleet then steered northward towards the *Gulf of Panama*, picking up a packet-boat bound for Lima, which the president of Panama had despatched to hasten the sailing of the plate fleet from Callao. They put some of their prisoners on shore at Gorgona³⁶ Island, and January 21st, 1685, arrived at the Pearl Islands³⁷, where they lay the ships aground to clean them. The buccaneer force, consisting of about 250 men, then anchored near Panama; exchanging prisoners, but making no demonstration against the city.

Shortly afterwards, when lying at *Taboga*, Davis was visited by a merchant, who proposed to come off privately at night with such goods as the buccaneers desired to buy. They agreed to this; but instead of merchandise, his vessel was fitted up

³⁵ Captains Davis and Swan chose each fifteen slaves, and let the vessels go. William Dampier, then with Davis, entertained different views of what should have been done; and anticipated William Paterson in his scheme to displace the Spaniards in Darien. Dampier writes—"Never was put into the hands of men a greater opportunity to enrich themselves. We had 1000 negroes, all lusty young men and women, and we had 200 tons of flour stored up at the Galapagos Islands. With these negroes we might have gone and settled at Santa Maria on the Isthmus of Darien, and have employed them in getting gold out of the mines there. All the Indians living in that neighborhood were mortal enemies to the Spaniards; were flushed by successes against them, and for several years had been the fast friends of the privateers. Add to which, we should have had the North Sea open to us, and in a short time should have received assistance from all parts of the West Indies. Many thousands of buccaneers from Jamaica and the French islands would have flocked to us; and we should have been an overmatch for all the force the Spaniards could have brought out of Peru against us."

³⁶ At Gorgona, the Buccaneers observed how the small black monkeys secured shell-fish when the tide was out. "Their way was to take up an Oyster and lay it upon a Stone, and with another Stone to keep beating of it till they had broke the shell to pieces."—Waser.

³⁷ Of these islands, Dampier writes—"Why they are called the Pearl Islands I cannot imagine, for I did never see one pearl oyster about them, but of other oysters many."

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with combustibles as a fire-ship.⁸⁸ The buccaneers, suspecting treachery, cut from their anchors, and escaped the danger. The next morning the ships returned, and while striving to recover the anchors, were alarmed at the sight of many canoes, filled with men, coming from another island toward Taboga. The buccaneers weighed, and stood towards them; when they were discovered to be 200 Frenchmen and 80 Englishmen, commanded by Captains Grognet and L'Escuyer, who had just come over the Isthmus by the Darien route. They told of another outfit which had crossed over, composed of 180 buccaneers under an Englishman named Townley, who were now building canoes in the gulf of San Miguel. Townley's party was soon discovered, already in possession of two ships they had taken; and soon afterwards they picked up six more Englishmen under William Knight.

In April, 1685, while at the Pearl Islands, the buccaneers were joined by 264 filibustiers, commanded by Jean Rose, Des-Marais, and Le Picard; the last being a veteran who had served under L'Olonois and Morgan. With this party came Raveneau de Lussan, probably the only Frenchman to leave an account of the filibustiers in the South Sea. In addition to the writers already mentioned, Ambrose Cowley also kept a journal of his adventures.

The combined English and French forces in the *Bay of Panama* now numbered nearly 1000 men, and they thought seriously of assaulting the city; but learning that a rich treasure had been despatched from Lima, they agreed to postpone the attempt on Panama, and lay in wait for the plate-fleet. In the meantime, they took several prizes, and captured the town of *Chepo*, where was found neither opposition nor plunder.

The Viceroy of Peru believed his *flota* strong enough to risk an encounter with the buccaneers; but ordered the commander to try and avoid a meeting until after the treasure should be landed. Accordingly, the Spanish admiral, Don Antonio de Beas, sailed more westerly until he fell in with the coast of Veragua, west of Punta Mala. Afterwards, he entered the gulf, keeping close to the west shore, and safely landed the treasure at *Lavelia*.⁸⁹ When the buccaneers discovered the Spanish fleet, it was laying at anchor before Panama, where it was soon reinforced with more seamen hurried over from

⁸⁸ Dampier states that this fire-ship was prepared by Captain Bond, a deserter from the privateers, then an honored guest in Panama.

⁸⁹ Meaning La Villa; as Los Santos was called in colonial days.

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Porto Bello. Thus strengthened, the Spanish fleet, numbering fourteen sail, and much superior in guns and men, started out to hunt the buccaneers, whom they found on the 28th of May, 1685, near the island of Pacheca, the northernmost of the Pearl Islands.

The buccaneer fleet, consisting of ten vessels of different sizes was deficient in men and cannon, but sufficient in musketry, so it was the policy of Edward Davis to avoid long range fighting, and close in quickly for musket fire and boarding. About three o'clock in the afternoon, he got the weather-gage of the Spaniards, and gave the order to bear down upon them. This was the high-water mark of the Buccaneers in the South Sea. A voluntary and heterogeneous band of adventurers, without a national support, and with only such supplies and pay as they themselves could secure, now threatened Spanish dominion in these waters; with a likelihood of controlling the Isthmus, and severing Spain's possessions in America. Captain Davis had the largest number of trained seamen and fighters ever brought together under the Buccaneer flag in the Pacific, and had the wind of the enemy.

He directed Grognet to board the Spanish vice-admiral, while he went against the main division of their fleet. Grognet refused to engage the enemy, and even Swan shortened sail; so that lacking the support of his principal ships, Davis had to retire, exchanging a few shots with the vice-admiral. At night, the Spanish admiral anchored; but showed a light on a small vessel, which he sent to leeward. This the buccaneers followed, and in the morning found themselves to leeward of the *flota*, which now bore down upon them. Deeming it imprudent to fight under these disadvantages, the buccaneers did not wait for them. Townley, being hard pressed, escaped through a narrow passage between some islets on the south side of Pacheca. Davis and Swan, who had the fastest sailers, held back to delay the Spaniards; who declined to board, but held off and used their big guns.⁴⁶ There was some fine seamanship displayed, but very little fighting; for after a circuitous chase, lasting all day, the buccaneers anchored by Pacheca, nearly in the same spot from which they had started in the morning. The next day, the Spanish fleet was seen at anchor three leagues to leeward. When the wind freshened a little at ten o'clock, the Spaniards took up their anchors; but instead of making towards the buccaneers, they sailed away to Panama. Davis knew by the Spanish fleet coming from Panama that the trea-

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sure must have been landed, and he could have little motive for urging the fight; but it was the duty of the Spanish admiral, at all hazards, to at least attempt to destroy the enemies of his country, and strike such terror into them as would discourage others from invading the South Sea.

On the 1st of June, 1685, the buccaneer fleet sailed from the Bay of Panama for the island Quibo.⁴⁰ Dissatisfaction at the outcome of their operations at Panama led to dissensions, and the short-lived confederacy resolved into its elements. During July, 341 French filibustiers (or privateers, as war then existed between France and Spain) separated from the English under Davis, and went off under Captain Francois Grognet. They took *Pueblo Nuevo*, *Ria Lexa*, *Nicoya* and other places; and in January, 1686, ascended a river between Quibo and Point Burica, and surprised *Chiriquita* [David]. Later, they united with Captain Townley; and on April 10th, 1686, captured *Granada*, firing the houses.

On the 20th of July, 1685, Edward Davis, with all the English, and fourteen French under Jean Rose, departed from Quibo and sailed to the northwest. In August they possessed the city of *Leon* without resistance, which they plundered; and on the 14th set fire to the place and returned to the coast. No expedition of magnitude being in view, the English divided; Captain Swan saluting Davis with 15 guns, and Captain Davis saluting Swan with 11 guns.

Captain Swan, in the "*Cygnat*," sailed up towards the gulf of California. On February 19th, 1686, at *Santa Pecaque*,⁴¹ Mexico, he lost a lot of men, Basil Ringrose among the number.

⁴⁰ Dampier, who was in Davis' ship, says—"The Spanish admiral and the rest of his squadron began to play at us and we at them as fast as we could: yet they kept at distant cannonading. They might have laid us aboard if they would, but they came not within Small-arms' shot, intending to maul us in pieces with their great guns."

⁴¹ Two buccaneers were killed by serpents at Quibo. Lussan writes: "Here are serpents whose bite is so venomous that speedy death inevitably ensues, unless the patient can have immediate recourse to a certain fruit, which must be chewed and applied to the part bitten. The tree which bears this fruit grows here and in other parts of America. It resembles the almond-tree in France in height and in its leaves. The fruit is like the sea-chestnut (*Chataines de Mer*) but is of a grey colour, rather bitter in taste, and contains in its middle a whitish almond. The whole is to be chewed together before it is applied. It is called *Graine à Serpent*, the serpent berry."

⁴² Swan lost 54 Englishmen, and 9 negroes; the greatest calamity suffered by the Buccaneers in the South Sea, excepting the 100 killed under Morgan at Old Panama.

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March 31st, 1686, Captain Swan started across the Pacific, having on board William Dampier. The first land they touched was *Guahan* (Guam), and afterwards they went to *Mindanao* in the Philippine group.

Captain Townley returned to the Bay of Panama, and took and burnt *Lavelia* [La Villa], securing some of the treasure landed there by the Spanish *flota* more than a year before. August 22nd, 1686, Townley, in command of English and French buccaneers, was lying at *Taboga*, when they were attacked by three Spanish vessels armed with cannon. One of the Spanish ships blew up, when the other two were taken, as well as a fourth which arrived from Panama as a reinforcement. The buccaneer loss was only one killed, and twenty-two wounded, including Captain Townley. Townley sent a messenger to the President of Panama, Don Pedro Ponte y Llerena, Count of Palmar, demanding supplies, the release of five buccaneers held prisoners, and ransom for his numerous captives. The President sent only some medicines; when the buccaneer chief dispatched a second message, threatening to send the President the heads of all his Spanish prisoners if his demands were not acceded to. The President paid little attention to this threat; but on receiving the heads⁴⁸ of twenty Spaniards, he hastened to release the five buccaneers, and pay a ransom for the remaining men. On September 9th, Captain Townley died of the wound he received in the battle at *Taboga*.

August 27th, 1685, Captain Davis parted from Swan at *Ria Lexa* [Realejo]; sailing with the vessels of Knight, and Harris, and a tender which with his own ship, the "Bachelor's Delight," made four in all. Above 130 of the men fell ill of a spotted fever, attributed to the unwholesome air or bad water at *Ria Lexa*⁴⁹; in consequence of which Davis sailed to *Amapalla Bay*; where they built huts on one of the islands for the sick, who were attended by the surgeon, Lionel Wafer. While here, they went to the mainland to seek food at a "Beef-Eftantion" (*estancia*); where the Doctor investigated a river of hot water which issued out from under a hill. After many had died of the fever, the disease abated; and the fleet sailed south to *Cocos*

⁴⁸ "Ce moyen etoit a la verité un peu violent, mais c'etoit l'unique pour mettre les Espagnols a la raison."—"Journal du Voyage au Mer du Sud," par Raveneau de Lussan.

⁴⁹ The rarity of disease among the Buccaneers has already been remarked.

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Island, where were plenty of coconuts,⁴⁵ as the name would indicate. Peter Harris departed from here for the East Indies.

Davis cruised off the coast of Peru for some time, taking prizes and raiding the towns. When in possession of *Payta* he intercepted a courier with a message from the governor of Guayaquil to the viceroy at Lima, informing him that *Guayaquil* was in the hands of the buccaneers, and that he should hasten warships to the place. Captain Davis immediately hurried to the aid of his brethern, and on May 14th, 1687, arrived in the Bay of Guayaquil; finding the French under Grognet, and the English under George Hout (who had succeeded Townley) masters of the town. Captain Grognet was mortally wounded in the fight, and Le Picard was chosen chief of the filibustiers. A large amount of money was included in the booty, besides jewels, church-plate, and merchandise. Davis came up just in time to help fight the Spanish frigates, and save the plunder, so shared in the distribution of the spoils.

All hands now had sufficient wealth to think of returning to the West Indies. While the Spaniards had failed to suppress the buccaneers in the South Sea, they had succeeded in making a treaty with the Darien Indians; in consequence of which the Isthmian route was no longer open to the buccaneers. Davis had a stout ship, and proposed to go back by sea; being joined by most of the English. No other vessel in their possession was strong enough for this undertaking; so all the French, with many of the English, sailed north to the *Bay of Amapalla*. Here the party destroyed their vessels, and on the 1st of January, 1688, landed on the mainland, dividing into four companies of seventy men each. After stealing sixty-eight horses, they "said their Prayers," and started across the continent on the 2nd, loaded down with silver and plunder. The people offered but little opposition, and on January 11th the buccaneers entered *Segovia*, finding it deserted and cleared of provisions.

January 17th, they came to Wank river, which they descended

⁴⁵After telling of the excellent fresh water, and a delightful water-fall, at Cocos Island, Wafer writes,—“One day, some of our men being minded to make themselves merry went ashore and cut down a great many cocoa-nut trees, from which they gathered the fruit, and drew about twenty gallons of the milk. They then sat down and drank healths to the king and queen, and drank an excessive quantity; yet it did not end in drunkenness: but this liquor so chilled and benumb'd their nerves that they could neither go nor stand. Nor could they return on board without the help of those who had not been partakers of the frolic, nor did they recover under four or five days' time.”

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on rafts to the Caribbean Sea, which they entered to the south of *Cape Gracias á Dios*. The English remained for a time with their friends, the Mosquito Indians; but the French dispersed. About seventy-five went to Jamaica, and were imprisoned by the governor, the Duke of Albermarle. The following year, on the death of the duke, they were released; but neither their arms nor plunder were restored to them.

From Guayaquil, Captain Davis sailed again to the Galapagos, and Juan Fernandez; refitting and careening his ship for the homeward voyage. Sailing southward, he passed around the Horn without seeing land, but encountered so many ice islands that Davis ran far to the east before steering northward. The party reached the West Indies in the spring of 1688; at a time when the king of England had issued a pardon to all buccaneers who would abandon their calling.

The English governors refused longer to countenance the buccaneers, and piracy became unprofitable as well as illegal. Following the accession of William III. to the crown of Great Britain, England joined Spain in war against the French. This divided the French and English buccaneers, who united with the regular troops on either side, and they never afterwards confederated in any buccaneer enterprise. In the West Indies, the French attacked the English part of St. Christopher (the site of their original settlements) and drove the inhabitants over to Nevis. The next year, the English returned and took St. Christopher from the French. At this time, the French flibustiers stole so many negroes from the English in Jamaica, that in derision they called that island "Little Guinea."

The French became alarmed at the number of *habitans*, or settlers, leaving Saint Domingue and other colonies in the West Indies, and relaxed in her prohibitions, and in severity towards the flibustiers.

The last large buccaneering undertaking was the capture and sack of *Cartagena*, in 1697, by a force of French regulars, under the Baron de Pointis; effectively aided by about 1200 flibustiers, settlers, and negroes, headed by M. du Casse, governor of the French colonies in Hispaniola. On May 3rd. the city capitulated, when M. de Pointis stationed the French buccaneers outside the walls, while he and his officers gathered in the treasure, amounting to from 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 livres. The last of the month, he sailed away with his regular armament; leaving a paltry 40,000 crowns to the flibustiers. The

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latter, who had already embarked, returned to the unfortunate city, and extracted nearly 5,000,000 livres more from the miserable inhabitants. On the way back towards Hispaniola, the filibustiers encountered the combined English and Dutch fleets, from which De Pointis had just escaped by superior sailing. Two of the buccaneer ships were taken; two driven on shore, the crew of one being captured by the Spaniards; while the five others managed to reach *Isle à Vache* in safety.

In September, 1697, the treaty signed at Ryswick put an end, for a time, to war between the rival nations in the West Indies, With no headquarters, and no ports open to them wherein to riot and dispose of their plunder, the loose association of sea-rovers known as "Buccaneers" ceased to exist. "Their distinctive mark, which they undeviatingly preserved for nearly two centuries, was their waging constant war against the Spaniards, and against them only."⁴⁶ Many followed the sea as legitimate mariners, or settled down as honest planters among the islands. Some still sailed about the world for booty; a few going to the Bahamas, making Providence Island⁴⁷ their home, there to propagate a breed of common pirates to scourge the seas during the next century. Several of the old filibustiers located among the Darien Indians, who had resumed their hostility to the Spaniards on the Isthmus. We read that in 1702 a party of Englishmen, having commissions from the governor of Jamaica, landed in Darien; where they were joined by the old buccaneers who had married natives, and also by three hundred Indians. They drove the Spaniards from some mines, and captured seventy negroes; whom they kept at work twenty-one days, and obtained about eighty pounds of gold.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Captain Burney.

⁴⁷ Called New Providence to distinguish it from the island of Old Providence (Santa Catarina). A saying arose in the West Indies that "shipwrecks and pirates were the only hopes of the island of Providence."

⁴⁸ In the account of this expedition by Nathaniel Davis, he relates that, in the year 1702, Col. Peter Beckford, Lieut-Governor of Jamaica, granted commissions to the captains of four sloops "to go a Privateering" against the French and Spaniards. On the 24th July, they sailed from Jamaica, and soon came to the "Samballoe-Keys," off Darien, where they were joined by other ships. Don Pedro, King of the Indians, treated with the privateers, and promised to furnish 300 Indians, and guide them through the woods up to the Mines. The 482 Englishmen disembarked up a river at the Barkadeers, or landing-place, on the 19th of August. The usual hard hiking followed, and some Spanish scouts were killed.

"This day" [August 29th] "we marched over the highest of all the

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"In the history of so much robbery and outrage the rapacity shown in some instance by the European governments in their West-India transactions, and by governors of their appointment, appears in a worse light than that of the buccaneers, from whom, they being professed ruffians, nothing better was expected. The superior attainments of Europeans, though they have done much towards their own civilization, chiefly in humanising their institutions, have, in their dealings with the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, with few exceptions, been made the instruments of usurpation and extortion."⁴⁰

Mountains, and such a one as I thought Man could not be able to get up: I do really believe it could not be less than seven or eight miles high. Some of our Men imagined it to be within a Stone's cast of Heaven, and would willingly have tarried there, especially being much wearied with the Fatigue they underwent, and supposing they should never come again so near the blissful Region."

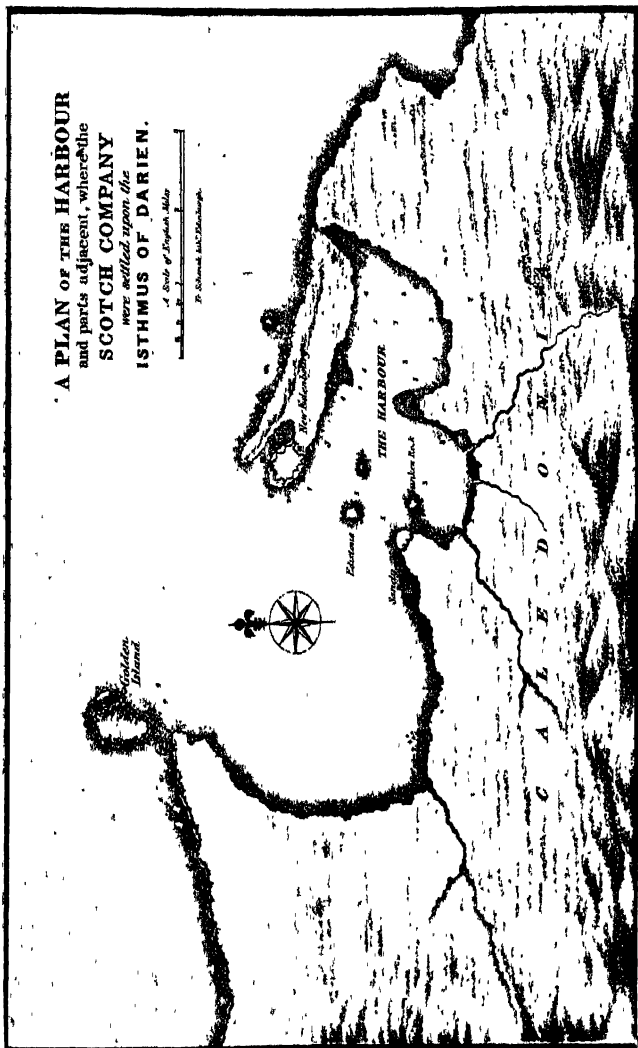
On the 30th, the English and Dariens took Cana, a town of 900 houses, with one church. Most of the Spaniards had fled with their wealth. The privateers worked the mines for a week with the negro captives and departed on September 7th, after firing the town. Chief Pedro killed the old *padre* with a stone before leaving. The native allies were not so attentive on the way back, and the white men suffered much from lack of food and from sleeping in the rain. September 18th, the privateers were back at the Barkadeers [*embarcadero*, doubtless].

⁴⁰ Captain Burney.

When in Golfo Dulce, in June, 1681, a prisoner taken in the Gulf of Nicoya told the Buccaneers of the Stratagem of War by means of which the Spaniards had forced a Peace upon the Indians of the Province of Darien.

"The Manner was as follows. A certain *Frenchman*, who ran from us, at the Island of *Taboga*, to the *Spaniards*, was sent by them in a Ship to the River's Mouth, which emptieth itself from that Province into the *South Sea*. Being arrived there, he went ashore by himself in a Canoe, and told the *Indians*, that the *English* who had passed that Way, were come back from their Adventures in the *South Sea*. Withal he asked them, if they would not be so kind and friendly to the *Englishmen*, as to come aboard and conduct them on Shore? The poor deceived *Indians* were very joyful to understand this good News; and thus forty of the Chiefest of them went on board the *Spanish Vessel*, and were immediately carried Prisoners of War to *Panama*. Here they were forced to conclude a Peace, though upon Terms very disadvantageous to them, before they could obtain their Liberty."

Boucaniers of America—vol 2, p. 56.



From The Darien Papers

CALEDONIA BAY AND NEW EDINBURGH

The old town of Acla, where Balboa was beheaded, probably was located near the mouth of the Algaseniqua river, represented on the left

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DARIEN COLONY.

"You are going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!
In about ten days from now
Iron bands will clamp your brow;
Your tongue resemble curdled cream,
A rusty streak the centre seam;
Your mouth will taste of untold things,
With claws and horns and fins and wings;
Your head will weigh a ton or more,
And forty gales within it roar!

* * * * *
In about ten days from now,
Make to health a parting bow;
For you're going to have the fever,
Yellow eyes!"
James Stanley Gilbert.



OF THE many attempts by white men to settle within the tropics, none has been more quickly fatal, nor attended with greater disasters, than the project of the people of Scotland to establish a colony in Darien.

Soon after Spain acquired most of the Americas, other nations endeavored to secure for themselves either the trade, or a part of her possessions, in the New World. When foreign ships succeeded in penetrating the exclusiveness with which Spain surrounded her American colonies, and returned to Europe with the rich spoils of the West Indies, commercial companies sprang up to exploit the trade of those regions. It remained for William Paterson, a Scotchman, to formulate a plan for traffic and conquest that, for audacity and comprehensiveness, outshines any other scheme that has ever been projected by a private individual. Under the guise of planting a colony on the lands of the Darien Indians, it was no less than a filibustering expedition, and religious crusade,¹ into the Ameri-

¹The intentions of the Darien Company are well expressed by Philo-Caledonius (Archibald Foyer) on the title-page of his brochure—"Scotland's present duty; or a call to the nobility, gentry, ministry, and commonalty of this land, to be duely affected with, and vigorously to act for, our common concern in Caledonia, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom, to benefit our selves, and to do good to all Protestant churches." Printed in 1700.

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can provinces of Catholic Spain; with the intention to secure possession of the Isthmus of America, fortify the ports, hold the passes over the cordillera, and control commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, and instigator of the Darien Colony, was born about April, 1658, in Scotland. He was the son of farmer John Paterson and Elizabeth his wife, of Skipmyre, in Dumfriesshire. At an early age, William Paterson left home and went to Bristol, where he resided with a kinswoman of his mother. After visiting Amsterdam, in Holland, Paterson sailed to the West Indies; where he became, they say, a merchant, a missionary, and a buccaneer. He may have been all of these, as, in those days, there was nothing inconsistent in being a Protestant missionary and robbing Spain at the same time. Either as a trader, or from personal² observation, or from William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, and other buccaneers, Paterson acquired some information about the Isthmus, and the richness and possibilities of commerce in the South Sea.

Having accumulated a moderate fortune, Paterson returned to Europe with a brilliant and dazzling Scheme simmering in his head. The recent exploits of the Buccaneers were on every tongue, and the gifted financier³ appreciated fully the wealth of the New World, and was quick to grasp the advantages held by Spain in her possession of the only passes across the continent of America, and of the ports on both seas leading thereto. As expressed later, in his Memorial⁴ to the King, Paterson resented the arbitrary division of the world between Portugal and Spain, and their monopoly of the trade of the East and West Indies. In the treaty of Ryswick, just made between the Bourbon kings of France and Spain, he saw additional reasons for Great Britain to secure the command of the seas, and of the American ports and passes; which would give her the umpirage of the world.

² It is stated that Paterson made excursions over the Isthmus, but he could not have traveled very far, if what Dalrymple makes him say is true:—"The hills are clothed with tall trees without any under-wood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them many miles, free from sun and rain, unless of a great continuance."

³ "He was a great authority upon trade and upon finance; an eminent political economist; a practical statesman; and a sagacious colonial projector:—a powerful writer, a true patriot, and a thoroughly honest man."—S. Bannister.

⁴ Generally called Paterson's "*Central America*."—"On free trade it anticipates the logic of Adam Smith and the legislation of our day:

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"Thus these *doors* of the seas, and the keys of the universe, would, of course, be capable of enabling their possessors to give laws to both oceans, and to become the arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or of contracting such guilt and blood as Alexander and Cæsar."

England would be the centre country, and London the centre city. "Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work," Pater-son then describes the interoceanic routes, or passes, over the American continent, which I tabulate as follows:

Pass of Magellan, or Cape Horn.

" " La Plata.

" " Uraba, "usually called by the natives Cacarico or Paya."

" " Tubugantee.

" " Conception, "near forty leagues to the eastward of Chagre."

" " Chagre.

" " Nicaragua.

" " Vera Cruz—Acapulco.

"These ports and passes, being possessed and fortified may be easily secured and defended by eight or ten thousand men against any force, not only there already, but that can possibly be found in those places which are not only the most convenient *doors* and *inlets* into, but likewise the readiest and securest means, first of gaining, and afterwards for ever keeping, the command of the spacious South Sea, which, as hath been already said, as it is the greatest, so even, by what thereof we already know, it is by far the richest side of the world.

in policy it advises what Milton effected with the pen,—Cromwell and Chatham with the sword,—Canning and Lord Palmerston with peaceful diplomacy,—to defend in America the liberties of Europe, still looking westward in our day, in a new and perilous crisis of social progress. It even foreshadows for Central America, as a great highway of commerce, the neutrality provided by our late treaty¹ with the United States; and the information it contains from actual inspection of a country little known even now, will assist in carrying out the greatest work of our time, *a ship passage to the Pacific.*"

S. Bannister, 1857.

¹ The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, of 1850; an inexcusable and humiliating blunder in our diplomacy.

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Those ports, so settled with passes open, through them will flow at least two-thirds of what both Indies yield to Christendom, the sum whereof in gold, silver, copper, spices, saltpetre, pearls, emeralds, stones of value, and such like, will hardly amount to less than 30 millions of pounds sterling yearly. The time and expense of the voyage to China, Japan, and the richest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than a half, and the consumption of European commodities soon be more than doubled, and afterwards yearly increased.” * * * *

“First, That after having possessed ourselves of these doors of what the Spanish use to proudly call their king’s summer chambers, or more properly speaking, the keys of the Indies and doors of the world, the passes between the seas and of the Gulf of Florida,” we endeavour to secure the same to posterity by breaking to pieces those unheard of prohibitions and exclusions in all those places of the world.”

The most important region, in Paterson’s opinion, was the Isthmus of America, which he reckoned to extend from the Gulf of Urabá on the east to the river of Chagre on the west. Paterson proposed to fortify the Isthmus, and Havannah; replace the old, decrepid, and decayed government of Spain; free the Indians from the Spaniards, and the Spaniards from their priests; establish free trade; and permit liberty of conscience—according to the Scotch idea of what constituted liberty.

Paterson believed the best pass across the Isthmus was the one he calls *Tubugantee*, through the lands of the friendly Darien Indians; from Caledonia Bay on the Caribbean, south to the Gulf of San Miguel (which he calls “Gulf of Ballona”).

“From this harbor on the north, which is very convenient and defensible, they have but seven short French leagues of good, or at least easily capable of being made good, way to a place called *Swattee*; and from *Swattee* to the navigable part of the river of *Tubugantee* there is about two leagues more, the which, by reason of a steep hill and the frequent occasion there is of passing and repassing a river, is at present troublesome enough; but that two leagues might likewise easily be made good and passable by an industrious hand.”

Arrived in Europe, Paterson offered his plan to Frederick

* Paterson outdid the Pope—the latter donated unknown lands to Portugal and Spain; the former wanted the entire earth and the fulness thereof for his company.

† Gulf of Mexico.

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William, Elector of Brandenburg; and to the cities of Embden, and Bremen; but with no result. He favored the Revolution of 1688, and frequented the coffee-houses of Amsterdam. Paterson returned to England, and settled in London as a merchant; becoming prominent in financial circles. In 1691, with Michael Godfrey and others, he was the chief projector of the Bank of England. In 1695, owing to differences with his colleagues, Paterson voluntarily withdrew from the bank, selling his qualification of 2000 pounds. He then went to Scotland, and was introduced by Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, to the leaders of the government, whom he told of his scheme.

At this time, Scotland was recovering from the political and religious disturbances incident to the Revolution of 1688, and seeking an opportunity for commercial expansion. The Scottish Parliament, in 1693, had passed an Act for Encouraging Trade "with any country not at war with their majesties"—to the East and West Indies, the Straits and Mediterranean, Africa and the northern parts. This paved the way for Paterson, and he found the people eager for speculation, and receptive to his scheme.

On the 26th of June, 1695, Scotland enacted an act creating "The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies"—occasionally referred to as the African Company; but generally known as the '*Darien Company*.' The same day, it was approved by the King's commissioner, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and became a law. The Company was given monopoly in Scotland of the trade with Asia, Africa, or America, for 31 years; and freedom from taxation for 21 years. The Company was authorized to take possession of uninhabited territories in any part of Asia, Africa, or America; or in any other place by consent of the natives, if not possessed by any European sovereign; and there to plant colonies, found towns, build ships of war, make reprisals, and defend her trade by force of arms. The Company could make and conclude treaties, and, indeed, perform all the functions of a sovereign state; more, in fact, than Scotland herself possessed. In token of allegiance, the Company was to pay yearly to his Majesty, if required, "a Hogshead of Tobacco, in Name of Blench Duty."

* Paterson framed the first draft of the Act establishing the Company. The Company agreed to give him 12,000 pounds, and 3 per cent. of the profits for 21 years; or an additional 12,000 pounds. After the union of England and Scotland, Parliament, in 1715, voted Paterson 18,000 pounds to reimburse him for his losses, and in appreciation of his services to the state.

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The Scotch were envious of England's lucrative Colonial trade, resented the monopoly exercised by the East India Company of London, and gave up their money freely. The scheme appealed particularly to the ladies, and doctors of medicine—probably because they have less financial sense than other members of society. Anne, Duchess of Hamilton and Chastlerault, headed the Edinburgh list; Provost Anderson the Glasgow subscribers, and Paterson, himself, the London subscriptions; each for the maximum amount of 3000 pounds. In addition to the large number of individual subscribers,⁹ nearly every town and borough in Scotland took shares, so that it was a thoroughly national enterprise.¹⁰

Very soon after the formation of the "Darien Company," the East India Company bitterly opposed it; London and Holland withdrew their subscriptions; Spain saw danger in it, and protested; and William III. weakened and announced that he had been ill-advised in the matter. The English parliament even impeached some of its members for joining in a scheme so injurious to English trade. The Company started to do a banking business, and issued banknotes¹¹; which excited the hostility of the Bank of Scotland, which held a monopoly under the law.

In spite of all this opposition, the Scots, who at this time were separate from England, went ahead with their project. One of the first moves of the Company, August 22nd, 1696, was

⁹ "The people of Scotland," says Bishop Burnett, "lost almost 200,000 pounds sterling upon the project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it."

The stock of the Company was unlimited. The amount subscribed was never all paid in, and many persons who eagerly put down their names, had to be sued for the money. J. S. Barbour states that the actual cash paid up by subscribers in respect of calls was £153,448, 5s, 42-3d., along with £65,646, 3s, 22-3d. of overdue interest. The loss in principal and interest amounted to £219,094, 8s 7½d.

However, one of the last acts of the Scottish Parliament, March 25, 1707, was to appropriate funds to reimburse the Darien subscribers for their losses.

¹⁰ "From the Pentland Firth to the Solway, every one who had a hundred pounds was impatient to put down his name"—Macaulay, *History of England*."

¹¹ They also issued coins bearing the Company's crest, "the sun rising out of the sea," under the bust of King William. These were minted from gold-dust brought back by the "African Merchant," Captain Bell, which the Company sent to the gold coast of Africa, in 1699. The coins, called pistoles and half-pistoles, bear the date of 1701; and were the last gold coins made by the Scotch mint.

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to instruct John Munro, Doctor of Medicine, along with four Chirurgeon—Apothecaries, to prepare "Proper Medicaments" sufficient to last 1500 men for two years. He employed gunsmiths at making pistols at 17 or 18 shillings a pair, and bought "a bargain of Bibles and Catechisms" from the widow of Andrew Anderson, printer. From Jeromie Robertson, he secured "Campaign Wigs and Bobb Wigs"; and also ascertained the cheapest price of beef and cod-fish. Beef, pork, biscuit, vinegar, brandy, and other stores were accumulated in the Company's warehouse in Miln Square, Edinburgh.

The English were forbidden to supply ships or sailors, so the Company was forced to go to Amsterdam and Hamburg for vessels and stores. The business of the Company was badly managed, and one of the agents absconded with 8000 pounds. November 20th, 1697, three ships arrived in Leith Roads from Holland, and wintered up the Firth. On the 12th of March, 1698, the Directors announced that they were ready, and called for volunteers, to be indentured for three years, and maintained by the Company "Everyone who goes on the first Equipage shall Receive and Possess Fifty Acres of Plantable Land and 50 Foot Square of ground at least in the Chief City or Town, and an ordinary House built thereupon by the Colony at the end of 3 years." Modern land-boomers have nothing over the old seventeenth century promoters.

The people were wild for the scheme, and a famine in Scotland helped to swell the number of volunteers. Fully 1200 colonists were selected; 300 of whom were designated as Gentlemen-Volunteers. Among the colonists were many soldiers, just returned from the war in Flanders, thrown out of employment by the Peace of Ryswick; 60 ex-officers enlisted as "Overseers," and "Sub-Overseers;" and the soldiers who had served under them, as "Planters."

On July 8th, 1698, the Directors of the Company appointed a Council for the proposed Colony, consisting of seven men; viz.—Major James Cunningham of Eickett, Mr. James Montgomery, Mr. Daniel Mackay, Capt. Robert Jolly, Capt. Robert Pennicuik, Capt. William Vetch, Capt. Robert Pinkarton. Some of these were also captains of the ships; and "not one fit for government," so Paterson wrote.

The first expedition of the Darien Colony sailed from Leith

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on the 26th of July, 1698. "Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships," says Sir John Dalrymple.

1. The *St. Andrew*—Captain Robert Pennicuik.
 2. The *Unicorn*—Captain Robert Pinkerton.
 3. The *Caledonia*—Captain Robert Drummond.
 4. The *Endeavour* (Pink)
 5. The *Dolphin* (Snow)
- } Tenders and supply ships.

The first three vessels¹² were heavily armed. It was a day of rejoicing and celebration in Scotland, and guards were required to keep unauthorized persons from going on the expedition. A number succeeded in stowing themselves away on the ships.¹³

Strange to say, Paterson had not been made a councillor or other official, nevertheless he took an active part in the preparations, and went along with the colonists. Mrs. Paterson, her maid, and a few more women, accompanied the party. Trouble beset the colony from the start. The supplies had not been inspected before sailing, as urged by Paterson, and the bread was found to be made of "damnified" wheat. Other provisions were also spoiled and defective; and, in a few days, all hands were put on short rations.

The fleet was directed to sail to Madeira, and there open the sailing orders. They landed at this place on August 29th, where the Council purchased 27 pipes of wine, and the officers and gentlemen-volunteers exchanged their scarlet coats, swords, and finery for something to eat. The Council now assumed authority to make Paterson a councillor, in place of Captain William Veitch, who was prevented from sailing with the colony. Here the first sailing orders were opened; which directed the fleet to go to Crab Island, east of Porto Rico. September 2nd, the Scots weighed anchor from Madeira roads, exchanging salutes with the shore. On the 10th, they crossed

¹² "St. Andrew, our first Tutelar was he,
The Unicorn must next supporter be,
The Caledonia doth bring up the rear
Fraught with brave hardy lads devoid of fear;
All splendidly equipt, and to the three
The Endeavour and the Dolphin handmaids be."

(Caledonia Triumphans).

¹³ History is but a repetition of the acts of men under different names and amid new scenes. The departure of the Caledonians from Leith reminds one of the sailing of Columbus on his second voyage. A crowd of ignorant people, hungry for death, seeking they knew not what; but hoping to better their condition, even though it be at the expense of their fellow creatures. The bait, too, was the same—gold.

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the Tropic of Cancer, with the usual ceremony of ducking some of the crew three times from the main yard, "which was pretty good sport." On the 29th died Walter Johnson, Chirurgeon's Mate. "He contracted a fever, and got his hands on *laudanum liquidum*, and took too large a dose, and so he slept till death."¹⁴

October 2nd, Captain Pinkertoun¹⁵ in the Unicorn, with the Snow, and Mr. Paterson, went to the Island of St. Thomas, a free port of the Danes, to secure pilots for the Main. They returned with Captain Aletson (Allison), one of the oldest Privateers then living. He was with the Buccaneers when they crossed the Isthmus in 1680 for the South Sea; and along with Captain Macket and 33 men, was left behind at Golden Island to guard the seven vessels. On the 3rd, they went ashore on Crab Island, and took possession in the name of the Company. The Danes protested, as a matter of form, really wishing they would settle there. Here the ships took in water, which caused a flux among the colonists. They washed the vessels with vinegar, and used smoke, to stop the spread of the disease.

At Crab Island the second sailing orders were opened, and found to contain instructions to proceed to Golden Island in the Bay of Acla, near the Gulf of Darien. Oct. 23rd, one of the ministers, Mr. Thomas James, "a very good man," died of a fever, and had four dropping guns fired at his throwing over. Forty-four of the colonists died on the voyage to Darien. On the 30th, the fleet arrived at the Isthmus, and anchored in a fine sandy bay, about two leagues westward of the Gulf of Darien. The next day some went in boats to Carret Bay,¹⁶ two leagues to the west, looking for their destination. On the 1st of November, the ships sailed westward, and anchored within half a mile of Golden Island. "On the main and all the bay round full of mangrows and swampy ground, which is very unwholesome." The next day, Captain Andreas (Chief Andrés), with about a dozen Indians, came off from the shore, and asked why they came, and if the Scots were friends to the Spaniards. The colonists replied that they came to settle and

¹⁴ For this part of the narrative, we are indebted to the Journal of Mr. Hugh Rose, perhaps, Secretary to the Council. His record was sent home, December 28th, 1698, with the first report of the colony. Given in "*The Darien Papers*."

¹⁵ Captain Pinkerton has the distinction of having his name spelled in more different ways than any other official of the colony.

¹⁶ Puerto Carreto (Careta).

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trade. Andreas praised the Buccaneer Captains, Swan and Davis.

In the afternoon of the 2nd, the Scots went in boats to examine the bay four miles east of Golden Island, and found it to be an excellent harbor, capable of containing 1000 of the best ships in the world. This bay was about a league in length, and about a mile wide, with wet marshy ground about. In the middle of the entry to this bay (afterwards called Caledonia Bay), and showing three feet above the water, was a rock; doubtless the same called Black Rock by Mr. Paterson in his report.²⁷ Not far away was a small rock under water. The port was formed, and sheltered from the sea, by a peninsula three miles in length, and half a mile broad. Facing the Caribbean, the shore of the peninsula was rocky and steep. The peninsula was not inhabited by Indians, and was covered with cedars, mahogany, Brazil-wood, lignum vitae, fustic, manchineel, and other trees. Several springs were found on this tongue of land.

November 3rd, 1698—"This day we landed and took possession," writes Mr. Rose. Captain Andreas again visited the ships; this time with his traveling wife, "having in all four." He carried a stave tipped with silver, and pumped the Scots as to their intentions.

The point of the peninsula presented a flat, sandy surface, and was selected as the site of their settlement, which was named New Edinburgh. A battery of 16 guns, erected to command the harbor, was called Fort St. Andrew. The narrowest part of the peninsula, only 180 paces in width, was cut through to let in the sea, thus converting New Edinburgh into an island, and furnishing additional defence for the town and fort. Pursuant to orders from the Directors, the region was called *Caledonia*, and the port became known as *Caledonia Bay*.

When the *Unicorn* entered the harbor, on Nov. 4th, she struck that sunken rock, and tore off some of her sheathing. Men were landed from each ship to clear away the brush, fell trees, and build huts.²⁸ The sick were put ashore as soon as shelters were constructed. In a few days, Mrs. Paterson died, and dropping guns were fired at her burial. Paterson's clerk, Thomas Fenner, was already dead.

On the 15th of November, the young colony was visited by Captain Richard Long, of the English warship *Rupert Prize*.

²⁷ "The Darien Papers."

²⁸ A look-out was erected on a hill, "about a mile high," from which ships could be seen ten leagues at sea.



Photo by the *Author*

SEA-WALL OF PANAMA AT LOW TIDE

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Captain Long (Lang, as they spelled it) was a spy sent out by King William to discover the location of the Scots. On the 19th, several of the Councillors set out towards the west to explore the coast; and in a few days entered an excellent harbor, where the Buccaneers used to careen their vessels. They then landed at the river Coco, and visited Chief Ambrosio,¹⁸ and his son-in-law Pedro, "a brisk little fellow," who could speak Spanish and French, and who lived with him.

Nov. 21st, Mr. Adam Scott, the last preacher, died of a flux. Under date of the 28th, Mr. Rose writes: "These 24 houres ther has fallen a prodigious quantity of rain."

On the 3rd of December, Andreas was commissioned one of the Company's Captains, and given a basket-hilted sword, and a pair of good pistols. His commission was written on parchment, with the Colony's seal and a very broad "gold stript and flour'd ribbon appended." Seven guns were discharged in honor of the new Captain and the Company. Andreas immediately qualified by drinking freely with the Council, on board the *St. Andrew*, and getting drunk like an officer and a gentleman. On the 13th, a French ship, the *Maurepas*, came in the harbor and saluted the Commodore (the *St. Andrew*, Captain Pennicuik). Her commander, Captain Duvivier Thomas, reported that he had come out with those that returned the church plate²⁰ to Cartagena. When the Frenchman sailed, on the 24th, the Captain was drunk, and the *Maurepas* was wrecked on the rocks on the west side of the bay, with the loss of a number of lives.²¹

On the 28th of December, 1698, Mr. Alexander Hamilton sailed on a turtling sloop (Capt. Edward Sands) with the first dispatch of the Colony, and Mr. Rose's Journal, for the Directors in Scotland. The first report of the Colony had few disasters to relate, and gave general satisfaction at home. Major Cunningham, one of the Council, suddenly severed his con-

¹⁸ "When they came near, Ambrosio advanced about 50 pace with 20 followers, all cloathed in white loose frocks with fringes round the bottoms, and lances in their hands. He saluted them very kindly, and gave them a calabash of liquor almost like lambswool, which they call Mischlew, being made of Indian corn and potatoes; this they get drunk with all often"—Rose's *Journal*.

²⁰ Stolen by the French under De Pointis, in 1697. Louis XIV of France, as well as William of England, was now courting the friendship of Spain.

²¹ Caledonia Harbor is described as a safe port, easy for ships to get in, but hard for sailing vessels to get out of; because in the dry time, the wind from the north blows directly into the mouth of the harbor.

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nection with Caledonia, and left on the sloop with Mr. Hamilton.

Spain was much alarmed at the invasion and settlement by other Europeans of her American possessions; and that, too, in the "very Heart" of her domains, as the Spanish Ambassador asserted. The Spaniards well remembered how a few hundred Buccaneers had crossed and recrossed the Isthmus at will, sacked and burnt the towns, and captured Spanish galleons on both oceans. Captain Long, from Jamaica, reported to his government: "The Spaniards in this Countrey are in a great consternation about it and challenge it for their Countrey."

The Scotch invasion of Darien encouraged the liberals and progressives in the Spanish provinces to agitate for independence of the mother country. The slaves and *cimarrones* became troublesome. At Portobello, a body of 700 slaves, soon increased to 1,500, compelled the Governor to give them their freedom; when they went about "strutting and taking the right hand of their Masters, who dared not to say it was ill done."²² At London, the Ambassador Extraordinary from Spain presented the following Memorial to the King:—

"The Under Subscriber, Ambaffador Extraordinary of his Catholick Majesty, finds himself obliged by Exprefs Orders, to reпреsent to your Majesty, that the King his Master having received Information from different places, and laft of all from the Governor of *Havana*, of the Infult and Attempt of fome Scots Ships, equipp'd with Men and other things requifit, who defign to fettle themfelves in his Majesty's Sovereign Demains in *America*, and particularly the Province of *Darien*. His Majesty receiv'd those Advices with very much difcontent, and looks upon the fame as a Token of fmall Friendship, and as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns (which his Majesty hath obferved hitherto, and always obferves very religiously, and from which fo many Advantages and Profits have refulted both to your Majesty and your Subjects) as a Confequence of which good Correpondence his Majesty did not expect such sudden Infults and Attempts by your Majesty's Subjects, and that too in a time of Peace, without pretext (or any caufe) in the very Heart of his Demains.

All that the King defires, is, That this may be reпреsented to your Majesty, and that your Majesty may be acquainted, that

²² *Rose' Journal*.

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he is very fenfible of fuch Hoftilities and unjuft Procedures, againft which his Majefty will take fuch Meafures as he thinks convenient. Given at London May 13-3, 1699."

The Governors of Panama and Cartagena gathered land and sea forces to go against the invaders. As early as December 15th, Andreas reported the Spaniards passing over from Panama to Portobello, preparatory to attacking New Edinburgh. On the 23rd of the same month, Captain Ambrosio gave warning of 600 Spaniards, with 200 South Sea Indians, marching overland from Santa Maria. Captain Pincartone (Pinkerton), with 30 men and a boy, sailed in the Dolphin Snow for Barbadoes, to barter stores for provisions. February 5th, 1699, the vessel ran on a rock, and leaked so badly that they were compelled to run her ashore under the walls of Cartagena; where the Spaniards held them on the charge of piracy.²³ On the 6th of February, a Spanish outpost in the lands of Captain Pedro, was driven back by Captain James Montgomery and a party of 100 men.

On the 24th of February, 1699, the Council made a Treaty²⁴ with Pedro, the principal chieftain of Darien, who could put 3000 warriors in the field. There should be peace between the Indians and Caledonians "as long as rivers ran, and gold was found in Darien."²⁵

April 24th, the Council and Deputies assembled in a Parliament at New Edinburgh, and passed 34 rules and ordinances for the government of the Colony. The first regulation, at least, was a good one:

I. "In the first place, it is hereby provided and declared, that the precepts, instructions, examples, comands, and prohibitions exprest and contained in the holy Scriptures, as of right they ought, shall not only be binding and obliging, and have the full force and effect of lawes within this Colony, but are, were, and of right ought to be, the standart, rule, and measure to all, the further and other constitutions, rules, and ordinances thereof."²⁶

²³ Capt. Pinkerton was sent to Spain for trial, and ultimately set free. His men were dispersed among the Spanish ships in the West Indies. Andrew Livingston, Chirurgeon, escaped from Cartagena to New Edinburgh early in 1700, for which the Council allowed him an extra share of brandy.

²⁴ Given in the Appendix.

²⁵ See the novel "*Darien*," by Eliot Warburton.

²⁶ "*The Darien Papers*, p. 113.

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The Colony was already in disorder, and these laws tended to hasten its dissolution.

In May, a French sloop, commanded by Captain Tristian, came to Darien from Petit Guavis, with a letter from Gov. Du Casse about the French wreck.

Captain Long reached London late in December, 1698, and reported to William all he had learned about the Darien Colony. Almost immediately, the King²⁷ issued secret orders to the English Colonial Governors in America, forbidding them to give food or any other assistance to the Scotch colonists, and directing that the Governors issue proclamations, strictly enjoining their people from holding any communication with the said persons. The order to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, found in the Va. State Library, runs as follows:

Whitehall, 2d Janry, 1698-9.

Sir,

His Maj.^{ty} having received Advice from the Island of Jamaica that severall Ships of force fitted out in Scotland were arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, (with an Inteficon as they Declared) to settle themselves in some part of America their design being unknown to his Ma.^{ty}, least the same should derogate from the treaties his Maj.^{ty} have entered into with the Crown of Spain or be otherwise prejudiciall to any of his Maj.^{ty}s Colonies in the West Indies! his Maj.^{ty} Commands me to signify his Pleasure to you that you strictly enjoyn all his Maj.^{ty} Subjects or others inhabiting within the districts of your Governm^t that they forbear holding any correspondence with, or giving any assistance to any of the said psons while they are engaged in the fores.^d enterprize, and that no provisions, arms, ammunition, or other necessarys whatsoever be carryed to them from thence, or be pmitted to be carryed either in their own Vessells or other Ships or Vessells for their use; his Maj.^{ty} requires that you do not fail herein; but take particular care that the above mentioned direcons be fully observed, and that

²⁷ Under the Act creating the Company, the King was required to interpose and obtain reparation should any foreign state injure the Company. Instead of which, William did all in his power to kill the enterprise. The Company and people of Scotland, very properly, blamed the King and English people for the failure of the Darien settlement. The bitterness thus engendered almost excited rebellion, and delayed the union of the two countries; which was not consummated until the year 1707.

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you send hither an account of your proceedings in the execucon of these his Commands..²⁸

I am Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JA: VERNON.

Similar directions were sent to Lord Bellomont, Gov. of New York and New England; Gov. Beeston,²⁹ of Jamaica; Gov. Gray of Barbados; etc.

About this time, there appeared at Paris a pamphlet directed against the Darien Company. The anonymous writer affirmed that the Province of Darien belonged in entire sovereignty to the Catholic King, and that the irruption of the Scots was odious in all its circumstances; as a simple exposition of the facts would make clear.³⁰ He recounted the "Bulles" of Pope Alexander VI., and the donation of America to Spain. The author reviewed the history of the discovery of the Isthmus, the settlement of Santa Maria la Antigua in Darien, the regime of the Spanish governors, and the raids of Francis Drake and Oxenham; claiming that Spain forced Queen Elizabeth to surrender to Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, the booty taken by Drake. This brochure held that Darien was as much settled as the western part of Ireland—from Sligo to Limerick—and asserted that the Spaniards were then in actual possesion of Santa Maria de las Minas (Cana). "Que qui prouve pour le tout prouve pour le Partie," exclaimed the writer, at the completion of his argument.

²⁸ Hiram Bingham—"Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony." American Historical Review, Vol X, No. 4, July, 1905. William knew at this time that the Scots had located on the Isthmus; but did not care to commit himself, lest he should be called to account by Spain, and enrage the Jacobites in Scotland. On June 18th, 1699, the King sent a second order to the Gov. of Virginia, in which he announces that the Company had taken possession of Caerat (or Carrat) Bay. Gov. Nicholson never proclaimed this order.

²⁹ Gov. Beeston was the first to issue a proclamation, April 8, 1699; and only three governors complied with the order.

³⁰ "Il est si notoire que le Province de Darien appartient en toute Souveraineté au Roi Catholique, & l'Irruption que les Ecoffois y ont faire cette année est si odieuse en toutes ses circonftances que la fimple exposition du fait devoit fufire en cette affaire pour tout eclairciffement.

"Le Darien au refte n'est pas feulement une Province dependante de la Couronne d'Efpagne en America. C'est de plus la Porte de toutes les autres, c'en est le centre & le feul lieu que fa Majefté ait par terre pour la Communication de fes autres Etats Americains tant du Midi que du Septentrion."—*L'Affaire de Darien*.

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As an off-set to this, we have the answer to the Memorial presented by the Spanish Ambassador; issued by Philo-Caledon, at Edinburgh, in the year 1699 ("MDC, XC, IX"). The author (Archibald Foyer), challenged the right of the Spaniards to hold Darien either by *Inheritance, Marriage, Donation, Purchase, Reversion, Surrender, Possession, or Conquest*. He claimed, truly, that the Darien Indians were never conquered; nor did they ever receive a Spanish governor or garrison. The writer quotes Dampier, Wafer, Sharp, and Ringrose, to show that the *Dariens* invited the English and French to come in, and joined in fighting the Spaniards. He further states that Captain Sharp was tried for robbery and piracy in England, and acquitted because of his commission from the Darien Princes.

Spain's only title to Darien lay in the general donation of America by the Pope. "To urge the Pope's Grant amongst Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves but precarious," affirms Philo-Caledon. He smashes the title by donation by showing that Rome did not make the gift for Conquest, but to propagate the Faith; which right the Spaniards had forfeited by acquitting themselves so ill; in proof of which he cites their Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas, who asserted that instead of converting the souls of the Indians, the Spaniards destroyed their bodies, murdering above forty millions of them.

As an instance of their failure to convert the natives, the writer narrates the story of Prince Hathwey,²¹ who, while burning at the stake, preferred going to hell, when told that heaven was full of Spaniards. As a clincher to his argument, the writer claimed that the occupation of Darien by the Scots would promote closer union between England and Scotland, help the trade of England and the West Indies, and make money easy.

Partly as a result of the opposition of the King, and the proclamations against them—but more from their own unfitness for the climate, and the incompetence of their Councilors—the Caledonians did not last long in Darien. These pink-skinned northmen²² were as helpless among the tropical jungles

²¹ Cacique Hatuey, who dwelt in the eastern part of Cuba, whence he had fled from Haiti, to escape the atrocities of the white man.

²² "It was folly to suppose," says Macaulay, "that men born and bred within ten degrees of the Arctic Circle would enjoy excellent health within ten degrees of the Equator."

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as fish out of water. They scorned to learn of the Indians, and made no effort at planting or self-sustenance. The Scots brought out articles for trade, but the proclamations kept others away, and they were not able to secure enough food to keep themselves alive. The officials quarrelled and did nothing; and the colonists slowly starved, or quickly sickened and died. The Indians³³ kept the colony in constant alarm by reports of the Spaniards coming, and vainly urged the Scots to go against Santa Maria or Portobello.

The Darien Scheme was useless without a route across the Isthmus, and a port on each side. The Scots never attempted to reach the South Sea, or establish a post on the Gulf of San Miguel. If their leaders thought to accomplish this in time without fighting the Spaniards, they were simply fools, and deserved their fate. The mass of the colonists were innocent sufferers from the stupidity and incompetence of their officials.

The Carreto- Acla- Caledonia Pass³⁴ is the oldest route across the Isthmus known to the whites. From this region, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, in 1513, started out on his quest for the South Sea; and from Acla he established communication with the Gulf of San Miguel by way of the Rio Balsas. Acla (Agla) was the town founded in 1515 by Pedrarias, and was located probably at the mouth of the Rio Aglaseniqua, which empties into the western part of Caledonia Bay, opposite Golden Island.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila, like Balboa, transported his vessels from Acla across the mountains to the Rio Balsas, and so to the South Sea. The Buccaneers who congregated at Golden Island (the north-western headland of Caledonia Bay), landed on the mainland opposite, near the site of Acla; and thence they passed over the divide, and followed the Chucunaque river down to its junction with the Tuira, near the town of Santa Maria.

The delusion, held by many, that an easy pass existed

³³Knowing what Francis Drake and the Buccaneers had achieved on the Isthmus, with what contempt the Indians must have looked upon this helpless and sorry lot of white men.

³⁴It is singular, says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. xvi—p. 96) that the Scots selected the only point where a communication between the two seas seems practicable. "Had the settlement founded by our countrymen been maintained for a few years only, the Succession War, which almost immediately followed, would have secured to us intercourse with the South Sea, which the House of Bourbon, our inveterate enemies, would never have been able to have shut against us."

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between Caledonia Bay and the Gulf of San Miguel, persisted until 1854, when it was dispelled by the expedition of Lieut. Strain, U. S. N. Had the Caledonians attempted to open communication across the Isthmus, and secure a port on the Gulf of San Miguel, their fate would have been more pitiable, if possible, than it was. The Spaniards, who had been on the Isthmus for two hundred years, had naturally come to settle on the most desirable pass—the Portobello-Chagres River—Panama route.

Upon receipt of the first report of the Colony, at the hands of Mr. Hamilton, the Directors at Edinburgh, under date of 22nd April, 1699, wrote to the Right Hon'ble the Council of Caledonia, of the great satisfaction it gave throughout the Kingdom. Thanksgivings were held in the churches, and the public rejoicings consisted of "bone-fires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all other demonstrations of joy."

While the shareholders in Scotland were still rejoicing over the good news from the Colony—and their own prospects of gain—the Caledonians were preparing to vacate Darien. Sick-ness continued among the colonists, aggravated by want of food, until about 300 of their number had already died of fever and fluxes; and the remainder lived in constant fear of the Spaniards.

On the 20th of June, 1699, about eight months after landing, the 900 enfeebled survivors hurriedly evacuated New Edinburgh. England and her colonies had proclaimed against them; and since their arrival, the Caledonians had heard nothing from the home company.⁸⁸ This opposition, however, had only made the Company more determined to persist in their scheme. The Directors in Scotland were more capable than were the Council in the wilds of America. In January, 1699, they started out the *Dispatch* with supplies for the colony; but the vessel was wrecked before getting away from the shores of Scotland. The Company then fitted out two ships, which at this very time were on the way to the relief of the colonists.

The Caledonians embarked in the ships they came in, with the exception of the *Dolphin Snow*, seized at Cartagena. The *Endeavour Pink* leaked badly, and was abandoned at sea, her passengers being transferred to the other vessels. Each ship selected her own course to hasten away from the fatal spot.

⁸⁸ "All the time of their abode here, which was upwards of seven months, they say they had never so much as one Letter or Vessel from Scotland, which was a great discouragement to them, and no good policy in our Directors at home."—Rev. Mr. Francis Borland.

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After a hard passage, the *St. Andrew* reached Blewfields, Jamaica, losing 100 men by sickness. So few of her crew were left, that seamen were hired at this port to sail the ship to Port Royal, where her people continued to die, and the vessel was deserted. The Captain, Robert Pennicuik, one of the Council, died on the sea. When the *Unicorn* left Caledonia Bay, Mr. Patterson was carried on board, suffering from a fever; and for a time was out of his head. This ship steered for New York, losing about 150 persons, including their Chief Surgeon, Mr. Hector Mackenzie, who died off Cape Antonio, Cuba. The *Unicorn* reached New York,³⁶ August 14th, 1699, after a tempestuous voyage; Captain John Anderson saving the ship by his skilful seamanship. Here they found the *Caledonia*, which had arrived about ten days before them; having lost about the same number from disease. The Company sent Archibald Stewart, Chyrurgeon, from Scotland to look after the sick and the affairs of the colonists in New York.

During this "middle passage," as it is called, from Darien to Jamaica and New York, more than 400 dead were thrown overboard. Those who lived to reach New York, rapidly recovered their health in that temperate climate, and some remained there. The *Unicorn* was finally abandoned at East Jersey, New York harbor. On October 12th, Mr. Paterson, with a few survivors, sailed in the *Caledonia* for Scotland. The furies still followed the unfortunate Scots, and gave them a rough passage home. Paterson reached Edinburgh on December 5th, and on the 19th wrote a report to the directors.

³⁶ When the Directors heard of the desertion of Caledonia, they wrote Oct. 10th, to the original Council at New York: "The surprising and unaccountable news of your shamefull and dishonourable abandonment of Caledonia the 29th³⁷ of June last, without any the least hint thereof from yourselves, affords us but too much matter of reflection on your unfatuated proceedings for some time past."—"The Darien Papers."

³⁷ Probably the 20th.

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THE SECOND EXPEDITION.

After the loss of the *Dispatch*, the Company sent to Darien two vessels, the *Olive Branch*, Captain William Jameson; and the *Hopeful Binning of Bo'ness*, Captain Alexander Stark. These two ships, usually called the second expedition, sailed from Leith, May 12th, 1699, with 300 more recruits, and supplies for the Caledonians. By the middle of August, two months after the departure of the first expedition, the two ships arrived safely at Darien, having but one death on the voyage out. To their surprise, they found New Edinburgh deserted, and were in suspense what to do; but resolved to remain and await the arrival of a larger party, which they knew was fitting out. But the inexorable fate which accompanied every attempt of the Scots in this enterprise, again determined their movements.

In a few days, a careless steward aboard the *Olive Branch*, while drawing brandy,⁸⁸ set fire to the ship, and it was entirely consumed. As most of the stores had been carried by the *Olive Branch*, the party now decided not to wait for the next expedition, but to abandon the place. About 12 persons,⁸⁹ including three lieutenants, and a carpenter and his wife, elected to remain and await the coming of the expected reinforcements. Those who had come out on the burnt ship, about 100 in number, were taken on the *Hopeful Binning*, and Captain Stark sailed for Jamaica. There the Scots rapidly sickened, and most of them died.

⁸⁸ The Scots carried enormous quantities of liquor among the supplies, and there was altogether too much drinking by the colonists. One of the councillors is described as not caring what became of the colony so long as he had his pipe and dram.

⁸⁹ The Rev. Mr. Borland says, "about six men of them so resolute and bold."

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THE THIRD EXPÉDITION.

The third expedition, often called the Rising Sun party, was the largest body of Colonists sent to Darien by the Company of Scotland. It consisted of 1300 persons, who sailed from the Clyde, September 24th, 1699, in four ships; the *Rising Sun*, Captain Gibson; the *Company's Hope*, Captain Miller; the *Duke of Hamilton*, Captain Duncan; and the *Hope of Boroughstomen*, Captain Dalling. The fleet stopped at Montserrat, and sent the boats ashore for fresh water; but the English Governor, in compliance with his orders, inhumanely refused the request. Here they heard rumors of the desertion of Darien by the first colony.

The Rising Sun party reached Caledonia Bay, November 30th, 1699. On the way out, 160 persons perished, including one of their four preachers,⁴⁰ Alexander Dalgliesh, who died betwixt Montserrat and Darien. The new arrivals found two sloops at anchor in the harbor, and saw the burnt hull of Captain Jamieson's ship. One of the sloops belonged to Mr. Fulton, a trader from New England; the other was commanded by Captain Thomas Drummond, a member of the first Council, who sailed from New York, September 18th, to try and resettle Darien, if men and supplies would arrive from Scotland. The heroic little band who remained behind when the *Hopeful Binning* left, were found living with the Indians.

The best account of the third expedition is that by Francis Borland, one of the preachers. Borland's narrative, in addition to its great historic value, possesses a delicious humor, which is all the richer because the writer is so completely unconscious of it. He describes the scene at New Edinburgh as like the coming of David with his little army to Ziklag of old, where expecting to meet with their friends and relatives, they found the town burnt and laid waste, and the colonists gone they knew not whither; so that the people lift up their

⁴⁰ The Company looked after the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of the Colony. After the death of the two ministers sent with the first expedition, the Council requested more preachers. The directors appealed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which appointed a Commission to promote so Christian and noble a design. At a meeting held at Glasgow, July 19th, 1699, Mr. Meldrum preached a fervid and suitable sermon; choosing as his text, Hebrews XI-8,—“By Faith Abraham being called of God, obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went.” They arranged to supply preachers, and drew up a letter of instructions for the colony.

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voice and wept sore. The Scots held council what to do, and someone proposed that one of the ministers pray for direction; but the motion was lost. As they had brought out only provisions, and nothing with which to start a colony, it was decided to send 400 landsmen and 100 seamen to Jamaica. The men were not sent away, however, as the ships could not get out of the harbor on account of the north wind.

The new colonists landed, and cleared the ground again.⁴¹ They built huts for the planters, 12 feet long, and 10 wide; and for the officers, 30 feet long, and 16 wide; also several store-houses; which they covered with plantain leaves. The preachers, compelled to stay on the ships, complained of having no houses erected for them; and it never occurred to the ministers that they might construct huts for themselves. The fort was repaired, and guns again mounted for defence.

The Company had appointed a new council for Caledonia, consisting of Captain Gibson, Captain Veitch, Major Lindsay, and James Byars.⁴² The last was the boss of the colony, and is accused by the Rev. Alexander Shields⁴³ of hindering the settlement of Darien. Councillor Byres told the people there was food for only six weeks, whereas there was plenty for six months. Accordingly, he cut down the daily allowance of provisions, "so it might last the longer," which caused much grumbling among the colonists. Another cause of discontent was a rumor that those persons detailed to be transported to Jamaica were there to be sold into servitude.

Instead of diminishing, disease and death increased on landing in Darien. Fourteen days after their arrival, nine sailors deserted from the *Rising Sun*, going away in the ship's boat,

⁴¹ "For things in this fouthern climate are of a speedy growth."—Borland.

⁴² Like the other names, spelled in various ways.

⁴³ The Rev. Shields, author of the "Hynd Let Loose," who had served with the army in Flanders, said he had never been concerned with such a company as this was. He affirms, in a letter home, that Mr. Byres hindered planting and opposed all motions for making any attempt upon the Spaniards—"yea, asserted and contended, that not only we were unable to make any such attempt, but that it was unlawful for Christians, under the New Testament Dispensation, to make any war; and not only so, but that justice would require that we should make reparation to the Spaniards for the injuries done to them; and because I mentioned the lawfulness of war, he upbraided me to my face with nonsense, contradicting the Gospell, and tempting men to Atheism."—

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perhaps to join the Spaniards at Portobel. About the middle of December, there was hatched and discovered a plot to seize the councillors and ships, and escape from the fatal spot. Alexander Campbell was adjudged the ringleader, condemned by court-martial, and on December 20th, executed within the fort. From a letter of Rev. Shields, it is probable that this man was the carpenter who remained in Caledonia when the second expedition departed.

Like with the previous parties, affairs rapidly went from bad to worse. A few men, like Captain Thomas Drummond, and Lieutenant Turnbull, seemed to possess a true knowledge of their situation. The Spaniards, of course, were preparing to drive out the Scots, and the latter heard dreadful tales of the fate awaiting them. On December 15th, 1699, Captain Drummond, aboard his sloop, the *Anna* of Caledonia, wrote a letter to the Council, offering to lead 150 volunteers, with Indians, against Portobello, and thus forestall the Spaniards. The Council not only rejected the proposal, but, through the influence of Byres, arrested Captain Drummond^a on suspicion of his having a hand in the plot to seize on the ships and councillors, and confined him aboard the *Duke of Hamilton*.

Under date of 23 December, 1699, the Council, on board the *Rising Sun*, Caledonia Bay, wrote to the Directors: "The place, by its situation in this part of the world, is fitt for commerce; and, if money be bestowed, honest men employed, and good measures followed, a firme settlement may be made, so that strangers may promise themselves safety here; but on planting and improvement no great stress can be laid for reimbursing the adventurers unless negroes be procured, white men being unfitt for that work, more costly in their maintenance, and so only fitt for defending the settlem't and overseeing the work." * * * *

"That which was called gold dust is indeed very thick here, particularly at our watering-place, in and about the water; but it proves really nothing att all but slimy stuff, verifying the

^a Later, Captain Drummond was fully exonerated by the Company, and Byres correspondingly condemned for his "arbitrary, illegal, and inhumane actings." Among the 25 queries prepared by Drummond to be addressed to Mr. Byres was the following,—16. "What reason had you to vilepend the Indians, and to make them appear little, still saying they were no better than a parcle of mounckies, and that their friendship was not worth, altho' I had begged several times they should carry fair with the Indians, knowing very well we could not secure our settlement without their friendship."

"*The Darien Papers.*"

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proverb, 'tis not all Gold that glisters. Among the natives wee find nothing of gold or silver save a few nose jewells, such as you have seen; and scarcely amongst them all wee have found so much as one ounce of gold in mass or lignet, which they gett from ye Spaniards; but of the dust or ore, not one grain. And whereas there were ample accounts given of the natives being at warr with the Spaniards, and that they were our fast friends, we find two of their Captains, viz. Pedro and Augustine, with silver headed staves, as Spanish Captains, willing notwithstanding, to goe with us and plunder the Spaniards, as noe doubt they would doe us, if the Spaniards would help them." Signed by James Gibsone—J. Lindsay—Ja. Byres—Wm. Veitch.

On the 16th of January, 1700, Rev. Borland, Rev. Shiels, and others, started out under the guidance of Lieut. Turnbull to visit the Indians on the greater and lesser rivers of Acla, about eight miles to the westward of New Edinburgh. "Ebenezer!" exclaims preacher Borland; "The Lord leading the blind by a way they knew not." The first night they lodged at the house of Captain Pedro, who gave them meat and fruit to eat, and hammocks to sleep in. Next day, the party followed the river down to Prandies Bay, over against Golden Island, then farther west to little Acla, where they passed the night at the house of an Indian named John (Juan). The following day, they returned to New Edinburgh. The hike was a terrible experience, and Mr. Borland was so grateful on coming to a spring of cool water, that he called it "*Beer-la-hai-roi*—the well of him that liveth and did see us." Preacher Shiels, who was faint and sore spent, did drink of the well, and was refreshed.

February 2nd, the three ministers⁴⁶ met and wrote a letter to the moderators of the commission of the General Assembly, in Scotland.—"The source and fountain cause of all our miseries we brought from our own country with us, arising from the inconsiderate choice that was made there of the worst of men to go along with us, that ever were sent to command or serve in a colony."

The miseries of the colonists continued to increase; and February 7th, councillor Byres sailed for Jamaica to seek help,

⁴⁶ Revs. Borland, Shields, and Archibald Stobo .

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"but came no speed there." The preachers now had plenty of occupation in visiting the sick on shore."

On the 10th of October, 1699, the Directors had appointed Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonabb (Finab) to be commander of Caledonia by land and sea, and on February 11th, 1700, he reached New Edinburgh from Barbadoes with a sloop loaded with provisions. His arrival caused all the *Rising Sun* party to remain on the Isthmus. Campbell's first act was to release from arrest Captain Drummond, who had been a fellow officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders.

February 13th, the Indians again gave the alarm that the Spaniards were coming; and Captain Campbell with 200 Scots, and 40 Indians under Lieut. Turnbull, started out to give them battle. On the 15th, about twenty miles southwest of New Edinburgh, they came upon the Spaniards barricadoed upon a hillside. According to the Rev. Borland, the site of the fight was known as Yoratuba. Rev. Shields calls the place Topocante, and says that the enemy consisted of three or four hundred Spaniards, Mulattos, Creolles, and Negroes; commanded by their "Muestre de Campo, Michael de Cordonnez, who run with the first." The Scots tore down the palisades, and had a short, sharp engagement with the Spaniards; when the latter fled, leaving their dead on the field. The Indians bore themselves bravely. The Scots had nine men killed, and fourteen wounded. Five Spaniards were taken prisoners. Captain Campbell, Lieut. Turnbull, and Chief Pedro were among the wounded. A poor Indian, who had distinguished himself in the fight, was made Captain, and named Alexander, probably taking the name of the Scottish commander. He was given a scarlet coat, and hat with lacing. Chief Diego's son, now called Captain Steven, was given the same; and Chief Pedro was suitably rewarded.

The Scots were much elated over their successful encounter with the Spaniards, but their joy proved to be short-lived. In a few days several of their boats were run into the harbor by

"Our settlement in Darien, was in a very fickly and unwholesome climate as is marked above; therefore the Spaniards deferted it long ago; and could our people of a far more northerly latitude than Spain is, expect here long to thrive and prosper? This consideration alone, would foon have made our people weary of it, as a place too hot for them, too costly and chargeable to maintain."

"The History of Darien," Francis Borland, p. 96.

"Upon returning to Scotland, Capt. Campbell received a grant of arms for his victory; as also a medal from the Company.

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Spanish vessels, which pressed them so hard that the long-boat of the *Rising Sun* was run ashore in Caret Bay, and abandoned. February 23rd and 25th, eleven Spanish sail anchored within Golden Island, in plain view of the settlement. The enemy had landed troops at Caret Bay; and Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes, were reported coming by land from Panama and Santa Maria; all under command of their General, Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Cartagena and Panama. February 28th, the casual firing of some gun-powder burnt up several rows of huts, and added to the miseries of the Scots, both sick and well. The next day, they had a skirmish with the Spaniards near the neck of the peninsula, in which Captain McIntosh was wounded, dying a few days later.

The hand of the Lord was now very heavy on the Scots; sickness and mortality increasing. Major Lindsay, a councillor, died; and one day there were sixteen burials. "Some in tolerable health today, and cut off by sudden violent fevers and fluxes in a few days." The preachers wanted to set a day of prayer, but the Council pretended they had no time for it.⁴⁸

The Caledonians strengthened the defences of their fort, and prepared fireships to combat the Spanish fleet. Provisions and ammunition were running low, and pewter utensils were melted into shot. On the 17th of March, there was another engagement with the enemy, when the Scots were driven in from the neck of land. The Spanish General sent a drummer, and a demand, which the Council did not understand, having no interpreter.

March 18th, the Council, with the land and sea Captains, voted, *nemine contradicente, capitulate*; all except Captain Campbell, who was for fight. When Captain Kerr went to the Spaniards, on the 22nd, their General⁴⁹ was so "high and lofty"

⁴⁸ "The people that our Company of Scotland fent over hither to their New Colony, were moft of them, both Seamen and Landmen, Gentlemen and Officers, as well as the meaner fort, none of the beft of men. And therefore the Miniſters fent along with them had but ſmall comfort in their company; their inſtructions and admonitions were but little regarded by them; many of them ſeldom, and ſome of them never attending the public worſhip of God. Whence we may ſee what fort of a Church they could ſet up in this place, when there was ſuch bad ſtuff to make it of."—Borland.

⁴⁹ "This Pimienta was a little thin man in ſtature, but mighty proud, paſſionate, ſtiff, and wilful."—Borland.

Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, the Governor of Cartagena belonged to the noble houſe of Villareal, and was a Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and Maestre de Campo, who had won credit for his military behaviour at the battle of Buda, where he received a wound. No doubt, he could

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in his demands, that they could come to no terms. The 24th, the Spaniards advanced their line on the peninsula to within a mile of the fort, which gave them the opportunity to communicate by boats with their ships. Guns were brought ashore, and a battery mounted on a hillside, opposite the weakest point of the fort. The Spaniards also took possession of a rivulet, about half a mile from the settlement, where the colonists obtained drinking water. This forced the Scots to dig a well within the confines of the fort, described as a brackish puddle. During the 28th and 29th, Spanish musketeers advanced and fired upon the fort.

March 30th, to the surprise of the Caledonians, General Pimienta offered to treat with them. This change in his attitude is said to have been due to an intercepted letter, which spoke of reinforcements coming to New Edinburgh. Mr. James Mayne drew up the articles in Latin; and on the 31st, the capitulation was signed by Don Juan Pimienta, and councillors Gibson and Veitch. The terms were remarkably favorable to the Scots. They were given fourteen days in which to get ready and depart from Darien, and were allowed to retain their arms, and leave with drums beating and colors flying.⁶⁰

Two days after the surrender, the sloop *Speedy Return*, commanded by Captain Bailie, with Captain Drummond aboard, came into port by night. Councillor Mackay had sailed on the same vessel, but fell from the poop while fishing for sharks, and was instantly devoured by those voracious animals. Councillor Byres, returning from Jamaica on another sloop, failed to get into the harbor.

April 11th, 1700, the third expedition departed from New Edinburgh in seven ships, and anchored at Golden Island.⁶¹ The *Rising Sun*, a sixty-gun ship, was hard to get out of port,

have exterminated the fever-stricken Scotchmen. When Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Count of Canillas, the President of Panama, reported the rout of the Caledonians, he gave no credit to Pimienta, and himself was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Peru; which, however, he did not live to enjoy.

⁶⁰ During the negotiations, Rev. Shields ventured to request Pimienta not to be severe toward the Indians for their alliance with the Scots. The General told Mr. Shields, in Latin, to attend to his own business; to which the Reverend replied, *Curabo* (I will attend to it.)

⁶¹ March 9th, 1700, the Company's vessel, *Margaret of Dundee*, Captain Patrick Macdowall, sailed from Scotland, and on June 16th, arrived in Caledonia Bay. Finding the Spaniards in possession, the Scottish commander "fired two small shot among them in token of defiance," displayed his colors, and sailed away to Port Morant, in Jamaica.

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and the Spaniards generously lent a hand to help the sickly and weakened Scots. The next day, April 12th, the colonists sailed from Golden Island, each vessel steering a separate course for Blewfields. Captain Campbell and Captain Drummond, in their sloops, reached New York, and arrived safely in Scotland. All four of the ships met with disaster. The *Hope of Bo'ness* leaked so badly that Captain Dalling ran into Cartagena, where he sold the ship. The *Company's Hope* missed Blewfields, and was wrecked on the rocks called Colorado, off the west end of Cuba. The *Rising Sun* got to Blewfields, and the rest also reached Jamaica.

July 21st, 1700, the *Rising Sun* sailed from Blewfields, and off Florida encountered stormy weather. August 24th, she put into Charles-Town in Carolina, but could not cross the bar. A dreadful hurricane now came up, and completely wrecked the ship, destroying the lives of the 112 persons aboard, including Captain Gibson. The *Duke of Hamilton*, which was in Charleston at the same time, was also destroyed; but all her people were saved.

It is thus seen that the 1300 members of the third expedition fared no better than the former colonists. On the outward voyage, 160 perished; 300 died during the brief stay in Darien; 250 on the "middle passage," after evacuating New Edinburgh; about 100 died in Jamaica; and 112 were lost in the wreck of the *Rising Sun*. About 360 survivors became dispersed among the English settlements, a few finally returning to Scotland.

After following the adventures of the Spanish discoverers and conquerors, the daring voyages of the Privateers, and the successful feats of the Buccaneers; and then reading of the disasters which overwhelmed every action of the Scots in their attempt to plant a colony in Darien, we are inclined to agree with the Rev. Mr. Borland, that the enterprise was fore-ordained to destruction. Borland well summarizes the history of the different expeditions, when he says:—

"After our company of Scotland had sent forth their first colony in order to settle upon Darien, whatever recruits and supplies of men and provisions were sent out of Scotland afterwards for this place, still the former were gone from the place, before the latter were come up, or else the supplies mis-carried by the way, or came too late. For, 1. That ship sent from Clyde with provisions designed for the colony, was cast away, and failed in the undertaking. 2. When the first colony had dislodged and left the place, being upon the sea, some of them met with a New-England ship coming with provisions

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for their colony, but it was now too late. 3. When Jamieson's and Stark's ships arrived upon the place with men and provisions, they found Caledonia deserted, and the colony gone, they knew not whither. 4. When the Rising Sun and her company came up, they found both the first colony, and Jamieson's and Stark's party removed and gone, and they never knew of it, until they got thither. 5. When Captain Bailie with a small vessel arrived there from Scotland, though they found the Rising-Sun's party upon the place, yet the capitulations with the Spaniards was concluded near two days before his arrival. 6. When Captain M'Dowal in a sloop from Dundee had come to Caledonia with provisions, he found the place possessed by the Spaniards, our men being removed to Jamaica. From such an observable succession of counteracting providences in this design, who cannot but remark, and see a holy and sovereign God, signally appearing and fighting against this undertaking."

The preacher then affirms that the Caledonians were sadly immoral and profane, who did not honor God, and God did not honor them, but made the colonists to fall in the wilderness and in the sea. Rev. Borland concludes his history in these words:

"From all that hath befallen this undertaking and Company, it is sadly evident and plain, that he that runs may read it, how a holy and just God has eminently appeared against, counteracted, and frowned upon all the steps of it, from the first to the last, and upon them that were concerned therein :

Tantae molis erat Darienfem colere terram,
So coftly and fo dear was this defign,
To plant a Colony in Darien."

And so, the Scots colony failed ; but this failure was inherent in the political and economic conditions of its creation. Its effect was *nil*. Spain continued to hold the door of the South Sea and the west gate to Asia, until her widely extended empire—reaching out from the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon to both the oriental and occidental worlds—broke asunder at its weakest links, and the different Spanish-American provinces declared for separate and independent statehood. With the new era came new growth and enterprise on the Isthmus, and today we have modern ideas and sanitation prevailing on what was once a white man's graveyard.

The lesson of these efforts to seize and to hold the gateway to the Pacific accentuates the teachings of enlarged history,

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with its ups and downs of states and nations; an unending procession of failures and short-lived successes, with a passing away and a rebuilding, of no interest to society at large except when turning about such a strategic center as is the Panama pivot, where each man's efforts are magnified because of the stage whereon he plays his part.

The future value of this passage from ocean to ocean is enhanced as the power behind the force, operating from interior lines, shows its capacity for avoiding the errors of its precursors, and appreciation of the great importance of the Isthmus of Panama as the world's great highway for migration, trade, and conquest.

"The American Indians suffered much injustice from the Spaniards, but history does not record any conquered nation that did not receive it from their conquerors; but this injustice is in great part compensated by the benefits received, benefits that are not sufficiently appreciated, even if they are not systematically denied, by those who endeavor to discredit the Spaniards, if it be only to excuse their own criminal conduct towards the aborigines. Can, in fact, any European nation that has founded colonies in America, show, like Spain, from statistics, that in what were its colonies two-thirds at least of the present inhabitants are pure-bred Indians? What other European nation can show that the fourth part of the population of its old colonies is composed of half-breeds, resulting from the mixture of conquerors and conquered? Among the states of the old continent which colonised America shall we find any that can, like Spain, assert that it has civilised the Indians, transmitting to them, indeed, all their vices and faults, but also all their virtues and noble qualities? It is precisely those who show the greatest persistence in depreciating Spain, feeding and stirring up, as they go, hatred and rancour, which should be completely extinguished—and which, fortunately for America and Spain, are being extinguished—it is they who exalt to the skies the wisdom, the moderation and the spirit of liberty and equality which characterise the Anglo-Americans. Where, it may be demanded of these, are the half-breeds which testify to the love of the Anglo-Americans for the native women? Where are the Indians whom they have civilized? In the United States of North America there are no half-breeds; and if some few, very few, Indians have escaped destruction by hunger and drunkenness, they have been remorselessly swept from the territory of the Union, watered by them with the sweat of their brows, and have been obliged to take refuge in the wildernesses of Arkansas. We must admit, to do them strict justice, that the Spaniards have treated the Indians best, with whom they have ended by mixing, and that neither the English of North America nor the Portuguese of South America can show the titles that the former have to the consideration of the aborigines."

The History of South America—By An American...

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Bull of Donation and Line of Demarcation by Pope Alexandre VI., being the bull of May 4th, 1493, as Englished and published by R. Eden, in 1577.

“Alexander Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in Christ, King Ferdinando, and to our deare beloved Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Arragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Divine Majestie, and according to our hearts desire, this certainly is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christain Religion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the favour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee have even knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts have declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you have spared no Travails, Charges, or Perils, adventuring even the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endeavours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieved in recovering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainly declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will favourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more fervent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your devout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firm Lands, farre remote and unknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholic Faith, you have hitherto beene much occupied in the expugnation and recoverie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Nevertheless,

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as it hath pleased Almighty God, the foresaid Kingdom being recovered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you have, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges appointed our wel beloved Sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote and hitherto unknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, have found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other; in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabite, living peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can conjecture; the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleve that there is one God, Creator in Heaven, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Wee are further advertised, that the fore-named Christopher hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet unknowne. Wee also understand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with divers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoveth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you have determined, by the favour of Almighty God, to subject unto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to

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reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred with any Perils, conceiving firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will give good success to your godly Attempts. And that being authorized by the Priviledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other persons, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fullnesse of Apostolicall power, doe give, grant, and designe to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as have not actually beene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, untill the day of the Nativitie of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soever any such shall be found by your Messengers and Captaines, we by the Authoritie of Almighty God, graunted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which wee beare on the Earth, doe for ever, by the tenour of these presents, give, grant, assigne, unto you, your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Jurisdiccions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Jurisdiction: Decreeing neverthesse by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignment, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, unto the day of the Nativitie of our Lord before said, their Right obtained, to be understood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy

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Obedience (as you have promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe, to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and all good things doe proceed: Trusting, that Almighty God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Travailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale of any person constitute in Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be given thereunto in Judgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoever infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same. let him know, that hee

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shall thereby incur the Indignation of Almighty God, and his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of the Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome."

[Copied from Haklytus Posthumus or *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. The original document is in Latin, and preserved in the Archivo de Indias, in Seville. As a matter of fact, three papal bulls were issued on the donation and division of the New World, within two days; two on May 3d, and one on May 4th, 1493. Latin and Spanish texts are found in Navarrete, and in the Col. de Doc. Inéd. Harisse calls the bull of donation the first document in the diplomatic history of America.]

El Requerimiento.

(The Requisition or Requirement).

"On the part of the King, Don Fernando, and of Doña Juana his daughter, Queen of Castile and Leon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who come after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

"Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

"And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the

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others who after him have been elected to the pontificate, and so has it been continued even till now, and will continue till the end of the world.

“One of these Pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Tierra-firme to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

“So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Tierra-firme by virtue of this donation: and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

“If you do so, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compell you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And, besides this, their Highnesses award you

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many privileges and exemptions, and will grant you many benefits.

"But, if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition."

Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*, vol. I, p. 264.

Treaty between the Council of Caledonia and Chief Diego of Darien.

"Treaty of Friendship, Union, and perpetual Confederation, agreed and entred into between the Right Hon^{ble} the Council of Caledonia, and the excellent Diego Tucupantos and Estrara, Chief and Supreme Leader of the Indians Inhabitants of the lands and possessions in and about the Rivers of Darieno and St. Matolome.

The said Diego having signified his earnest desire to enter into an entire friendship and strict allyance with the said Council and Colony; The same is hereby agreed to and concluded in the termes following, viz.—

1. The said Council of Caledonia and the said Diego, and the people of their respective obedience, shall from henceforward be friends and confederates, and are hereby obliged mutually to defend the persons, lands, territories, dependencies, and properties of each other by land and sea.

2. The aforesaid Council and the said Diego, their people and defendants, may freely pass and repass and shall mutually have the liberty of commerce, correspondence, and manuring,

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possessing, and enjoying lands in the countrys and places of their respective obedience in all time hereafter.

3. If any of the people under the obedience of the said Council, or the said Diego, shall hapen to wrong or injure one another, the person or persons injured shall make their complaint, and in such case the respective partys to this treaty, their Magistrates and people, shall take effectual care that exact and speedy justice be done, and that things of that nature extend not to the weakning of this perpetual confederation.

4. It is hereby likeways agreed that Captain Corbet of Conception River, Cap.ⁿ Ambrosio of Coco, Cap.ⁿ Nicola of Sept, Cap.ⁿ Pansego of Carreta, and Cap.ⁿ Pedro of Golden Island, and their people shall, upon application, be admitted into this treaty.

5. If anything in this treaty shall afterward want explanation or enlargement the same shall be done from time to time by consent of the partys to this confederation.

Which treaty above written having been interpret and explained to the said Diego, the said Council, for Confirmation and the greater solemnity thereof, have ordered their Secretary in their own presence to subscribe his name and afix their seal thereto; and the said Diego hath put his mark to the same, at Fort St. Andrew the 24th Febr'y, 1699."

"A copy in Spanish was likewise given him."—*The Darien Papers*," page 87.

Comandantes Generales, Presidentes. y Gobernadores del Reyno de Tierra-Firme.

1. Don Pedro Arias Dávila, natural de Segovia, hermano del Conde de Púno-en-rostro, elegido por el Emperador, en virtud de los créditos que tenia, para mandar en el Darien el año de 1514, donde sin embargo de las grandes cosas que hizo obscureció su gloria el haber mandado cortar la cabeza por pasiones á Vasco Nuñez de Balboa en el Darien y á Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba en Nicaragua, gobernó hasta el año 1526 que llegó su sucesor.

2. Don Pedro de los Ríos, natural de Córdoba, nombrado por las quejas y clamores contra el anterior, por muerte del Licenciado Lope de Sosa, tambien de Córdoba, que fué nombrado primero, y murió apenas llegó al Darien; pero siguiendo los

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clamores se envió por Juez de residencia al Licenciado Antonio de la Gama, y por successor en el gobierno del año de 1528 á

3. Francisco de Barrionuevo, natural de Soria, acreditado en las conquistas de la Isla de Puerto-rico, y en la de Santo Domingo, provisto para Gobernador de Tierra-Firme el año de 1532; pero habiendo tenido comision de pasar á la pacificacion del Cazique Enrique en la Isla Española, tomó possession el de 1533.

4. El Licenciado Pedro Vazquez de Acuña, que fué nombrado Gobernador y Juez de residencia del anterior, por cuyas quejas se envió á poco tiempo á

5. El Doctor Francisco Robles con la misma comision que su antecesor, siendo Oidor de aquella Audiencia, y se encargó del gobierno, desempeñándolo con tanta integridad y justificacion que ha tenido pocos exemplares en aquel pais, donde el clima ó algun influxo maligno sembró la semilla de la discordia, como se verá en la serie de la mayor parte de sus Gobernadores: este entró á su exercicio el año de 1539, y sin embargo de sus buenas calidades no se libró de enredos y calumnias.

6. Pedro de Casaos, natural de Sevilla, que con título de Corregidor de Panamá fué nombrado por el Rey para gobernarla, en cuyo tiempo sucedieron las tragedias y robos que hizo Hernando Bachicao, Capitan de Gonzalo Pizarro, para cuyo remedio le nombró la Audiencia y el Cabildo Capitan General.

7. El Licenciado Don Pedro Ramirez de Quíñones, primer Presidente con titulo de tal de aquella Audiencia que pacificó el Reyno de las alteraciones pasadas, hizo la guerra al Negro Bayono que lo tenia hostigado con sus robos y correrias, cuyo castigo en que sirvió el célebre Pedro de Ursua tranquilizó el pais.

8. Juan de Bustos Villegas pasó de Gobernador de la Plaza de Cartagena á Panamá el año de 1551, murió alli arrastrado de una mula.

9. El Licenciado Juan Lopez de Cepeda pasó de Oidor Decano de la Isla de Santo Domingo á la de Santa Fe, de alli á Alcalde del Crimen de la Audiencia de Lima, luego á Presidente de Panamá, y promovido á Charcas el año de 1588.

10. El Licenciado Francisco de Cárdenas, último Presidente Togado que hubo por haberse establecido la Comandancia General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme, y Plaza de Armas la Ciudad de Panamá su Capital, murió el año de 1594.

11. Don Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Real Audiencia, quedó encargado interinamente del gobierno por muerte del anterior, y lo estaba exerciendo quando llegó.

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12. Don Alonso de Sotomayor y Andia, Marques de Valparaiso, Comendador de Villamayor en la Orden de Santiago, natural de Truxillo en Estremadura, Oficial de grandes créditos en Flandes y en Chile, donde habia gobernado con sumo acierto y gloria de las armas del Rey, se hallaba en Lima para restituirse á Europa quando le nombró Presidente de Panamá el Virrey Marques de Cañete, para defender el Reyno de un Armamento Inglés que se temia ser para alli, como sucedió, logrando con tan acertada eleccion su defensa, y la derrota total de los enemigos, gobernó hasta el año de 1596 que pasó á España.

13. El referido Juan del Barrio Sepulveda, Oidor Decano de la Audiencia, volvió á encargarse del gobierno interinamente hasta el año de 1601 que volvió

14. El mismo Don Alonso de Sotomayor, nombrado por el Rey en consideracion de su acertada conducta y sobresaliente mérito para fortificar la Plaza de Portobelo, en compañía del famoso Ingeniero Juan Baptista Antoneli, y executado, aunque recibió Real despacho para volver á gobernar el Reyno de Chile, se embarcó para Europa el año de 1605.

15. Don Diego de Orozco, natural de Lima, de quien no tenemos mas noticia que la de haber sido Presidente de Panamá por este tiempo.

16. Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco; en cuyo tiempo se empezó la reduccion y conquista espiritual de los Indios Guamies en la Provincia de Veragua por los Religiosos del Orden de Santo Domingo, acabó su gobierno el año de 1624.

17. Don Alvaro de Quiñones Osorio, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Marques de Lorenzana, gobernó hasta el año de 1632 que pasó promovido á la Presidencia de Guatemala.

18. Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera pasó promovido de la Presidencia y Capitanía General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1634, habiendo tenido le de Panamá solo dos años.

19. Don Enrique Enriquez de Sotomayor pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico á esta Presidencia, que exerció hasta el año de 1638 en que murió, con tanto sentimiento por sus grandes qualidades que se escribió una Oracion en su elogio, que despues se imprimió en esta Corte.

20. Don Iñigo de la Mota Sarmiento, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Gentil-Hombre de Cámara del Archiduque Alberto, y del Consejo Supremo y Junta de Guerra, pasó promovido del gobierno de Puerto-rico como su antecesor el año de 1639, y murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de

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Galeones del cargo del General Don Francisco Diaz Pimienta el año de 1642.

21. Don Juan de Vega Bazan, General que habia sido de Galeones, nombrado Presidente, Gobernador y Comandante General del Reyno de Tierra-Firme por muerte del anterior el año de 1643.

22. Don Juan de Bitribeante y Navarra, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, murió en Portobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del cargo del General Don Juan de Echavarri el año de 1651, como consta de la lápida de marmol que puso en su sepultura en la Iglesia Parroquial de Portobelo su Gobernador y intimo amigo Don Bernardo de Texada.

23. Don Fernando de la Riva Aguero, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena de Indias quando fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá, murió tambien en Puertobelo asistiendo al despacho de la Armada de Galeones del Marques de Villarubia el año de 1663.

24. Don Juan Perez de Guzmán, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, Maestre de Campo, Gobernador de Cartagena, despues de haber seguido los empleos de la Milicia en la Armada de la carrera de Indias, y sido Gobernador de Antioquia y de Puerto-rico, fué promovido á esta Presidencia por muerte del anterior el año de 1665, pasó á recuperar la Isla de Santa Catalina que habia tomado el Pirata Inglés Juan Morgau, y sin embargo fué suspendido del empleo por el Virrey del Perú, Conde de Lemos, en virtud de varios cargos que le hacia Don Bernardo Trillo de Figueróa, Oidor Decano de aquella Audiencia.

25. Don Agustin de Bracamonte nombrado interinamente por el Virrey del Perú para la separacion de Don Juan Perez, y pesquisa de los cargos que se le hacian.

26. El mismo Don Juan Perez, reintegrado en sus empleos por no haberse justificado nada de lo que se le acumulaba, tuvo la desgracia de que en su tiempo sucediese la ruina y pérdida de aquella ciudad tomada por el Pirata Inglés el año de 1670, por lo qual fué depuesto segunda vez por el mismo Virrey Conde de Lemos, que lo hizo conducir preso á Lima, dando cuenta al Rey.

27. Don Antonio Fernandez de Córdoba, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, nombrado por el Rey luego que se supo la desgracia de Panamá, con orden de trasladar la Ciudad á mejor parage, se embarcó para su destino llevando porción de tropa

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que llamaron alli la Chamberga, y empezó á poner en execucion sus órdenes el año de 1671 que llegó, pero la muerte le impidió concluir las el de 1673.

28. Don Francisco Miguel de Marichalar, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, enviado interinamente por el Virrey Conde de Lemos, y exerció el gobierno hasta que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey el año de 1676.

29. Don Alonso Mercado de Villacorta, Sargento General de Batalla, que se hallaba sirviendo el gobierno de las Provincias del Tucumán, donde habia hecho señalados servicios al Rey, fué promovido á esta Presidencia, y trasladó la Ciudad como estaba mandado al mejor parage en que hoy existe, dando principio á su fortificacion como se ve en la inscripcion que hay sobre la Puerta de Tierra y antes de concluir la obra murió el año de 1681.

30. El Dr. Don Lucas Fernandez de Piedrahita, natural de Santa Fe, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Panamá, y Autor célebre de la Historia de la Conquista del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, entró por muerte del anterior, y nombramiento del Virrey del Perú, Conde del Castellar, contenido á prevencion en pliego secreto y cerrado en el Archivo del Acuerdo de la Real Audiencia para que no recayese el gobierno en ninguno de sus Ministros; y aunque el acierto se confirmó con sus virtudes, duro muy poco, porque al año siguiente de 1682 llegó el propietario.

31. Don Pedro Ponte y Llerena, Conde del Palmar, que fué en los Galeones del Marques del Bao, y tomó posesion, siendo el único Presidente que ha cumplido el tiempo de los ocho años de la provision del empleo, sin embargo de cargos con que lo capitularon los Ministros de aquella Audiencia.

32. Don Pedro Joseph Guzmán, Dávalos, Ponce de Leon, Santillan y Mesia, Marques de la Mina, natural de Sevilla, General de la Artilleria, que en premio de sus distinguidos servicios en mar y tierra fué nombrado Presidente de Panamá y Comandante General del Reyno, de que tomó posesion al año de 1690, y gobernó cinco años, hasta el de 1695 que fué separado por comision que se dió al Obispo para justificar los cargos que tres Ministros de aquella Audiencia le hicieron, en cuya execucion se procedió con tanto encono y tropelia, que no hay exemplo de las que sufrió preso en un calabozo del castillo de Chagre, sin permitirle comunicacion por más de quatro años.

33. El Dr. Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, Obispo de

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aquella Santa Iglesia, encargado del gobierno de órden del Rey hasta la llegada del propietario que fué

34. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, Corregidor de Potosí, tomó posesion el ano de 1696 hasta el de 1699, que por los clamores de aquel vecindado, y quexas de las violencias que siguió executando con el Marques de la Mina, se la nombró sucesor á

35. Don Joseph Antonio de la Rocha y Carranza, Mques de Villa-Rocha, Cabellero del Orden de Calatrava, General de la Artilleria, que entró á la posesion de la Presidencia el año de 1699; pero á los seis meses recibió una Cédula Real para que entregase el gobierno al mismo

36. Don Pedro Luis Henriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Canillas, en inteligencia de las grandes cosas que informó falsamente habia hecho para la defensa del Reyno, y por el recelo del establecimiento que habian hecho los Escoceses en el Darien, á cuyo desalojo se le mandaba pasar, como al Gobernador de Cartagena Don Juan Diaz Pimienta, que fué el que lo executó; y sin embargo con el aviso anticipado que envió el Conde del suceso, sin decir quien lo habia hecho, le premió el Rey con el Virreynato del Perú, que no pudo lograr, pues murió á muy poco tiempo de recibir la noticia el mismo año de 1699.

37. Don Fernando Dávila Bravo de Laguna, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Sargento General de Batalla, natural de Lima, entró el año de 1702, y gobernó hasta el de 1707 que murió.

38. Don Juan Eustaquio Vincentelo, Tello, Toledo y Leca, Marques de Brenes, Cabellero del Orden de Santiago, natural de Sevilla, nombrado interinamente quando murió el anterior por el Marques de Casteldos-rius, Virrey del Perú, que se hallaba en Panamá de transito para su destino, solo gobernó algo mas de cinco meses por haber entrado.

39. El ya referido Marques de Villa-Rocha, que tuvo Real despacho para verificar la provision de su empleo, y no fué de mas larga duracion, pues á pocos dias se recibió otra Real Cédula separándole del empleo por diferentes cargos que le habian hecho, cometido á la Audiencia, que sin embargo de la cláusula condicional se abrogo la Presidencia el Decano.

40. Don Fernando de Haro Monterroso, y la exerció seis meses, hasta el año de 1709 que el Virrey del Perú envió otro Ministro de la Audiencia de Lima, para procesarle por los

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excesos que habia cometido, remitiéndolo preso en Partida de Registro á España, y murió en la Cárcel de Corte de Madrid.

41. Don Juan Baptista de Orueta y Irusta, Alcalde del Crimen de la Real Audiencia de Lima, comisionado para la deposicion y pesquisa del antecesor, gobernó hasta el año siguiente de 1710 en que llegó el propietario nombrado por el Rey, y él se restituyó á Lima al exercicio de su Plaza.

42. Don Joseph de Larrañeta y Vera, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Portobelo con la calidad de obcion á la Presidencia y Capitanía General del Reyno en caso de vacante de propietario, por Cédula Real de nombramiento en aquel empleo, como teniente de Rey, entró á tomar posesion luego que la recibió á principio del año de 1710, y gobernó hasta mitad del siguiente de 1711 que llegaron dos successors al mismo tiempo:

43. Uno el mencionado ya dos veces Marques de Villa-Rocha, restituido la tercera á titulo de honor en desagravio del exceso con se habia procedido en su segunda separacion por el tiempo que tardase en llegar el propietario nombrado por S. M. y fué tan corto que solo se contó por horas, pues habiendo venido á la Capital desde el fuerte de Chepo, donde se hallaba preso, tomó posesion, y el mismo dia entró á las cinco de la tarde

44. Don Joseph Hurtado de Amezaga, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, que tomó posesion el referido año de 1711, y gobernó hasta el de 1716 que fué depuesto de órden del Rey, cometiendo su separacion al Obispo de aquella Iglesia, y extinguiendo al mismo tiempo el Tribunal de la Audiencia.

45. Don Fr. Juan Joseph de Llamas y Rivas, del Orden de nuestra Señora del Carmen, Obispo de Panamá, que por la comision referida quedó encargado del gobierno desde el citado año de 1716 hasta el de 1718 en que llegó

46. Don Gerónimo Vadillo, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, promovido del gobierno de Cartagena que estaba exerciendo, con el nuevo establecimiento de cinco años de provision en los Gobiernos que no hay Audiencia, y cumplió el de 1723.

47. Don Gaspar Perez Buelta, Oidor que habia sido de la extinguida Audiencia, que habiendo mandado el Rey volverla á restablecer el mismo año de 1723, gobernó interinamente como Decano tres meses y medio, hasta que se embarcó para pasar al Perú promovido á la Audiencia de Lima á principios del de 1724.

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48. Don Joseph De Alzamora y Ursino quedó Decano de la Audiencia por el ascenso del anterior, y como tal encargado interinamente del Gobierno, Presidencia y Comandancia General poco mas de un mes hasta la llegada del propietario.

49. Don Manuel de Alderete, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, fué promovido de teniente de Rey de la Plaza de Cadiz á esta Presidencia en los galeones del teniente General Marques Grillo, y tomó posesion el año de 1724, gobernó hasta el de 1730 en que fué depuesto, y preso en el castillo de Chepo, y luego remitido en Partida de Registro á la Casa de la Contratacion, en la fragata de guerra la la Ginovesa, que se perdió sobre el baxo de la Vivora, donde se ahogó.

50. Don Juan Joseph de Andia, Vivero y Velasco, Marques de Villahermosa, Mariscal de Campo, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Cartagena, fué promovido á la Presidencia de Panamá, con la comision de deponer á su antecesor, el referido año de 1730; y habiendo solicitado licencia para restituirse á España se la concedió S. M. ascendiéndole al grado de teniente General el año de 1735, y á poco tiempo de su llegada la Grandeza, con titula de Marques de Valparaiso.

51. Don Dionisio Martinez de la Vega, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del Gobierno de la Havana á relevar al anterior el citado año de 1735, y exerció el gobierno hasta el de 1743 en que llegó el successor nombrado por S. M., que en remuneracion de haber hecho la paz con los Indios del Darien le promovió al grado de teniente General, concediéndole llave de entrada de Gentil-Hombre de su Cámara: en su tiempo tomaron los Ingleses mandados por el Almirante Wernon la Ciudad de Portobelo y castillo de Chagre, murió en Panamá el año de 1744 estando disponiendo su viage para España.

52. Don Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera, que habia servido la Presidencia de Quito y Comandancia General de este Reyno, se hallaba en la Corte quando fué nombrado por el Rey para pasar á servir esta de Panamá, y encargase de la defensa del de Tierra-Firme, objeto de los Ingleses en la guerra que habian declarado desde el año de 1739, con particular encargo de diferentes comisiones del Real servicio, por su notoria inteligencia, conocimiento de la América y zelo del Real servicio, que desempeñó desde el año de 1743 en que tomó posesion hasta el de 1749 que fué separado del empleo por diferentes cargos

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con que la habian calumniado los Oidores de aquella Audiencia, origen siempre de las discordias de esta Provincia. Durante su gobierno castigó los contravandistas de la de Natá, que en numero de mas de doscientos, auxiliados de los Ingleses, se habian sublevado tomando armas contra las de S. M., vino á Madrid, y fué absuelto de los cargos honorificamente.

53. Don Manuel de Montiano, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Exércitos, pasó promovido del gobierno de la Florida, y entró en Panamá el mismo año de 1749, en cuyo tiempo se extinguió la Audiencia el siguiente en virtud de los informes que hizo su antecesor, como único medio de establecer la paz y harmonia de aquel Reyno turbada por las continuas competencias de este Tribunal sobre todas materias, como acreditó la tranquilidad del gobierno de este hasta el año de 1758 en que llegó su sucesor.

54. Don Antonio Guill, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Guadalajara, sugeto de acreditado talento, virtud y pericia militar, cuyas qualidades le hicieron sumamente estimado en su gobierno, con el sentimiento de su corta duracion por haber pasado promovido á la Presidencia y Capitanía General de Chile el año de 1761.

55. Don Joseph Raon, Brigadier de los Reales Exércitos, gobernó poco mas de dos años por haber pasado promovido a la Presidencia y Capitanía General de las Islas Filipinas el año de 1763.

56. Don Joseph Blasco de Orozco, Cabellero del Orden de San Juan, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Burgos, pasó á servir este Gobierno el referido año, y murió alli el de 1767.

57. Don Vicente de Olaziregui, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Granada, destinado á este Gobierno de Panamá el año de 1769, murió el de 1773.

58. Don Pedro Carbonel, Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Aragon, nombrado el año de 1775, gobernó hasta el de 1779, en que le llegó el sucesor.

59. Don Ramon de Carvajal, Coronel de Infanteria, que se hallaba sirviendo el Gobierno de Vique en el Principado de Cataluña quando fué destinado al de Guayaquil en el Reyno de Quito, y antes de tomar posesion promovido á este de Panamá el año de 1780, y lo exerció hasta el de 1785 que nombró el Rey para succederle á

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60. Don Joseph Domás, Brigadier de la Real Armada, nombrado el referido año de 1785, que actualmente gobierna.

Diccionario Geográfico-Historico de las Indias Occidentales Ó América, tomo iv. pags. 38-49, por el Coronel Don Antonio de Alcedo. Madrid, 1788.

[This list is copied *verbatim*, and the reader is advised that it contains a few errors.]

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